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THE CULTS

OF

THE GREEK STATES

BY

LEWIS RICHARD FARNELL

D.LITT., M.A., F.A.S.

FELLOW AND TUTOR OF EXETER COLLEGE

UNIVERSITY LECTURER IN CLASSICAL ARCHAEOLOGY

CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE IMPERIAL GERMAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

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THE
CULTS OF THE GREEK STATES

CHAPTER I

CULT OF POSEIDON

(References, pp. 73–97.)

THE study of the Poseidon-cult in Hellas is of more value for the Greek historian than for the student of the higher religions of mankind. It lacks the spiritual and ethical interest of some of the Olympian cults, and from the earliest to the latest period Poseidon remains comparatively a backward god, never intimately associated with the nation's intellectual advance. But the ritual presents us with certain facts of great interest. And early Greek ethnography and the history of the earliest migrations of Hellenic tribes can gather much from a minute inquiry into the diffusion of this worship. Modern historians have become accustomed to use the facts of Greek religion as a clue for their researches into the period that precedes recorded history. But the criterion is often misapplied, and the value of it is still occasionally ignored. Much has still to be done in this branch of inquiry, and much may be effected if the evidence is severely scrutinized according to some fixed principles of criticism, and at the outset of this chapter it may be well to state and consider some of these. The historian of the earliest period, if he believes that he can extract anything from the religion and the mythology, has to reckon with three sources of possible evidence: with cult and ritual, with myth pure and simple, and finally with genealogical tables. Now the value of these sources is by no means equal. There appears to be a growing tendency both in continental and in English

historical scholarship to exaggerate the value of the last of these three. The unsupported argument from genealogies may be considered of all arguments the most inconclusive; the transmitters of these heroic family-trees were in most cases very late scribes who may have been drawing indeed from earlier authorities, but who were dealing with facts which were especially exposed to various influences making for falsification. And often the genealogies are so complex and contradictory [a] that one can prove from them anything one wishes, and to inspect them is like looking through a kaleidoscope. On the other hand, when the genealogy is simple, clear, and well attested it has a certain value as a clue. It cannot yield proof unless it is fertilized by a prevailing stream of myth, or corroborated by definite cult-associations or by place-names. Again, the ethnographic value of mere mythology may easily be overstated, though the present reaction against the contemptuous scepticism of a former generation is wholesome and just. Myth is volatile and flies easily over a wide area; therefore the common possession of one or two myths will not prove tribal affinity or even the contiguity of tribes. A large store of common myths does indeed afford cumulative evidence, especially when the myths are peculiar, belonging rather to the by-paths of national legend. But here also it is only when the myth is associated with actual cult that the ethnographic argument arrives at proof. Cult is more stable than myth and not so easily transmitted by mere casual intercourse; and we are dealing with more solid fact here than in arguing from genealogies. But here also it is easy to be misled. If we accepted, for instance, the theory that has been held by recent writers [b] of monotheistic totemism, and believed that every Greek tribe was in its earliest stage totemistic and worshipped one god only, the totem-god, then the possession by one community of various deities or the common possession by different communities of the same deity would prove some kind of tribal fusion, and it might

[a] Pausanias (8. 53, 5) complains *οἱ Ἑλλήνων λόγοι διάφοροι τὰ πλέονα καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐπὶ τοῖς γένεσίν εἰσι.*

[b] By Dr. Jevons, for instance, in his *Introduction to the Study of Religion.*

become a fairly easy task to reconstruct in outline the aboriginal history of Hellas. But for many reasons that cannot be discussed here the theory is hard to accept. We have to reckon rather with the probability that the main Hellenic tribes, when they were beginning to break their way into the Greek peninsula, already worshipped certain leading divinities in common. Zeus-cult was certainly a joint-possession, probably the Apolline also. Nevertheless a particular community undoubtedly tended to give a particular deity a paramount position, for instance to regard him or her as the guardian of their political union or as the ancestor of their families and clans; and thence we can sometimes discover a clue in tracing migrations and early settlements. Again, the mere record that a certain community worshipped Poseidon or Athena may throw very little light on ethnic origins. But if the cult is specialized by some peculiar title, such as Poseidon Ἵππιος or Φράτριος, this may be a fact of considerable significance. Such titles are rarely broadcast throughout the Greek states, but are found sporadically and often seem to emanate from a particular centre. We cannot even in this case always assume that these special cults have been propagated by a particular community in the course of its migratory or colonizing movements. An Apollo Pythios or a Demeter Eleusinia may travel over a wide area of the Greek world merely through the force of the influence of Delphi or Eleusis. Imitation and direct borrowing by alien tribes are always possibilities. But as explanations they are less appropriate when the cult is highly specialized, has no marked intrinsic attractions, and appears at points widely removed from each other. And when at each of these points we find a migration-legend pointing to a particular tribe that is known to have possessed that cult, the ethnographic argument based on the cult and the legend combined may become convincing.

This digression concerning method may be excused if one can show that a rigid application of the tests which have been described to the diffusion of Poseidon-cult throws light on prehistoric migrations in Greece, especially of the Minyan and Ionic tribes. Before, however, venturing on this discus-

sion, one must examine the leading features of the Poseidon-worship as it is presented to us in the settled Hellenic period. Looking first at the earliest literature, we find in Homer an incomplete portrait of the god, drawn however in accordance with contemporary cult. He belongs to the Olympian dynasty, claiming equality with Zeus, having the sea allotted as his realm; he is friendly to the Thessalian Achaeans, and especially to the Pylian family of Nestor, which took its origin from him; he is the giver of famous horses and is learned in horsecraft; he is the father of monsters like Polyphemus, of giants such as Otos and Ephialtes, a paternity which agrees with his wild and stormy character; he is ἐννοσίγαιος and ἐνοσίχθων, the earthquake-god, the shaker of the land, the destroyer of the rampart on the shore; he is worshipped with sacrifice of bulls, lambs, and boars, and even far inland an oar might be erected as an aniconic ἄγαλμα in his honour[1, 111 a]. The legend mentioned by Homer that it was he who with Apollo built the walls of Troy for Laomedon may be a faint recognition of his character as a god of the city. As regards his local associations we find the poet connecting him specially with Aigai, the Euboean or 'Achaean' city[66 a], with Helike[66 a], and with Pylos the Neleid settlement; finally the epithet Ἑλικώνιος is, as will be shown, of historic interest and importance[66 b]. To these Homeric citations may be added a passage in the Homeric hymn[2], in which the god is addressed as the stirrer of earth and sea, the lord of Helikon and Aigai, charged by the gods with the two functions of taming horses and saving ships. In Pindar and Aeschylus we find him recognized as a deity, not only of the sea, but of the rivers also and fresh streams[8]. Lastly, the genial prayer of Aristophanes[3] sums up most of the traits with which the popular imagination depicted the god: 'Hail, King Poseidon, thou god of horses, thou that lovest the tramp and neighing of the brazen-shod steeds, the swift triremes with their dark-blue beaks of onset, and the strife of youths who glory and suffer hardship in the chariot-race, lord of the golden trident, and fosterer of dolphins.'

The literature, however, here as in other cases, is not quite

a full reflection of the manifold nature of the cult, which must now be considered. The maritime character of the god is naturally the most prominent in the worship throughout the historic period. And it seems clear that wherever men prayed to Poseidon they associated him with the sea[a], whatever other functions they assigned to him. The cult-titles of the sea-god[8 b] are such as Ἐπακταῖος at Samos, Πελάγιος at Athens and Rhodes, Πετραῖος in Thessaly, Πόντιος at Elateia and Tainaron, Πόρθμιος in Karpathos, Προσκλύστιος in Argolis. At Antikyra his cult-image was carved with one foot on a dolphin[34]; in his Isthmian temple at Corinth he was grouped with the sea-powers Thalassa, Amphitrite, and Palaimon[55]; the dolphin and the trident are his frequent emblems on coins, for instance in the Laconian towns of Boiai and Gythion[62 d, f], in Kaphyai of Arcadia[64 b], in Sybaris and Posidonia[107, 108]. Occasionally a sea-monster or pistrix is added as on the coins of Posidonia: and the trident was borne by the men of Mantinea as an ensign on their shields[64 d], whereby they put themselves under the protection of the chief god of their stock. In his ritual the victims are occasionally thrown into the sea[111, 114 e]. Numerous promontories and maritime cities are named after him, and the worship of the sea-god penetrated far inland[64 d, 97]. The salt-water spring or lake found sometimes far from the shore was naturally regarded as the gift of Poseidon and the sign of his presence, whereby he might claim the land as his own, as he claimed the Acropolis of Athens in the strife with Athena and marked the territory of Mantinea[b] and Mylasa as his property[64 d].

But he was also Κρηνοῦχος and Νυμφαγέτης, the leader of the Nymphs, the god of fresh water: though he was never able to absorb the special cults of the various rivers and springs, such as Alpheios, Acheloos, and Arethusa. A question, not perhaps of the first importance, arises here whether his function

[a] Wide, *Lakonische Kulte*, pp. 40–43, finds little recognition of the sea-god in the Laconian cult of Poseidon, but vide my references R. 62 b, and cf. Paus. 3. 17, 3 (Poseidon and Amphitrite carved in relief on the bronze figure of Athena Chalcioikos at Sparta by Gitiadas).

[b] At Mantinea even a grove of oaks near the temple of Poseidon was called πέλαγος, R. 64 d.

as a fresh-water god arose later from his primitive maritime character, or whether we should regard him as originally a water-deity in the most general sense, whose department tended to become specialized when his worshippers became seafarers. This will be the natural view of his development for those who believe—as the most advanced etymology appears justified in believing—in the connexion of the god's name with the root that appears in πόσις, ποτόν, ποταμός. If this theory is sound[a], an important result follows: Poseidon was a fresh-water god imported into Greece by the earliest Hellenic tribes from the Balkan peninsula. In any case evidence of a pre-Hellenic or non-Aryan character, which some writers detect in him, appears to be lacking altogether, unless the female administration of his cult of which we have two instances is to be regarded as evidence.

Leaving these questions we can at least decide that the recognition of Poseidon as a god of fertilizing streams was early and general. It was thus that he became a god of vegetation, φυτάλμιος, a title which Plutarch attests was attached to him in most Greek cults, and which we find in the cults of Athens[45 p], Troezen[58 d], and Rhodes[115]. The firstfruits of the season were offered to him at Troezen[58 a]; we hear of cereal offerings to Poseidon Χαμαίζηλος at Athens[45 q], and the people of Kyzikos were bidden by the Delphic oracle to associate him in sacrifice with Γῆ καρποφόρος[86]. If we can trust Hesychius, Poseidon had his share in the Dionysiac festival of the Προτρύγαια in some communities[b]. For the same reason we find him not infrequently united in legend and ritual with Demeter. At Mykonos a sacrifice of swine to the goddess[c] was ordained on the same

[a] Ahrens goes further and interprets Ποσει-δῶν as the 'Water-Zeus,' *Philol.* 23. 1 &c. Mr. Cook, in an article in *Class. Rev.* 1903, p. 175, follows Sonne in explaining Ποσει as locative, and the name as = the god in the water; but this does not seem to agree with the usual laws of formation of Greek proper names. We have no means of checking the statement in Herodotus that Poseidon was not a 'Pelasgic' name, but a Libyan. We may believe on his authority that there was a similar Libyan cult of a water-deity (2. 50, 4. 188).

[b] Vide Dionysos, R. 45[1].

[c] Vide Demeter, R. 9.

day of the month of Poseidon as that on which a white ram was offered to Poseidon Τεμενίτης, 'the god of the temenos,' and a white lamb to Poseidon Φύκιος [113a]. According to Eustathius, a πομπή in his honour was part of the Demeter-festival of the Haloa at Eleusis [18], and he shared in the honours paid to the mother and the daughter at an altar on the sacred way from Athens [49]. His temple at Troezen, where he was prominent as a deity of vegetation, was contiguous to that of Demeter Thesmophoros [a]. The facts therefore attest to some extent the truth of Plutarch's statement that Poseidon was Δήμητρος σύνναος, the sharer of Demeter's temple [b]. Finally, in Arcadian legend his close association with the corn-goddess gives rise to important questions of cult and ethnography which will be soon considered.

We must take note then of this vegetative function of Poseidon's, but must not press it into undue prominence; most Greek deities possessed it, and many in a far more marked degree. He acquires it solely as a water-god, and never attracts to himself the ordinary characteristics of a chthonian divinity [c].

We find other notions of some interest that are derived from this elemental conception of him. The earthquake was regarded as the operation of Poseidon, the water-god. That this was an ancient idea the poetical epithets of ἐννοσίγαιος and ἐνοσίχθων, stereotyped by the time of Homer, bear witness. The one cult-title that undoubtedly refers to this dangerous aspect of the god, was the euphemistic appellative Ἀσφάλιος or Ἀσφάλειος. Macrobius couples it with ἐνοσίχθων, and the 'deum terram stabilientem' with the 'deum terram moventem [6].' The story told by Strabo proves that he was right; for the Rhodians, when they recovered from their terror at the maritime volcanic eruption, which threw up a new island between Thera and Therasia, ventured to land there and founded a temple to Poseidon Ἀσφάλιος [82a]. There was strong need for such a worship in the Mediterranean, as the submergence of Helike proved—a portentous calamity in the fourth century which was attributed to the wrath of Poseidon. We may find the same significance then in the same cult at

[a] Vide Demeter, R. 80. [b] Demeter, 42a. [c] Vide infra, p. 51.

Athens, Sparta[a], Tainaron, Syros, and Kyzikos, though in later Greek literature Poseidon Ἀσφάλιος might be invoked in general terms as the saviour-god, the brother of Zeus Σωτήρ. Even inland, where earthquakes were frequent, the phenomenon would be attributed to Poseidon, as at Apameia in Syria[98].

The familiar epithet Γαιήοχος, common in the earliest poetry, and attached to his cults at Onchestos, Athens, Thurea, Therapne in Laconia, Tainaron, and Gythion, may possibly have had originally the same connotation as Ἀσφάλιος, with which it is coupled by Plutarch[6, 7]. But the seismic connotation of the term which Wide[b] believes to attach to it is nowhere made clear. All that is clear is that it alludes to the power of the sea-god, as the fragment of Arion shows[7]; possibly, like Ἀσφάλιος, to the sea-god as the Lord of the earthquake, possibly to an ancient Hellenic belief in the ocean as the girdle and stay of the land. At least it is not a 'chthonian' epithet[c].

Had the earliest Greeks been as familiar with volcanoes as they afterwards became in the Western Hellas, they might have associated earthquakes more naturally with the fire-god. But in the Greek peninsula the violent convulsions that changed the face of the land would be reasonably attributed to water rather than to fire. They were well aware of the bursting force of subterraneous waters, and the terrible phenomenon of the tidal wave on the shore in the hour of earthquake. Therefore they naturally believed that it was Poseidon who split through the rocks of Tempe[24], who destroyed the cities on the coast, and who hurled up islands to the surface of the sea. And it is interesting to note that Aristotle[d] himself attributes much of the seismic force to the action of water.

[a] The Lacedaemonian army, when invading Argolis, raised the Paean to Poseidon on the occasion of an earthquake (R. 62[1]).

[b] *Lakonische Kulte*, p. 38: the etymology of his explanation of Γαιάϝοχος as the god 'who drives in a chariot under the earth' violates a natural law of the combination of words.

[c] In later poetry it could certainly have contained no allusion to earthquakes; for Aeschylus and Sophocles apply it to Zeus and Artemis as guardians of the country.

[d] 396, B. 16.

If we now consider the relations of this deity to the social and political life of the Greek communities we can at once gather some facts that will prove important for Greek ethnography. The tribes among whom a certain worship was dominant tended to regard the divinity of that worship as in some sense their ancestor, or the ancestor of their leading families, or as the guardian of the unity of the clan and ultimately of the πόλις. We find this true of Zeus, Athena, Artemis, and Apollo. It is true also of Poseidon. We are told by Plutarch that the descendants of Hellen sacrificed to Poseidon Πατριγένειος. The phrase is vague and too comprehensive, and there is no other record of this particular cult-title. But in a general sense the statement holds good of many localities[9]. An important inscription found at Delphi, of which the date may be as early as 400 B.C., and which contains the rules regulating the clan of the Labyadai, preserves the oath of membership taken by the clansmen in the name of Poseidon Φράτριος and Zeus Πατρῷος[33]. At Eleusis the former was worshipped as Πατήρ[49], and it will be necessary soon to examine the meaning of this doubtful name. He appears at Athens so closely associated with the ancestral hero Erechtheus that the belief has arisen that the hero was originally himself the God[45 i]; the question which will be raised later[a] concerning the truth of this view, is the most important ethnographic problem in the study of the Poseidon-cult. In Troezen[10] he was worshipped as Βασιλεύς and Πολιοῦχος, 'the King,' 'the Holder of the City'; he was the reputed father of the Troezenian Ionic hero Theseus[58 a], and near the city was a sacred spot called τὸ γενέθλιον χωρίον, associated with a legend of the birth of Theseus, and in all probability consecrated to Poseidon[b]. For in the territory of Lerna, near the sea, we find a place of the same name, τὸ γενέσιον χωρίον, with a temple of Poseidon Γενέσιος, the birth-god or the ancestor[60 c], and the title Γενέθλιος occurs also in his cult at Sparta[62 b]. The national importance of the Troezenian worship was great, and much concerns the whole ethnographic question. The city itself was called Posidonia,

[a] Vide infra, pp. 49–52.

[b] Vide infra, p. 18.

according to Strabo and Pausanias[58a] and the famous Amphictyony, whose meeting-place was his temple in Kalaureia, the island off Troezen, and whose members were from Hermione, Epidauros, Aegina, Athens, Prasiai, Nauplia, and the Minyan Orchomenos, was a very early league[a], partly commercial, but mainly religious, from which we may gather much concerning primitive tribal affinities and migrations[58e]. Leaving this point for a while, we may finally trace the Troezenian cult passing over to the colony of Halikarnassos. An inscription from the latter city records that the colonization was carried out from Troezen under the guidance of Poseidon and Apollo, and that a list of priests had been kept from ancient times, who had administered the Poseidon-cult *κατὰ γένος*, probably as actual descendants of the god[91]. In Sparta he was not only *Γενέθλιος*, but *Δωματίτης* also, 'the Builder of the House,' a title which Apollo enjoyed in Aegina[62b]. Elis honoured him, as she honoured Zeus, with the name *Λαοίτας*, a word compounded of two distinct elements, and hard to explain, but containing probably in the first part of it the stem of *λαός*[b], and therefore designating the god of the people[65].

Finally, we have to reckon with Poseidon *Ἑλικώνιος*, the most important of all these titles for ethnography, whose worship held together the Pan-Ionic confederacy, a worship well known to Homer[66b]. The great temple, called the 'Pan-Ionion,' stood near Mykale in the time of Herodotus, but was afterwards removed to a site in Ephesian territory, near Priene. Its priest was always a youthful member of the latter city, but a group of twelve cities held the administration. According to Herodotus these were Miletos, Myus, Priene, Ephesos, Kolophon, Lebedos, Teos, Clazomenai, Phokaia, Samos, Chios, and Erythrai. These were the communities, as he informs us, which specially prided themselves on the

[a] The excavations on the site of the temple have brought Mycenaean pottery to light, and show that the cult goes back to Mycenaean times.

[b] With far less likelihood the word has been connected with *λᾶας*, as if referring to the stone of Cronos; but Greek cult-names are not formed in this fantastic fashion.

Ionic name; yet he is aware that there were marked non-Ionic elements in all of them and that the twelve cities excluded others who had as good a claim as they to be called 'Ionic,' the Smyrnaeans for instance, who however were afterwards included according to Pausanias [87a]. The canon that Herodotus himself selects for adjudging the claim of any city in Asia Minor to belong to the Ionic group is their original Attic origin and their celebration of the Apaturia, which must be the festival of Athena *Φρατρία*. Yet his canon must have been somewhat artificial, for he mentions at once that Ephesos and Kolophon did not keep the latter feast, 'for some reason connected with a homicide,' as he believes, but rather, we may surmise, for some reason connected with race, if we could discover it. Later writers, such as Pausanias, in their ethnographic account of Ionia seem to attribute more importance to the participation in the worship of Poseidon *Ἑλικώνιος* in the Pan-Ionion than to the celebration of the Apaturia. The Phokaeans, originally sprung from Phokis, were admitted to the Panionion after they had been willing to accept kings of the race of the Kodridai [87a]. Pausanias, who tells us this, is unaware of any reason for the admission of the Chians. His views concerning the origin of the Chian population are borrowed from Ion, the Athenian tragic poet, who wrote that the original population were Cretans, Carians, and Abantes, from Euboea; but the kingship passed subsequently to a certain Amphiklos, who came from Histiaia in Euboea, and to his great-grandson Hektor. There is no record then of any distinct Ionic migration to the island, though Amphiklos and Hektor are probably the heroic representatives of the Ionic strain. It is worth adding that Chios, the mythic eponymus of the island, was in Ion's account a son of Poseidon, and that Strabo [a] tells us that the Chians themselves traced back their origin to the Thessalian Pelasgi. It will be seen later on whether the ethnography of the Poseidon-cult can cast any light upon this darkness.

Poseidon played an important part, therefore, in aiding the

[a] p. 621.

confederation of cities and the fusion of clans. But his worship is not associated at any point with the higher mental and artistic life of Hellas. The only morality in which he is interested is the ritualistic morality common to all Greek cults. It is possible that the epithet ἐπόπτης attaching to him at Megalopolis[64 e] might have contained the idea of a moral deity watching the actions of men. For we find ἐπόπτης and ἐπωπητής among the many appellatives of Zeus[a], and it is natural to suppose that these bore an ethical sense in his cult, if they were really cult-epithets. But it is also possible that the Arcadian worship merely preserved an ancient appellative of the sea-god 'who watches from the rock.' A certain morality could always be infused in particular localities into the worship of any Hellenic deity, however crude and primitive the ordinary conception of him might be. Nevertheless, speaking generally, it is true to say that the Poseidon-worship did not come clearly within view of the higher ethical aspects which Greek religion occasionally displays, and which marked the progress of the Hellenic race.

Still less was he concerned with the arts and the higher intellectual life of Greece. Any festival in Hellas, except indeed the conservative Olympian, was inclined to admit music and song among the competitions; and by the time of Polemon at least a festival so exclusively athletic as the Isthmia had come to include a poetical contest, in which even women might take part[55 g]. We might gather, in fact, that already in Pindar's age the Isthmia had admitted musical competitions, as he speaks of the god 'coming from Aigai to the Dorian Isthmus, where joyous companies receive him with the voice of the lute[b].' It is possible also that at Tenos the Posidonia came to be associated with the Dionysia and a tragic performance, though the evidence of the inscription which refers to these festivals is somewhat doubtful[76]. The temple and grove of the god in this island were in great repute, and attracted crowds of worshippers from the neighbouring cities; rights of ἀσυλία were claimed for the temenos and the whole of the island, and the claim was allowed by the

[a] Hesych. *s.v.*

[b] *Nem.* 5. 38.

Phokian community, and afterwards apparently by the Roman senate in the time of Tiberius. It may have been that Poseidon acquired a higher character here than belonged to him in ordinary Greek cult; at least Philochorus attests that he was here worshipped as Ἰατρός, which is unique among his various appellatives, and which might signify that he and his priests, like the priests of Asclepios at Epidauros, were interested in the advance of the medical art. But it is very likely that this is illusory. The island may have been a health-resort, and the title in question may have become attached to the chief deity by a sort of accident.

Broadly speaking, we may say on the evidence that there was no innate force in this worship, as there was in that of Athena, Apollo, Dionysos, tending strongly in the direction of art or science.

Nor again was Poseidon pre-eminent among the Hellenic divinities, either in cult-record or legend, as a god of war. We hear of the title τροπαῖος being attached to him on a particular occasion at the Syrian city Ptolemais, when the forces opposed to Demetrios were destroyed by the sudden inrush of the sea[96]. The Greeks at Artemisium offered sacrifice to Poseidon Soter as thanksgiving for the storm that scattered the Persian fleet, and, according to Herodotus, the appellative remained long in vogue[11]. We find him mentioned also among a crowd of other divinities in the Selinuntian inscription, which contains the thanksgiving of the state for a great victory in the fifth century B.C.[104]. And Aristophanes tells us, in that gay and genial ode already mentioned, that Phormio was dear to Poseidon[3]. But there is nothing in all this that presents Poseidon prominently as god of naval or land warfare. A naval commander might indeed offer sacrifice to him before or after an engagement; only it does not appear that this was a regular ritual. After the battle of Salamis, when the united Greek forces were considering the divine honours that were due, three captured triremes were dedicated, one on the Isthmus, one at Sunium, and one to Ajax in Salamis, Poseidon no doubt securing the other two; and it was upon his Isthmian altar that the votes were placed when they were

trying to decide which state should be awarded the palm of valour[56 b]. But the god of Delphi secured the lion's share of the spoil, and was not easy to satisfy, as he claimed his ancient right to ἀκροθίνια. The statue of twelve cubits high, dedicated in his temple, representing a figure holding a ship's prow, does not appear to have been an image of Poseidon.

With the building of ships or with any advance in the art of naval warfare Poseidon had nothing to do.

In one art and one alone was Poseidon a master, the art of horsemanship and the training of horses. The worship of Poseidon Hippios[4], which alone remains to be considered, is the most important in some ways of all the special cults, and at once brings us to face the ethnographic question. For the cult points to Thessaly and North Greece. The facts bearing on the worship of the horse-god, facts of legend, ritual, cult, must be stated clearly and fully before explanation is attempted or any conclusion can be drawn.

'The Hellenes honour Poseidon Ἵππιος,' says Himerius, 'and sacrifice to him on the Isthmus, representing him as a charioteer[4 d].' We have records of the worship in Thessaly and Illyria, Boeotia, Attica, on the Isthmos, in Corinth and her colony Potidaïa, Argolis, Arcadia, Elis, and Patrai, while we hear of a Poseidon Hippokourios in Sparta, and Ἱππηγέτης in Delos[4]. In Thessaly he was known as Ἴμψιος[30], which is explained by Hesychius as a Thessalian word referring to the yoking of horses. Servius informs us that an 'equestre certamen' in honour of Poseidon was a Thessalian institution[29]; and possibly this may have been connected with the sport practised by Thessalian riders in the Roman amphitheatre of lassoing bulls[a], for a bull-fight of a peculiar kind in honour of the same god is also recorded of Thessaly, a fact of some importance to which I shall afterwards recur[112 d]. Thessalian legends spoke of the horse as the creation of Poseidon; one such is preserved by the author of the *Etymologicum Magnum*, who explains the title Ἵππιος by the story that the god produced in Thessaly Sisyphos (or Skyphios), the first horse, by smiting the rock[24]. Another is given us by Philostratus[b] in

[a] Plin. *N. H.* 8. 45. [b] *Imag.* 2. 14.

his description of Poseidon breaking with his trident an outlet through Tempe for the river Peneus; Thessaly appears in the picture as a woman rising from the ground, and holding a foal that rises with her; the animal had been matured in the earth that had received the procreative moisture flowing from Poseidon as he lay asleep. The different legends and explanations are collected by Servius [a]. The Poseidon-horse is variously named, but the legends point to Thessaly or Boeotia. The Arcadians indeed raised a rival claim, but the Arcadian myth is not really a rival of the North Greek, but has been noted in the chapter on Demeter [b], a derivative. To close the evidence from Thessaly it may be mentioned that the coinage of Orthe in Perrhaibia has for one of its types the fore-part of a horse springing from a rock [c]. From Illyria we have a single point of evidence in the fact of ritual recorded by Servius, that the Illyrians in their yearly sacrifice to Poseidon threw a horse into the sea as an offering to him; and he mentions the custom as illustration of the myth that Rhea presented to Cronos, the devourer of his progeny, a horse in place of the infant Poseidon, as if the animal were in some sense the 'double' of the deity [114 c].

Coming to Boeotia, we find a clear reminiscence of the cult of the horse-god in Haliartos and the adjacent Onchestos, in the vicinity of lake Kopais, a region where traces of an ancient Minyan-Thessalian settlement are rife. Homer knows of the the fair grove of Poseidon at Onchestos; the Homeric hymn to Hermes describes it as 'the holy grove of the loud-roaring holder of the earth'; and these words are an echo of early cult that survived to a late period. Strabo found the temple shorn of its ancient grove; but this was planted anew by the time of Pausanias, who saw the temple and the statue and makes special mention of the grove which Homer praised [40]. The ancient importance of the worship is further shown by Strabo's statement that Onchestos was the gathering-place of an Amphictyonic meeting, we must suppose of the Boeotian

[a] *Georg.* I. 12. [b] Vide vol. 3, pp. 52–55.
[c] Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 257.

states[a]. But more is told us concerning its special aspect by the author of the Homeric hymn to Apollo in a passage that requires careful consideration[40 b]: 'Onchestos, where the young fresh-broken horse, however he may chafe, has respite as he draws the fair chariot; and the charioteer, albeit skilful, leaps to the ground and fares on foot along the way. But the steeds for a while rattle along with the empty car, having shaken off control. But if he brings the chariot within the shady grove of trees they tend the steeds but leave the chariot tilted up, for this from the very first has been counted a holy thing to do. But they pray to King Poseidon, and then God's providence protects the chariot.' The poet is very confused and confusing, and various attempts have been made to explain or emend the passage[b]. It may be that the horses as they approach the sacred grove are supposed to be filled with the spirit of the god, and the driver out of reverence springs to the ground and goes on foot, and the horses are allowed to run wild with chariot. Or if he drives them within the precincts he must unyoke them, perhaps because it was impious for anything to be brought in that was bound[c], or because they are at this moment sacred to the god. One thing is clear. The prayer is proffered to Poseidon Hippios, who is supposed to bring luck in driving and in racing.

Another sign that this cult left its imprint on the neighbourhood may be found in the statement of the scholiast on Homer[40 b] that the god in the form of a horse begat Areion

[a] Strabo speaks vaguely of τὸ Ἀμφικτυονικόν: the context does not make the reference quite clear. There is certainly no allusion to Delphi.

[b] Vide Preller-Robert, p. 593, n. 2. A good criticism of various views of the passage has been given by Mr. Allen in his 'Text of the Homeric Hymns' (*Hell. Journ.* 1897, p. 247). He accepts the emendation ἀγῇσι for ἄγησι, and gives a different interpretation from mine of the first and the last line: he thinks the broken chariot became the property of the god. It is not relevant to my present purpose to discuss the difficulties in detail: I consider the construction ἄγησιν ἐν ἄλσει as possible, for we have many instances in Homer of ἐν after verbs of motion, where subsequent rest is implied. His view of the passage is attractive; in any case the god of the cult is Ἵππιος.

[c] For this ancient religious idea vide Serv. *Aen.* 2. 57: 'Antiquis caeremoniis cautum erat, ne vinctus flaminiam introiret, si introisset solveretur, vinctaque per impluvium effunderentur.'

from the Tilphusian Erinys near the stream Tilphusa, and then gave the wonderful animal to Kopreus the king of Haliartos. The legend, which has been discussed already, may be believed to spring from a genuine source[a]. Finally, the type on the fourth-century coins of Tanagra, which show the fore-part of a springing horse, may be naturally interpreted as a symbol of this deity[b]. In Attica the cult of Poseidon Ἵππιος fastened on Kolonos [48], and Sophocles boasts that it was in its streets that he first invented the bridle for the horse; and the Scholiast on Lykophron[c] preserves a curious story concerning the birth of a Poseidon-horse in that deme. But Sophocles was under the illusion of local patriotism, and we can scarcely doubt but that Kolonos derived its cult from the land whence it obtained its worship of Oedipus and its reminiscences of Areion and Adrastos[d]. Whether the term ἐλάτης, one of the god's appellatives at Athens [45] [h], belongs to him as the charioteer or the divinity of the oar may remain an open question. In the Isthmus we have some trace of the actual cult of Ἵππιος [55] [d]; and Pindar, who associates Poseidon Δαμαῖος with this locality, may have preserved for us a real cult-name of the tamer of horses [56]; the land also was full of legends of Pegasos whom the god produced, according to the Corinthian version, by stamping on the rock with his foot. The bridling of Pegasos is attributed, however, to Athena χαλινῖτις, as we have seen, for the rival cult of the goddess of the arts and crafts was able here to prevail over that of the deity who was not recognized as characteristically a craftsman. The belief that here as elsewhere the cult which we are examining has been brought from the north of Greece appeals more strongly to us when we note the close associations in prehistoric days between Corinth and Thessaly[e].

The type of Poseidon the rider, holding trident and reins, appears on the coins of Potidaia and conveys an allusion to the name of the city and probably to the Corinthian metropolis [19].

[a] Vide supra, Demeter - chapter, pp. 50-62.

[b] Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 295: his other suggestions appear less probable.

[c] l. 766.

[d] Vide Athena, R. 17.

[e] Vide infra, p. 38.

In Argolis, though the title of Ἵππιος has not been preserved by any record or by any inscription hitherto discovered, the existence of the cult is well attested by a curious and significant act of ritual which Pausanias describes[114 b]: near the sea in the locality known as τὸ Γενέθλιον and mentioned above, was a well of fresh water called Diné, which was supposed to spring up from the sea; in ancient times horses 'adorned with bridles' were flung into Diné by the Argives at a regular festival in honour of Poseidon. The ritual, which reminds us of the Illyrian, is especially important, as it is here associated with Poseidon Γενέθλιος; the god of the bridled horse is in some sense their ancestor. The worship, therefore, does not belong to the Doric population of the land, but in all probability to an Ionic stratum, and reasons will soon be adduced for deriving the Ionic Poseidon from Boeotia and the north. At Lindos in Rhodes we find the cult of Ἵππιος[82 e], and it may have travelled from Argolis, for the god was worshipped in the island as Ἀργεῖος; or it may have arrived there direct from North Greece, as among the records of the religion of the island we find traces of a Cadmean settlement[82 b]. The priests at Ialysos claimed to be the descendants of 'the Phoenicians' whom Cadmus left in Rhodes when he landed and established the worship.

Returning to the Peloponnese we find the cult of Poseidon Ἱπποκούριος at Sparta[a]. Its associations are pre-Dorian, and it must be considered as bearing on the question concerning the Minyan occupation of South Laconia. The temple stood near one that was erected to Artemis Αἰγιναία, and not far from the shrine of Artemis Issora, whom Pausanias identifies with the Cretan-Aeginetan Britomartis[b], and in close proximity was the monument to Tainaros, who gave his name to the promontory that was the stronghold of the Minyan settlement. In Arcadia the prints of the cult of Ἵππιος are deeper, and we are able to trace the trail back to Thessaly. The shrine at Mantinea is associated with the names of Agamedes and Trophonios, and near it were the graves of the daughters of Pelias[64 d]. At Methydrion there

[a] Artemis, R. 18.

[b] Vide supra, vol. 2, p. 449, note [b].

was a temple of this special appellation, but Pausanias gives us no legend or any clue by which we could trace its origin[64f]. More light is thrown on the same worship at Pheneos, where a bronze statue of Poseidon Hippios stood on the Acropolis near the temple of Athena Τριτωνία, a name which points to Thessaly or Boeotia[a]. The legend of the dedication to the god betrays at least the foreign origin of the cult; the statue was dedicated by Odysseus, who came to Arcadia in pursuit of the horses he had lost, and who also erected a shrine to Artemis Eurippa on the spot in the territory of Pheneos where he found them. I have suggested in a former volume that this latter goddess may descend from the Pheraean Artemis, whose association with horses is proved[b], and we must bear in mind the significance of the story preserved by Diodorus[c] concerning a Lapith migration to Pheneos[d]. Finally, we have the interesting cult-legends already examined at Thelpusa and Phigaleia, where the god in the form of a horse was supposed to be the wooer of Demeter Erinys or the Black Demeter, and the father of the Arcadian Despoina and the horse Areion. The names Thelpusa, Erinys, Areion carry us back at once to the stream Tilphusa in the territory of Haliartos[e].

In the Altis at Olympia Poseidon Ἵππιος and Hera Ἱππία were worshipped at a common altar[f]. For the presence of Minyans in Elis we have the authority of Herodotus[g]; and Pausanias found in Elean genealogies certain associations with Thessaly[h]; while the strange legend of Salmoneus, the

[a] Vide vol. 1, pp. 267, 269. Athena, R. 16[m].

[b] Vide vol. 2, pp. 450, 475; the same view is taken by Immerwahr, *Kult. u. Myth. Arkadiens*, p. 40.

[c] 4. 70.

[d] The recurrence of the figure of Odysseus in Arcadian myth and cult may also be due to influences from North Greece. The hero was born, according to one version, at Alalkomenai, and the capital of Ithaca, Alkomenai, was derived from the Boeotian city (Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 43; Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Ἀλκομεναί). Why is Odysseus himself transformed into a horse after his death? (Sext. Empir. *Adv. Math.* A. § 264; (Bekker, p. 659).)

[e] Vide vol. 3, pp. 53, 55. Immerwahr, op. cit. p. 113, notes the Boeotian origin of the name Ὄγκειον in the neighbourhood of Thelpusa; cf. Ὀγχηστός and Ἀθηνᾶ Ὄγκα.

[f] Vide Hera, R. 46[b].

[g] 4. 148.

[h] 5. 1, 11.

father of Tyro, forms another connecting link between Elis and Thessaly[a].

Finally, the cult of Hippios at Patrai [67 c] was probably an old inheritance of the Ionic population, as it was in Argolis, and as we may regard the worship of Ἱππηγέτης in Delos, for which the Scholiast on Lycophron vouches [45 n].

The question must now be discussed—for it may have a bearing on the ethnographic problem—why was Poseidon called Ἵππιος? Why were horses sacrificed to him and why do the legends give him occasionally the form of this animal? The horse-sacrifice is a very notable fact in this cult, being a ceremony very rarely found in ordinary Greek ritual[b], though occurring among the Romans, Germans, Slavs, Persians, Vedic Indians, and probably other Aryan stocks, as well as among non-Aryan, such as the ancient Semites and Chinese[c]. Now the significance of the horse in the ritual and legend of different communities may vary considerably. He has been supposed to have been at times associated in Greece with the departed hero, and to have been chosen as a sacrifice to his shade[d]. The evidence is not very strong, but need not

[a] Apollod. 1. 9, 7: the Elean legend of his imitating the thunder with the noise of bronze cauldrons tied to his chariot, and flinging lighted torches to the sky in mockery of the lightning arises merely from a misunderstanding of sympathetic magic: we may compare the Thessalian ritual for procuring rain by shaking a bronze chariot (Müller, *Frag. Hist. Theopompos*, Fr. 85).

[b] Horse-sacrifice to Helios on Taygetos (Paus. 3. 20, 4): quadriga thrown into the sea at Rhodes in honour of Helios the charioteer (Festus *s. v.* October equus: ?a Poseidon-sacrifice appropriated by Helios, or an Oriental rite, vide Ovid, *Fast.* 1. 385, Robertson Smith, *Rel. of Semites*, p. 275); horse offered to the Winds on Taygetus (Festus, p. 181, 'ut eorum flatu cinis eius per fines quam latissime differatur'): ?horse-sacrifice to heroes (Philostr. *Heroik.* 294 vaguely mentions foals among the many victims that might be offered to heroes): Preller-Robert, p. 343, note 5, quote Schol. Aristoph. *Lysistr.* 191, as giving a legend of horse-sacrifice to Ares by the Amazons; but there is no mention of Ares, and the Scholiast's phrase is almost worthless: Aristophanes merely suggests that the women should swear over the members of a white horse. Such oath-taking must have been known in early Greece, as is proved by the story of Tyndareus and the oath which he made the suitors of Helen swear over the τόμια ἵππου (Paus. 3. 20, 9). A white horse was offered at Athens to Toxaris, the Scythian, according to Lucian, *Skyth.* 2.

[c] Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, p. 330; Mannhardt, *Baumkultus*, 515, 411; Frazer, *Pausanias*, vol. 4, p. 198.

[d] Vide vol. 3, p. 60, n. c.

be here discussed; for such a significance is wholly alien to Poseidon who is never regarded as a chthonian or a buried god [a]. Again, it appears from the ample evidence collected by Mannhardt and Frazer that in some countries the horse has been regarded as the embodiment of the corn-spirit; and this aspect of him may serve to explain some of the most obscure points of ritual in the Roman calendar [b]. But, as we have seen, the evidence that can be gathered from Greece is most scanty, and the theory has not been found to give a natural explanation even of the horse-headed Demeter. We may be tempted to believe that the 'grave of the horse' at Sparta, associated with the legend of Tyndareus, was really the grave of the vegetation-horse [c]. But, generally speaking, the Hellenes did not associate this animal with the cereal and agricultural functions of the deities who cherished the life of the earth. Again, Poseidon is less an agricultural divinity than most of the Olympians, and it is purely as a water-god, not as a corn-god, that he comes to take an interest in the growths and works of the field and farm, and to be styled *φυτάλμιος*. It is incredible therefore that the horse, as the embodiment of the corn-spirit, should be attached especially to Poseidon of all deities. A far more natural theory is that which is usually accepted: the horse was attached to Poseidon, the water-god, because in Greek imagination it was the symbol of the rushing water or the arching wave [d]. There is some truth in this, but the statement is only partly true, and does not wholly explain the phenomena of the cult. The horse is not merely a symbol of Poseidon, but at times is identical with him: the god becomes a horse and the father of horses. And his own horse is full of his own spirit, so that what the god can do the horse can do. Poseidon can call

[a] In an article that has been published since this was written by Paul Stengel in *Arch. vergl. Religionsw.* 1905, p. 203, the view is maintained that horse-sacrifice was always 'chthonian'. I do not see how this term describes the sacrifices to Helios or the Winds.

[b] Warde Fowler, op. cit. pp. 241–249.

[c] Vol. 3, p. 61: cf. Mannhardt, *Baumkultus*, p. 411; burial of the horse's head on Shrove Tuesday in Germany.

[d] On a vase in the British Museum, Acheloös is figured with a horse's body: *Hell. Journ.* 1906, p. 17.

forth the stream from the rock by a stroke of his trident; Pegasos produces the fountain on Helikon and at Troezen by the stamping of his foot. We have pure symbolism perhaps in the representation on the coin of Orthe mentioned above, where the horse is seen springing out of the rock just as the underground spring might issue. It seems that in old Teutonic legend the water-spirit in rising from the lake might assume this animal form, and the sacrifice of the horse to the water or to the sea is recorded by Dr. Frazer as a ritual prevalent at one time in Russia and in China. He might then be sacrificed to Poseidon and often associated with him, not for any primitive 'totemistic' cause, but because the primitive fancy detects a resemblance between water and the horse. The old-fashioned mythological theories of symbolism, though usually wrong in their mode of statement, are not always useless. But if we accept one of them here, we are not obliged to resort, like an older generation of mythologists, to the rain-cloud for an explanation of this or any other of Poseidon's functions and forms. The earth is as full of theriomorphic suggestion as the cloudland. Let us say then that the figure of Poseidon Ἵππιος arises from an early fantastic perception common to many races of men. It is more important for the present purpose to observe that the cult is by no means generally diffused throughout the Greek world, and that the Greek imagination did not always or even frequently personify the water in this form. The 'water-bull' is an Aryan conception, and was more in vogue with the Hellenes than was the 'water-horse.' The river-god in bull form is a familiar type on coins; and the bull was the sacrificial victim most usually dedicated to Poseidon[111, 112]. The Illyrians and Sextus Pompeius, when he was parading as the son of Neptune, might throw horses into the sea for the sea-god[114], but Alexander, in choosing the bull for a similar sacrifice on the shores of the Indian Ocean, was following the Homeric and more customary Hellenic ritual. 'They sacrifice black bulls,' says Cornutus, 'to Poseidon on account of their resemblance to the colour of the waves'[112b]. We may believe then that some special influences were at

work from early times to give prominence to the cult of Poseidon Ἵππιος and its peculiar ritual.

These influences are to be looked for in North Greece, and especially in Thessaly, the region towards which the traditions of this cult, wherever it is found, seem nearly always to point, and where its prominence in historical times is sufficiently attested [26–30, 112]. The Poseidon-cult of Thessaly descends from the earliest mythic period that we can call Hellenic. That he was an indigenous deity of the Thessalian-Achaean race we might gather from the Homeric poems and his devotion to the Achaean cause which they reveal. But the leading Achaean heroes are not specially affiliated to him. It was another race than theirs that planted the cult firmly in the soil of Thessaly and bore it with them in their most distant wanderings: the Minyans of the Pagasaean Gulf, a people with whom the record of the beginnings of Greece has certainly to reckon. Their importance was sufficiently recognized by writers on Greek history and religion of the last generation, and that they were in some sense the special votaries and propagators of this worship has been generally admitted. A recent historian [a], indeed, has denied their claim to be regarded as a real people and has banished them contemptuously to cloudland, for reasons to which no practised interpreter of general mythology and tribal legends would assign any weight. On the other hand, the view has been advocated by some archaeologists that Mycenaean and Minyan are practically synonymous terms, that the Minyans were the carriers of Mycenaean civilization, and that Mycenaean finds prove Minyan settlement [b]. This theory goes far beyond the

[a] Beloch, *Griech. Geschichte*, 1, p. 100, regards the Minyans as a fabulous people, because in a genealogy preserved by Pherecydes (Fr. 56) one of their princesses is called Persephone, the daughter of a king whose name may be restored as Minyas; and because the Argo is a 'Lichtschiff' and the voyage a sky-myth. He might be reminded that very real people have fabulous and divine ancestors, and that obsolete theories about sky-myths are frail supports for historical deduction.

[b] Staës, in the *Eph. Arch.* 1895, p. 227, assumes that the Poseidon-worship everywhere proves Minyan occupation and that Minyan = later Mycenaean: Noack in *Ath. Mitth.* 1894, pp. 474–481, asserts that Mycenaean finds and Minyan settlement everywhere overlap and mutually prove each other.

natural deduction from the facts: all that we know is that Orchomenos, the great stronghold of the early Minyan kings, was penetrated through and through with Mycenaean influences. But the light from Mycenae or from Crete was shed over a wide area and many tribes; Mycenaean art and architecture cannot be regarded as the monopoly of a single tribe among the early Hellenic peoples. It is not then the presence of Mycenaean objects, but definite legends of migration, combined with the tradition or survival of Poseidon-cult, that enable us to track the Minyans from point to point. For the god is the central figure in the genealogies of their heroes, Pelias, Neleus, Nestor, Euphemos, and others [a].

In the fourth Pythian ode Pelias is hailed by Jason as the son of Poseidon Πεταῖος and according to Pherecydes the king was holding a festival, open to all comers, in honour of that deity, when Jason came first upon him [23]. The later Thessalians may not have derived their cult wholly from this half-forgotten people; there were other stocks that peopled the land to whom it may have belonged as an ancient heirloom. But the Minyans represent the oldest stratum in which we find it embedded. A Greek cult often cleaves not only to a certain tribe, but also to a certain soil; the later peoples grow up under the shadow of that which their forerunners had planted. How much of the ritual and how many of the cult-names of Poseidon in Thessaly we can trace back to the earliest, that is, to the Minyan, period, it is of course hard to determine. But at least we may affirm that the Minyans cherished and diffused the worship of the horse-god; the ancient ritual at Onchestos, a region deeply permeated with a Minyan tradition, is sufficient attestation. Hence we may explain why the Pylian Nestor of the royal Minyan house is specially praised by Homer for his skill in driving, and why the localities where we have found the Hippios-cult reveal an underlying current of Thessalian or at least North Greek traditions. It is probable that equestrian-

[a] It is curious that Jason, though in theory descended from Poseidon, was never otherwise associated with him. But his legend is much overworked, and full of confusion. Was Jason really a Minyan at all? or does he represent an Ionic strain mingling with Minyan blood?

ship as an art of war was developed on the plains of Thessaly, and the horse became less a symbol of the water-god than of the god of cavalry. The title Ἵππιος may well have borne this higher and more special connotation in the various localities through which we have tracked the cult; at Argos, at least, the sacrifice of the bridled horse points to this. And one curious act of ritual may be traced back to the earliest Thessalian worship. Pliny and Suetonius[a] mention a sport that was popular in the Roman arena, the chase of the wild bull by Thessalian huntsmen, who lassoed it or rode round it till the animal was exhausted, and then springing upon it flung it to the ground. This is also the sport that we find represented on the beautiful gold cups of Vaphio, though the men are on foot. If we assumed that all Mycenaeans were Minyan-Thessalians, we should at once have won direct evidence that the practice described by the two Roman writers was of immemorial antiquity in North Greece. But apart from this rash hypothesis we may hold the latter opinion, and believe that what is represented on the Mycenaean cups as merely a secular and genial sport was a primitive religious institution in the Thessalian-Minyan worship of Poseidon[b]. We have the evidence of Artemidorus that the ταυροκαθάψια, as it was called, was consecrated to the festival of Poseidon at Larissa, the ancient Thessalian city, at Eleusis, where we have fairly clear evidence of a settlement from North Greece, and at Ephesos, a mixed city, where the dominant element was an Ionic population with probably a Minyan strain[112 d]. It is a very probable conjecture of M. Waddington[c], who recognized the original religious character of the ταυροκαθάψια, that the official named the ταυραφέτης, 'the bull-starter,' in an inscription of Karyanda, a Carian city, was associated with a festival of Poseidon in which this peculiar practice of bull-fighting was part of the ritual[90].

The chase of the wild bull by mounted riders in the Thessalian plains was no doubt at first merely a secular

[a] *Nat. Hist.* 8. 45; *Vit. Claud.* 21.

[b] Vide article by M. N. Tod in *Athen. Mittheil.* 1904, p. 50.

[c] Le Bas-Waddington, *Inscr.* Tom. 3. 2, p. 138.

amusement or serious practical occupation. But that it should be taken over into divine worship is quite in accordance with the Hellenic tendency to consecrate all things of secular life. And Poseidon was the natural god to appropriate it: for the bull even more than the horse was his sacrificial animal, as has been noticed above, and was closely associated with him by the Minyan and Ionic peoples. The sacrifice of Nestor on the shore of Pylos was doubtless a Minyan tradition: Hesychius mentions the *ταύρεια* as a festival of Poseidon, possibly one of these festivals of which a bull-fight was an accompaniment. And we learn from Athenaeus the interesting fact that at Ephesos those who bore round the wine in the feast of the god were themselves called bulls [112]. When the ministers of the deity are called by the name of an animal, the affinity between the animal and the god is proved to be most intimate.

This is all that we can gather with probability of the early ritual that we may call Minyan or Thessalian. We have no trace in this region of his vegetative functions or of the consecration of cereal offerings to his worship, which we have found elsewhere. These may belong to the higher aspect of the religion as it was developed under Ionic influences. On the other hand we may suspect that to the primitive Thessalian period a darker ritual of human sacrifice attached; although the only indication is a well-attested legend of the sacrifice of a maiden to Poseidon and the sea-powers, performed by the early immigrants who were sailing to Chios and whom we may regard as Aeolic [111]. The legend of Athamas, a prominent heroic figure of the Minyan people, proves that the savage practice was not unfamiliar to this race [a].

Of the various Greek tribes that poured in from the north to the south of the peninsula and over the islands to the Asia Minor coast, many no doubt may have possessed the cult

[a] It is probable that the fall of Aigeus, who is Poseidon in disguise, was a story derived from a ritual in which the human representative of the deity is flung into the sea: Photius seems to have believed that the scapegoat, the *φαρμακός* or *περίψημα*, was sacrificed to Poseidon in the same way, but he is probably speaking with a vague recollection of piacular ceremonies like the Thargelia, with which Poseidon had nothing to do (vide Apollo, R. 275).

independently. But wherever it is prominent we discover either a Thessalian-Minyan or an Ionic influence, and it is probable that in some places the Minyan and Ionic currents ran together. It remains to analyse the facts more closely than was done in the case of the Hippios-cult.

Starting for the sake of convenience from Thessaly, without assuming any theory concerning lines of migration, we may observe the worship and legends of Delphi. Poseidon had certainly some footing on Parnassos and in the sacred city. If we believed the fictitious poem ascribed by Pausanias to Musaeus[a] we should have to believe that, in common with Ge, he possessed the oracle before the coming of Apollo. Certainly the later Delphic cult gave him a prominent place. The Pythoness invoked him before she took her seat on the tripod. His altar stood in or before Apollo's shrine, and possibly his epithet recorded by Hesychius, Πρόνεως, refers to this worship in the forecourt of the τέμενος. We are told also by the Scholiast on Lykophron that he was called Ἀμοιβεύς at Delphi, a title which is scarcely to be explained by the legend that he gave up his Delphic inheritance to Apollo and received Kalaureia 'in exchange[b].'

And it is quite possible that in early times he was really associated with Gaia at Delphi, the fertilizing water-god being regarded as the natural consort of the earth-goddess; as we find him united with the Tilphossan Erinys in the territory of the Minyan Haliartos and with the Thelpusan Demeter in Arcadia, both being merely disguised forms of Ge[c]. It is also possible that the 'Musaeus'-poem was right in attributing to him oracular functions in the pre-Apolline period at Delphi: the Πύρκων who acted as his prophet may represent the

[a] Vide Apollo, R. 118.

[b] Cf. R. 33 and Apollo, R. 118.

[c] Immerwahr, *Kult. u. Myth. Arkad.*, p. 116, regards the Delphic as identical with the Tilphossan and Thelpusan cults, relying on Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Δελφοί and the assumed etymological identity of the Κρήνη Δελφοῦσσα mentioned there with Τιλφοῦσσα and Θέλπουσα. He is followed by Miss Harrison, *Hell. Journ.* 19, p. 224. The etymological connexion of the two latter names is certain, and backed by the local myths (see vol. 3, p. 52): but the affinity of Δελφοί with them is not so obvious nor is it supported by any cult-legend.

Delphian people, the Πυρκόοι[a]. It is true that our record affords us no other instance of an oracular Poseidon, but we cannot lay stress on that, for any deity in the Pantheon might come to be regarded as a source of divination. And what Aeschylus tells us partly corroborates the tradition of the poem which Pausanias cites as ancient authority. Moreover, there is strong indirect evidence: the inspiration of the Pythoness was partly drawn from the draught of water from the Cassotis spring that possessed a mantic virtue and that flowed underground; but the god whose spirit was supposed to work in this subterranean water must have been originally Poseidon, not Apollo.

As to the origin of this Poseidon-cult at Delphi we may hope to find a clue. We may note that there is no legend pointing to Poseidon's arrival here by sea, no trace of his cult on the shore south of Cirrha. We may suspect then that he arrived from the north, and that the Delphians, who spoke a Doric dialect strongly infused with Aeolic, had in them a Thessalian strain. The suspicion is at least strengthened by a Delphic inscription discovered a few years ago [33], dating from about 400 B. C., and containing the regulations and institutions of the clan called the Labyadai. From one clear phrase it appears that Poseidon was the god who held the phratry together, being worshipped by the name of Φράτριος. The title is nowhere else applied to him, and it suggests that this clan in particular regarded him as its ancestor or founder. We have noted already that it is in Thessaly where Poseidon was most prominent as the divine ancestor: and the inscription contains one curious detail that almost compels us to derive the Labyadai from a Thessalian home; their officials are called ταγοί, a name that nowhere else occurs outside Thessaly[b]. Whether the cult struck root deeply into the Delphic community is uncertain; a striking evidence of its importance would be afforded us if we could

[a] Plut. p. 406 F.

[b] We may observe, too, that the word δάρατα, which occurs in the inscription in the sense of 'sacrificial cakes,' appears from Athenaeus, 114 B, to have been a Thessalian dialect-word.

identify, as Mommsen does [a], the month Ποιτρόπια, 'the month of supplication,' mentioned in that inscription and elsewhere with the Ionic Ποσειδεών and could regard it as consecrated to the god, but the interpretation is uncertain.

A land where the Minyan race left the clearest traces of themselves in legend and cult was Boeotia. Orchomenos, the stronghold that long defied the later Boeotians, was their lordliest seat. The memory of Athamas, the great Minyan king, lingered here and around lake Copais; for the Ἀθαμάντιον πεδίον must be looked for on its eastern shore, north-west of Akraiphiai [b]. He is also associated with the Thessalian town of Halos, and names such as Arne, Triton, Laphystion, belong equally to Boeotia and Thessaly. The legend of the house of Athamas attaches itself more directly to the cult of Zeus, though at Corinth, as we shall see, it reveals its association with Poseidon. Onchestos or Haliartos [40] is the Minyan city where the special Minyan god stands out most prominently in the cult we have examined; and the coins of Haliartos testify to the worship. Its importance for the Minyan Orchomenos is proved by the association of this city with the Poseidon-amphictyony of Kalaureia [41]. An interesting Boeotian legend is the story of Poseidon and the Tilphossan Erinys, which has already been sufficiently discussed, and which belongs to Minyan tradition and locality, for Tilphossa is in the neighbourhood of Haliartos, and Kopreus, who receives Areion the wonderful horse, the offspring of Poseidon's love, is the king of that city [40 b].

In the district of Helikon the Minyans may have come into close contact and even blended with a race that was destined to exercise a more potent influence on the civilization of Greece and Europe than their own. For there is strong evidence, which has not yet been sufficiently estimated, that Boeotia was the land where the Ionic stem took shape and grew. The salient point in the demonstration of this theory is the cult of Poseidon Ἑλικώνιος [2, 39, 66 b, 87] of which the great historical significance has been usually ignored on account of

[a] *Delphika*, p. 277.
[b] Vide *Ath. Mitth.* 19 (1894), p. 405, &c. (Noack).

a false etymology. Most of the ancients and most of the moderns have derived the cult-epithet from Ἑλίκη the Achaean city that was submerged in the fourth century[a]. But the simplest law of adjectival formation shows this at once to be impossible: Ἑλίκη could only produce the ethnic term Ἑλίκαιος, while Ἑλικώνιος must spring directly from Ἑλικών, as Μαραθώνιος from Μαραθών. Homer, who is the first authority for the title, may, for all we know, have actually associated it with the mountain in Boeotia, though he is aware of Helike in Achaea as a centre of Poseidon-cult. We have also the direct testimony of a short Homeric hymn that Poseidon was 'lord of Helicon and the ample city of Aigai,' and this is repeated in a Homeric epigram[2], nor is there the slightest warrant for changing the text so as to destroy this evidence. The worship seems to have faded away from Helikon when we come to the later period of Boeotian history; but the name Ἑλικώνιος remains a direct and indelible proof of what once existed there. We have also certain indirect evidence. Near the summit of the mountain was the Ἵππου κρήνη[39], the fountain of the horse, the mysterious Poseidon-horse Pegasos, who brings forth the water by the stamping of his hoof. We may always look for Poseidon in the region where the legend of Pegasos has taken root, and we actually find an indigenous myth about the god in the neighbouring city of Askre[b]. Now the historic problem presents itself in a very serious form. As Poseidon had been the special god of the Minyans, so he becomes the special god of the Ionic race throughout the Hellenic world. And the common worship that knit together the great cities of Ionia was this cult of Ἑλικώνιος, being equal in value, as we have seen, to the celebration of the Ἀπατούρια as a test of Ionic descent

[a] So Preller-Robert, 2, p. 570, and Welcker, *Griech. Götterlehre*, 1, p. 635 (note 44), without discussion of the historical question. They suggest, as if uneasy about the derivation from Helike, that the word may also or ultimately come from ἕλιξ or ἑλίσσω and allude to the 'curving' waves. Its ultimate derivation is not so important as its primary and immediate derivation from Helicon. We have seen similar evil results of this disregard of etymological laws of adjectival formation in certain theories concerning Λύκειος and Λήναιος.

[b] Paus. 9. 29.

and brotherhood. Besides the great Pan-Ionic shrine there were special temples and altars in some of the cities, such as Miletos and Teos[66b], consecrated to his worship. For political importance, therefore, it ranks next to that of the Delphic Apollo with its Amphictyony of states.

How then can we explain this Helikonian cult and the great rôle that it played in the consolidation of Ionia? Tradition associates it with Helike in Achaea, and there may be some truth in this, in that it no doubt existed at Helike and Ionians from this city may have taken part in the great emigration. But we could not understand how it should have come to pass that an isolated local cult should have imposed itself upon the great cities of the colonial settlement in Asia Minor, unless it belonged to a locality where once the Ionic clans had lived in close vicinity to each other. When we bear in mind the endless diversity, the almost reckless independence of the Greek ritual-calendar, we are inclined to believe that any agreement in the minutiae of ritual, appearing in the calendars of the scattered states of a kindred people, dates from a time when they were still a single and united community.

Thus the statement of Thucydides that all the Ionians celebrated the Anthesteria on the twelfth day of Anthesterion almost impels us to conclude that they had received and to some extent organized this worship somewhere in the old country before the migration across the seas.

By the same line of reasoning we are drawn to the conclusion that the cities of Ionia on the islands and Asia Minor shore clave to the worship of the Helikonian Poseidon as the symbol of their national union, because their ancestors, the aboriginal Ionians, had once lived on the skirts of Helikon, worshipping Poseidon as their tribal deity and calling him after their mountain or the river of the same name. Their dialect, their cults, legends, even their name, passed away from Boeotia, leaving no vestige behind save this one and one or two other clues that connect Ionic Delos with this part of the northern mainland[a]. And as the title Ἑλικώνιος has been

[a] For the question of the Aigeidai vide infra, pp. 34–35. It is not safe on etymological grounds to connect the Theban Iolaus with the Ionic people.

generally misinterpreted, it is natural that modern inquirers, in seeking for the original home of the Ionians, should have ignored the claims of Boeotia[a]. *A priori* it is probable enough that a stock that is proved to have existed in Euboea should have had foothold also in the mainland of Boeotia; and historians, like Professor Bury, who admit the possibility that the Ionians might have reached Attica from Thessaly, might at least regard Boeotia as a half-way house on their route. But the Helikonian cult proves that it was much more than this, that it was long their abiding home, where probably they were welded into a nation. Nor can we find any sure trace of their footsteps further north than this[b].

In the vicinity of Helikon then the Minyan and Ionic stocks must have 'marched' together, even if there was not actual admixture of blood. And henceforth the Minyan element is discernible in many of the later Ionic settlements. We can trace it in Attica, as will soon be shown; at Miletos, with its story of its foundation by Neileus, the Attic-Minyan chief, and with its worship of Poseidon Ἐνιπεύς, who took over the name of the Thessalian river-god, the reputed father of Pelias and Neleus[76]; at Priene, whose oekist was Aipytos the son of Neileus[c]; and at Teos, where the Ionians were

Whether the identity of such names as Erythrai in Boeotia and Erythrai in Ionia points to a real ethnic connexion is doubtful: it may be a coincidence due to similar local features. In Delos we find the month Galaxion, and in Boeotia the cult of Apollo Galaxios, and neither month nor cult elsewhere: vide Apollo-chapter, p. 107, and traces also in Delos of the Boeotian cult of Demeter Achaia, vide supra, vol. 3, p. 71.

[a] Dr. Gruppe in his recent treatise, *Griechische Mythologie u. Religionsgeschichte*, in Iwan von Müller's *Handb. d. klass. Alterth. Wiss.* vol. 5, 2, pp. 71, 74, 272, 744°, strangely derives Mt. Helikon from Ἑλικώνιος and explains Ἑλικώνιος as = the 'ox-god' because of the Homeric ἕλικες βόες. Such etymological methods mean a sad waste of time. He explains the prevalence of the cult in Ionia as due merely to Boeotian emigration. In an article in the *Neues Jahrb. f. d. klass. Alterth.* 1904, p. 612, Fritsche suggests that the Ionians came from Iolkos into Boeotia, and he has the right view about the meaning of Ἑλικώνιος, but he scarcely argues either point.

[b] That Xouthos is the son of Aiolos and comes from Thessaly is not a legend to reckon with. The names Iolkos (Ἰάϝολκος) and Jason have more etymological right to be connected with Ἰάϝονες than 'Iolaos' has; but to identify the Ionians with the Minyans in their Thessalian home is going far beyond the probabilities.

[c] Paus. 7. 2, 10.

blended with the Minyans of Orchomenos[a]. The latter people are specially mentioned by Herodotus[b] in his account of the various stocks that were borne eastward by the wave of Ionic colonization. If then we believe that in the earliest period the two races were close neighbours when the Ionians dwelt round Helikon, and if we accept these legends of later colonization, we shall better understand the development of the Helikonian cult, and the strong tribal force that made it the political keystone of the Ionic confederacy. We might also believe that it was the older Thessalian stock that taught the Ionians in Boeotia the cult of Hippios and perhaps the ritual of the bull-contests which they carried across the sea in honour of the bull-god. Henceforth, in tracing further the propagation of Poseidon's worship we have to take Ionian influences into account even more than Minyan.

'The whole of Boeotia is sacred to Poseidon,' said Aristarchus[39]; but the only remaining cult that claims attention is that at Thebes[42]. 'The bull-god, the earth-shaker, holds the lofty crest of Thebes and guards the city': in these lines Hesiod is probably referring to his worship on the Cadmean rock. The words quoted from the *Septem contra Thebas*[42] suggest, though they do not prove, that the city possessed also the cult of Hippios. There appears only one feature in the Theban worship that claims special attention; the ministration of the god would seem to have been in the hands of a priestess. The evidence is only a single inscription, recording a dedication by 'Theokko the daughter of Hermaios, the priestess, to Poseidon in the gate.' A priest may of course have officiated as well; but possibly the same rule prevailed at Thebes as in Kalaureia, where the chief functionary in his service was a maiden of tender years. Certainly this is a singular exception to the usual rule of Greek ritual that the male deity should be served by the male ministrant. But we must beware of assigning too much importance to one or two isolated examples, so as to conclude, for instance, that the earliest worshippers of Poseidon were living in a condition of gynaecocracy[c]. It is the priest rather

[a] Paus. 7. 3, 6.
[b] 1. 146.
[c] Vide my article in the *Archiv f. vergleich. Relig.-Wissensch.* 1904.

than the priestess that figures in the records and legends concerning the god at Iolcos, Attica, Hermione, Laconia, and Messenia, in other cults that were associated with the Minyan race, and finally in the great Ionic worship of Helikonios. Moreover, Plutarch speaks generally of the 'priests of Poseidon, called *ἱερομνήμονες*[116].' The rule at Troezen may be a late innovation, instituted after the old Amphictyony had disappeared; and it may be explained by the fusion that may have come about in Kalaureia, of Poseidon's cult with Athena's, the young priestess of the latter being made to officiate for the former also. Such an arrangement would point to the decay of cults common enough in the time of Pausanias[a]. Or the consecration of the maiden to the god may point to the ritual of a *ἱερὸς γάμος*, in which the maiden represents the bride[b].

Before leaving the question of the ethnography of the Boeotian cult, we may gather some evidence from the existence and legends of the family of the Aigeidai at Thebes.

The tradition preserved by Ephorus and Pindar recounted the assistance given by this Theban clan to the Herakleidai in their conquest of the Peloponnese[c]. That they do not belong purely to the realm of myth is clear from Herodotus, who speaks of them as a clan still existing at Sparta, and as having erected a shrine to the Erinyes of Laios and Oedipus;

[a] We find a remarkable case at Sparta in the late Imperial period: the priestess of Karneios-Oiketas and Karneios-Dromaieus was also priestess of Poseidon, Heracles, Kore, and Temenios (Apollo, R. 27[a]): but the fact is hardly likely to be pressed into the service of any theory concerning primitive gynaecocracy: this lady-pluralist in the decadent days of Sparta was probably the heiress of priestly families whose male members had died off.

[b] Cf. the *κοραγωγός* of Heracles, *C. I. A.* 2, 603; the marriage of Dionysos to the wife of the king archon at Athens, vide vol. 5, Dionysos, R. 34[c]: the maiden consecrated to the hero of Temesa, Paus. 6. 6, 8: the dedication of maidens as brides to the divinity is found in the lowest religions and survives in the highest, e. g. in Christian Monasticism. Many of the Mexican human sacrifices appear to have been *ἱεροὶ γάμοι* in which the women were united through death to the deity: vide Sahagun, transl. by Jourdanet et Simeon, pp. 147–8.

[c] Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 5. 75; *Isth.* 7. 15: the tradition is criticized by O. Müller, *Orchomenos*, p. 315, who recognizes some basis of fact in it, though he would place the Aigeidai at Amyklai before the Dorian invasion.

and in the context, which is to some extent mutilated, he seems to speak of the same worship maintained by their descendants at Thera[a]. We need not then regard Pindar's statement that he himself was of this stock—if this is really his meaning in a doubtful passage—as wholly incredible. The poet also associates them with the Karneia, but he regards this evidently not as the original gentile cult of the clan in Thebes, but as a later acquisition in Laconia. It is merely their name that is of importance for the present question; for it certainly signifies 'the sons of Aigeus,' and 'Aigeus,' wherever we find it, is a surname of Poseidon, and belongs to Ionic legend and cult. The only great tribes that worshipped Poseidon as their ancestor were the Ionians and Minyans, as will more clearly appear at the close of this review of the facts. It is, therefore, a legitimate hypothesis that the Aigeidai were an Ionic clan, surviving at Thebes as a remnant of a large aboriginal settlement of Ionians in Boeotia, or having migrated there from the Ionic Aigai of Euboea, a city famous for its Poseidon-cult in Homer's time. It may have been through the Aigeidai, or through some unknown Minyan influence at Thebes, that the family of Cadmus was drawn into the legendary circle of the Minyan king Athamas who marries Ino. And, as we have seen, the story of Dionysos and his dealings with the Minyan women is an exact parallel to the story of the daughters of Kadmos. Finally, we may thus explain the 'Cadmean' Poseidon, who appears in Thera and Rhodes, attracting to himself a legend of Cadmean settlement [77, 82b].

As regards the Poseidon-cults in Euboea [43] they are best explained as Ionian, since both legend and dialect attest the strong infusion of Ionic population in the island; and Aigai was probably the city that gave to Poseidon his Ionic appellative Aegeus.

Following now the track from Boeotia and Euboea southwards, we come upon an interesting worship of Poseidon, 'the Father' at Eleusis [49], who shared a shrine there with Artemis *Προπυλαία*. He is therefore mentioned next to her in the fifth-century ritual-inscription discovered at Eleusis, which pre-

[a] 4. 149.

scribes the offering of a ram to him and a goat to the goddess[a]. The meaning of this Eleusinian title is an important question, as it is unique among such appellatives, being not even applied to Zeus as a term of cult. It is suggested by Rubensohn[b] that Poseidon is called 'the father' at Eleusis because he was there regarded as the father of Artemis, who therefore shares his temple; and he thinks that Arcadian influences may have implanted this myth at Eleusis. But in Arcadia, where Poseidon's associations with Demeter were most intimate, he was believed to be the father of Despoina, and Despoina is clearly Persephone, not Artemis; we hear, indeed, that Aeschylus spoke of Artemis as the daughter of Demeter, but it by no means follows that he considered Poseidon to be her father; nor is there anywhere any other record of this paternity. If then the Eleusinian title is drawn from some local myth that was current concerning the parentage of any Eleusinian divinity, I would interpret it as expressing the belief, perhaps derived from Arcadia, that the god was the father of Persephone. But the analogy of such titles as Πάτριος, Πατρῷος, Γενέτωρ, makes strongly for interpreting the Eleusinian cult-title in question as one of these ancestral patronymics, Poseidon being worshipped there as Πατήρ because he was the ancestor of one of the Eleusinian clans, the famous Eumolpidai. The myth that Eumolpos was his son, accepted by later writers, can be traced to Euripides as the earliest authority for it. From the fragments preserved of his tragedy *Erechtheus*, and from a chapter in Apollodorus[c], who probably draws the whole account from the poet, we gather the outlines of the myth: Eumolpos was born from the Attic princess Chione, the beloved of Poseidon: his mother, fearing her father's anger, throws the babe into the sea, but he is miraculously preserved by the god, is nurtured in Aethiopia, and journeys afterwards

[a] Vide Demeter, R. 176.

[b] *Die Mysterien-Heiligtümer in Eleusis und Samothrake*, Anm. 35; Bloch, *Der Kult und Mysterien von Eleusis* (Hamburg, 1896), accepts the theory, regarding Poseidon as the underworld god at Eleusis and the father of Persephone-Artemis.

[c] 3. 15, 4; Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Αἰθίοψ.

to Thrace, whence he leads a band of Thracians to aid the Eleusinians against Athens. Isocrates[a] accepts Eumolpos' association with Poseidon and makes him claim Attica in the name of the god. His paternity and his championship of the religion of Poseidon are leading motives in the tragedy of Euripides, as the fragment quoted in the chapter on Athena strikingly proves[b]. Now it is hard to believe that all this was a fiction of Euripides. As the Eumolpidai had been so closely blended for so many centuries with the worship of Demeter, and Poseidon after all does not belong to the inner circle of the great mysteries, it seems unlikely that Euripides, usually a learned and fairly careful mythologist, should have gone out of his way to attach them to Poseidon, unless there was a family legend at Eleusis that compelled him. His tragedy, then, may be taken to reveal the sense which he attached to the Eleusinian Poseidon Πατήρ; and we have the right to suppose that he gives us the Eleusinian interpretation. Moreover, the Eleusinian vase of Hieron, an older authority than Euripides, strongly confirms the authenticity of the poet's version[c]. The 'Thracian' migration conveys nothing more than the impression of a vague remembrance that the Eumolpidai came from North Greece, the region to which the magnet of Poseidon-cult appears always to point[d]. It is conceivable that they belong to a southward stream of Minyan migration. The story of the mother throwing the sacred infant into the sea recalls the Minyan story of Ino and Melikertes, that probably arose from a cult-practice. The Eleusinian Kerkyon, the son of Poseidon, is associated

[a] *Panegyr.* 193.

[b] Vide Athena, R. 17[a 9].

[c] Vide vol. 3, Pl. XIII.

[d] Hiller von Gärtringen, *De fabulis Graecorum ad Thraciam pertinentibus*, denies the 'Thracian' or foreign origin of the Eumolpidai, and regards them as aboriginal Eleusinian, merely because the author of the Homeric hymn to Demeter appears to rank Eumolpos among the ordinary Eleusinian heroes. But the argument from the silence of the hymn-writer is very unsatisfactory. Hiller von Gärtringen supposes that the Euripidean version has been suggested by Orphic falsification of genealogies. But what interest had the 'Orphic' propagandists in the matter, unless the Eumolpidai were specially connected with Dionysos, which we do not find? And what 'Orphic' impulse would lead Euripides to invent their affinity with Poseidon?

in legend with the Boeotian Trophonios[a]. His daughter Alope is the bride of Poseidon, and through him the mother of Hippothoon, the eponymous hero of the Attic tribe, who was twice exposed in his infancy and was twice saved by the fostering care of a mare. The legend smacks of the cult of Hippios, and the name Alope was also a local name, according to Stephanus, of Thessalian Phthiotis. Again our eyes are drawn to Thessaly; and the Eleusinian Artemis, 'Before the Gate,' worshipped with Poseidon the Ancestor, may be a derivative from Artemis-Hekate of Pherae. These legends then and indications of tribal movements and affinities may suffice to explain the cult of Poseidon Πατήρ, especially when we bear in mind the tendency that seems peculiar to Ionic and Minyan communities to regard Poseidon as the ancestor or clan-god.

As regards the ethnography of the Athenian and other Attic cults of Poseidon it is convenient to reserve their consideration till the close of this chapter.

The Isthmus of Corinth is full of associations with the god[55]. And here again the prevailing trend of the oldest Corinthian and Isthmian legend leads us back to North Greece and the Minyai. Thucydides recognizes the original Aeolic character of Corinth[b], and its old name 'Ephyre' appears to have been a Thessalian place-name[c]. Poseidon is connected with the family of Sisyphos and is the father of the great Bellerophon, whose horse Pegasos was as much at home on the soil of Corinth as on Helikon or Troezen[d]. The Corinthian stories of Ino, Jason, Medea, and Argo have come from Minyan settlements in the north. And the grave of Neleus the Minyan, the brother of Pelias, was believed to exist, but was guarded as a mystery, at Corinth[e].

Or the supremacy of Poseidon in the Isthmus may have owed much to Ionic influence. The name of Theseus was closely interwoven with the legends of the institution of the

[a] Schol. Aristoph. *Nub.* 508, quoting from Charax: Müller, *Kleine Schrift*, 2, p. 254, notes that Kerkyon occurs in Arcadian genealogies also.

[b] 4. 42.

[c] Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἐφύρη.

[d] Paus. 2. 31, 12.

[e] Ib. 1. 2, 2.

Isthmia; and what is weightier than legend is the fact recorded by Hellanicus and Andron of Halikarnassos, that the Corinthians awarded the Athenians προεδρία at the spectacle[55e]. On either theory we may derive the Isthmian cult in general from North Greece, as we have derived the special Corinthian cult of 'Hippios' at Corinth. Before leaving the Isthmos we may note that the festival of the Isthmia, which Poseidon came to appropriate, was not originally associated with him; but with some buried daemon of vegetation, Palaimon or Sinis[a]. There are funereal legends surrounding the festival, and it was connected with a nightly mystery in honour of Palaimon-Melikertes.

The next stronghold of Poseidon-worship that we come upon is Troezen with the adjacent island of Kalaureia[58]. The Minyan element in the Amphictyony was represented mainly by Orchomenos, perhaps also by the city of Prasiai on the Laconian coast, as we have evidence of Minyan settlements not far from this locality. The presence of Aegina in the league is not easy to account for on religious or ethnological reasons. Though the mythic and religious associations of Aegina connect it with Thessaly and the original seat of the Hellenes, we have no hint of Minyan or Ionian settlement or of any Poseidon-worship in the island, unless the legend in Plutarch that Poseidon retired from the land in favour of Zeus can be regarded as an indication of early cult[53]. The Aeginetans may have been drawn into the League of Kalaureia for commercial reasons and by the strong attraction which the contiguity of a powerful cult would always exercise. The other members save Athens belong to Argolis, and in this territory, as has been generally recognized, we have ample evidence of an early Ionic settlement. The dialect of Argolis

[a] Palaimon, belonging through Ino to the Minyan - Athamantid cycle, takes on a maritime character which was probably not original; his leap into the sea belongs to vegetation-ritual, and his burial and tomb point to the deity of vegetation. Sinis is more than an ordinary robber: the story of his hanging his victims on pine-trees may be a vestige of a primitive arboreal ritual: his tree is specially the pine, as it is also of Adonis, Pentheus and other tree-divinities; and the pine became the crown of the Isthmian games.

before the Dorian conquest was, according to Pausanias[a], akin to that of Attica. The Apaturia of Troezen, associated by legend with Athena, Aithra, and Poseidon, the father of the Troezenian Theseus, is essentially an Ionic festival. Strabo speaks of Ionians joining in the settlement of Hermione[b]: Iasos the Homeric epithet attached to Argos and the name of a king whose daughter was married to the Minyan Neleus, the name Αἰγιάλεια originally designating the Argolid[c] as well as the Ionian land of the Peloponnesian Achaea, are probably reminiscences of an Ionic stock blended here perhaps as elsewhere with a Minyan; and in the neighbourhood of Troezen, as of Argos itself, Poseidon was, as we have seen, worshipped as the ancestor not only of Theseus but of the people whom the hero represents, and whom he leads to Attica; the mythic hero Anthes, who is much connected with Troezenian genealogies, is also a son of Poseidon[d]. To return northward for a moment, we find Geraistos among the Ionic settlements in Euboea devoted to Poseidon-cult, giving to the god the epithet Γεραίστιος and instituting the festival called Γεραίστια in his honour[44]. It is significant then that we hear of Γεραίστιος as the name of a Troezenian month, and of Γεραίστια[e] as a Troezenian clan or family-name[58e]. In spite of the Dorism which completely transformed the dialect of Troezen and gave its religion such names as Apollo Thearios and Athena Πολιᾶτις, the inhabitants still, in later days, hailed Poseidon as their king and sacrificed to him as the source of their material existence[58c,d]; while Hermione, whose priest of Poseidon was honoured as 'the father of the city' in later times, worshipped him with Demeter and with Artemis Iphigeneia whose legend carries us back to the Euripos[59].

In Laconia, especially on the coast, east and west of the promontory formed by Taygetos, the vestiges of Minyan settlement are clearly to be traced[f], and cult-legends and

[a] 2. 37, 3. Note also the many legends bearing on the friendship of Argolis and Attica in prehistoric times.

[b] p. 374.

[c] Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Ἄργος.

[d] Paus. 2. 30, 8.

[e] *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1886, p. 141.

[f] Wide, *Lakonische Kulte*, pp. 40–43, maintains rightly the Minyan character of Laconian Poseidon-cult, though I do

place-names associate this territory with Corinth, Aegina, Euboea, and Boeotia. The significance of the settlement of the Aigeidai and of the cult of the horse-god has already been estimated. We have first to consider the worship of Poseidon at Tainaron. Though recognized by the later Spartan state, and honoured with a shrine by the gate of the city on the road leading to Tainaron [62b], it was maintained with special devotion by the Helots [62e], a sufficient proof that it belonged to the pre-Dorian period. And the legends that collected round Tainaron point to foreign, never to autochthonous, settlement. We have one tradition of Cretan, but many of Minyan occupation. Pindar [a], our earliest authority for these, brings one of his Argonauts, Euphemos, the son of Poseidon, from this spot, and appears to have believed that his descendants were afterwards settled in Thera and colonized Cyrene. Herodotus also, whose version of the colonization of Cyrene agrees in the main with Pindar's, is aware of the tradition that associated the Minyans with Thera and Tainaron. Accepting this, we may believe that it was this people, mingled perhaps with other Boeotian emigrants, who brought with them to this part of Laconia certain place-names that point back to Boeotia or Thessaly; such as the Ἀχίλλειος λιμήν under Tainaron itself, Therapnai, Leuktron which Strabo derives from the Boeotian Leuktra, Thalamai where apparently the inhabitants were still called 'Boeotians' in his day [b], Arna which Tsountas rightly regards as an ancient name and which recalls the Thessalian and Boeotian city [c]. They also brought with them the Minyan-Boeotian cult of Ino, which we have traced from Orchomenos to Corinth and which confronts us again in an interesting form on the Laconian shores. On the east coast near Epidauros Limera she was believed to reside at the

not agree with many points in his elucidation. Tsountas, *Eph. Arch.* 1889, collects traces of Minyan-Boeotian settlement about Taygetos and along the coast of the Messenian Gulf: he also considers the Mycenaean finds at Vaphio, Therapnai, and the bee-hive tomb on Taygetos, six hours south-west of Sparta, as evidence of Minyan settlement; but, as has been stated above, it is hazardous to take Mycenaean art as specially characteristic of the Minyan race.

[a] *Pyth.* 4. 173.

[b] Paus. 3. 25, 4; Strabo, p. 360.

[c] *Eph. Arch.* 1889, p. 134.

bottom of a small lake, into which a sacrifice of cakes was thrown every year[a]. Again on the east coast at Thalamai near Oitylos we find her worship; and here she was evidently recognized as an earth-goddess with a dream-oracle attached to her[b]. It has been supposed that the Minyans were devotees of the cult of souls and the chthonian powers, and the worship of Ino and the legend of Phrixos, whose ghost troubled Pelias and was only pacified by the Argonautic expedition, may be taken as some evidence of this. But this strain in their religious belief nowhere appears in their worship of Poseidon. It is true that Tainaron is called by Pindar the 'mouth of Hades'[62e], because of the cave near the top through which Heracles was supposed to have dragged Cerberus from Tartarus. It appears to have been popularly called the ψυχοπομπεῖον, the 'place for the descent of souls'; though Pausanias is naïvely sceptical about it, and declares that there was no subterranean passage leading down from the end of the cave. Poseidon might at one time have been worshipped in it; it is a curious coincidence that at Thera also, which legend associates so closely with Tainaron, Poseidon's temple was connected with a cave-grotto[c]. Yet we need not therefore regard him as a chthonian god as Wide does[d], for all the Hellenic divinities may have passed through a period of cave-worship, as we have record that Apollo did. But in Strabo's days the cave on Tainaron was certainly not Poseidon's shrine, nor are we quite sure that it ever was.

As the blending of Minyans and Ionians is frequently attested in the legends of other localities, so it is conceivable that there was a slight Ionic strain in the inhabitants of the South Laconian coast[e]. We find a noteworthy worship of the god at Aigiai near Gythion[62g], where there was a lake full of sacred fish; the name recalls the famous Ionic centre of Poseidon-cult in Euboea; and yet another reminiscence of Euboea is preserved by the name of the Laconian month

[a] Paus. 3. 23, 8.
[b] Paus. 3. 26, 1.
[c] Prokesch in Franz. *Elem. Epigr.* p. 54.
[d] Op. cit., p. 49.
[e] The possibility of this was suggested in connexion with the question about the Aigeidai.

Γεραίστιος, and perhaps by the legend which makes Tainaros a brother of Geraistos[62h]. In a land then so full of Minyan or possibly Minyan-Ionic association, we are not surprised to find the cult of Poseidon, 'the Builder of the House'[62b], near the heroon of Alkon whose family is associated in legend with the Neleids of Pylos; nor that of Poseidon the 'Birth-god' or 'Ancestor'[62b]; for he was the ancestor of the Minyan chiefs, probably of the Aigeidai, and a clan that traced their descent from him may have preserved certain sacred privileges down to the latter days of Spartan history; since late Spartan inscriptions record the names of certain priests who boast to be 'descendants of Poseidon'[62b]. This survey of the Laconian cult may close with a question: who were the Βόαγροι, whom Hesychius[a] mentions among the Laconians and designates by the strange name κατράγοντες? May we take this citation of the lexicographer as testimony that the Minyans brought into Laconia their time-honoured sport of the bull-hunt, and here as elsewhere consecrated it to their tribal god?

The legendary settlement of the Minyans at Pylos, associated with the name of Nestor, the son of Neleus the brother of Pelias, may have belonged to the same stream of migration as that which we have been tracking on the Laconian coast. Homer speaks of Nestor's early associations with Thessaly and the Lapiths, and his devotion to horses and the worship of Poseidon, but Pherecydes is our earliest authority for the genealogy of the Pylians and for their migration from Iolkos[63]. The cult seems to have vanished from the soil of Messene at an early period, leaving no trace of itself save the legend: at least we have no record of any Messenian worship of Poseidon in historic times; and it is noticeable that he is not among the deities mentioned by Pausanias[b] as invoked on the occasion of the restoration of Messene. It seems that in Messenia the pre-Dorian stocks were less able to hold their own than in Laconia and Argolis. The cult was extinguished,

[a] *s. v.* κατράγοντες, 'the throwers down.'
[b] 4. 27.

and the Dorians, being strangers to Poseidon, never re-established it.

In Arcadia, on the other hand, the worship was widely diffused and flourished till the latter days of paganism[64]. Yet it was evidently not aboriginal, and, as Immerwahr[a] has pointed out, the king Aipytos, the representative of the ancient Arcadian Hermes-votaries, appears in the legend of Mantinea as hostile to its introduction. The threads of legendary and cult-evidence that lead us back from Arcadia to North Greece, Boeotia, and Thessaly are many, and having been noted in the account of the Arcadian horse-god need not be recapitulated. The most remarkable parallelism which the study of the various local myths of Greece affords is that which strikes us in comparing the legend of Demeter Erinys at Thelpusa with that of the Tilphossion Erinys in Boeotia and their relations to Poseidon. We gather that at Mantinea also the god entered into close cult-associations with the earth-goddess Demeter: and as the serpent was sometimes regarded in Arcadia as the symbol of Demeter, we may interpret the dragon which is seen preceding the figure of Poseidon on one of the coins of Mantinea as alluding to their union[64d]. It is significant then that at Mantinea one of the tribes was called after Poseidon, and that near the temple were shown the graves of the daughters of the Minyan Pelias. The explicit record of Minyan migration that we find in Laconian tradition is lacking in Arcadian; but the presumptive evidence is strong.

For Elis[65] the evidence is more direct; the testimony of Herodotus is corroborated by legends, place-names, and cult. These have been briefly noticed in connexion with the cult of Ἵππιος: and it only remains to be added that near Samikon was the ποταμὸς Μυννήϊος mentioned in the *Iliad*[b], and in the same locality we are able to trace from Pausanias' narrative vestiges of Poseidon-worship[c]; while from Strabo we gather

[a] Op. cit., p. 85: yet the name Aipytos appears in one genealogy as that of the son of Neileus and founder of Priene (Paus. 7. 2, 10), and therefore of a hero of the Poseidon-cycle: so doubtful is the argument from genealogies alone.

[b] Paus. 5. 6. 2. [c] Id. 6. 25, 6.

more explicit evidence of the cult of Poseidon Samios in this district, his temple being the common possession of the Triphylian community[65]. We may assign then to the Minyan stock not only the worship of the horse-god in Elis, but also that of Poseidon Λαοίτας, the 'God of the People'; for no people had so good a right as the Minyans to hail him by this name.

As regards his worship in Achaea[66] enough has been said already to prove that it belongs to the older stratum of Ionic population, from whom the ancient name of the land Αἰγιαλός is probably derived[a]. Helike[66a,b] was its most famous centre in Homeric times. Whether the Aigai, twice mentioned by Homer and once in the same context with Helike, is the Achaean city, where we have later proofs of the cult, or the Euboean, is a doubtful question. The later Achaeans coming in from the north preserved the ancient worship, but probably assigned it a position of less prominence in the national religion. At least Poseidon does not appear among the leading divinities of the Achaean league, who are Zeus, Athena, and Demeter Παναχαιά.

In Corcyra[38], and in the adjacent islands, and on the north-western coast of Greece the worship was certainly not prominent in spite of the early influence of Corinth in these parts: the records are very scanty, and we cannot trace any paramount tribal influence in this area of Poseidon-cult: the Odysseus-myth in the region has little or no bearing upon it[b].

The geographical survey of the Poseidon-cults in the Aegean presents but few points of interest, and most of these have already been noted. In this area the Ionic element is obviously predominant; but the worship does not seem to have attained pre-eminence over others anywhere but at Tenos[76]. When we find him worshipped by a Dorian population on any of the islands, we can discover no more evidence here than in the Peloponnese that it was an original Dorian heritage. The

[a] *Il.* 2. 575; Paus. 7. 1, 1.

[b] So far as the Odysseus-myth touches on the cult of Poseidon it concerns Arcadia rather than Ithaka, vide p. 19, and E. Meyer, *Hermes*, 30, p. 241, *Der Ursprung des Odysseus-Mythos*.

Rhodian worship[82] may be traced back to Ionic Argolis, as has been suggested.

As regards Minyan influence in this region we may assume it for Thera[77] at least, and possibly for Lesbos[67], where we find interesting though late evidence of the cult. The 'Minyan question' has arisen in Crete, and may arise again, now that our minds are full of Minos and the bull-god: but it does not concern a discussion that deals primarily with the evidence of cult; for it is a notable fact that in the catalogue of Cretan cults which are fairly well known to us through inscriptions the name of Poseidon rarely appears and never with prominence[84]. If he was ever a high god of Crete, he may have been robbed of his prestige, here as in Messenia, by an invading Dorian stock.

The ethnographical inquiry concerning the cult in the great cities of the Asia Minor coast has already been dealt with, perhaps sufficiently for the present purpose. It is pre-eminently an Ionic cult with Minyan influences discernible here and there. The Dorian worship at Halikarnassos, where the priesthood of Poseidon was very powerful, is no exception to this rule, for it was obviously derived from pre-Dorian Troezen[91].

To track the cult further across the Mediterranean to Sicily and the Western Hellas is not likely to yield any very certain ethnographic results. For the Hellenic colonization in this region happened mainly at a time, when most Greek stocks were likely to have acquired, if they did not originally possess, some form of Poseidon-worship. Yet the old racial instincts may have asserted themselves even here. That he was apparently the city-god of Tarentum[109] may be due to the influence of the Spartan Parthenii, sprung from the Helot stock[a], who may have also brought with them from Tainaron the story of the man who landed on the back of a dolphin[b]. Finally, Troezenian settlement, bringing with it

[a] Vide *Monuments*, p. 59; Arthur Evans, *Horsemen of Tarentum*, p. 67 (by a slip he speaks of 'Tainaristai' at Tarentum; Hesychius, *s. v.* Ταιναρίας, cites them of Laconia only: vide R. 62[e]).

[b] Areion at Tainaron, Taras at Tarentum, cf. Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Ταίναρος (he calls Kalabros the brother of Geraistos).

the leading tribal cult, may account for the name of Poseidonia or Paestum [a], and for the coin-type of the bull, the sacred animal of Poseidon, used by Sybaris and its daughter-city Poseidonia [107, 108].

The evidence from the rest of Greece being now reviewed, it remains to consider the question of the Poseidon-cult in Attica [45], which is of the greatest interest for Greek ethnography, and which has been purposely kept back for the close of this chapter.

The evidence is perplexing at first sight, and needs very careful consideration, but the scientific interpretation of it can lead to solid results; though it is too much to hope that any one writer's solution can command universal assent. The conclusion to which the fullest examination of the facts appears to me to lead may be stated thus: in the oldest period of Attic religious history, of which we can glean any certain knowledge, Athena and Zeus were the chief deities of the population round the rock of the Acropolis, who called the earliest settlement 'Athenai' after her: one of these stocks cherished the ancestral cult of Erechtheus, which was in the earliest period embedded in the Athena-cult; a later migration of Ionians, not later than the Mycenaean period, associated with the names of Aigeus and Theseus, won settlements in the Tetrapolis and around Athens, possibly at different times, and brought in Poseidon's cult, which struggled in vain for supremacy and was reconciled finally with the older Erechtheid-cult by the fiction of an adoption which blends Erechtheus with the new deity: finally, a small Minyan migration may have arrived later with the result of strengthening the hold of Poseidon upon the city and vicinity.

This view, which implies the independence of Erechtheus, and his priority as well as the priority of Athena to Poseidon, is for the most part no new one [b], but is nevertheless opposed

[a] This theory rests on the fact that there were Troezenian settlers at Sybaris, who were afterwards expelled (Arist. *Pol.* 5. 3), and who may have been transplanted by the Sybarites to Poseidonia, a city that may have borrowed its name from the earlier name of Troezen [58b]. The evidence from the bull is of course insecure; he is a sacred animal in many cults.

[b] Welcker, *Griech. Götterl.* I. 637, has expressed a similar opinion: so also

to that which is current in recent English literature[a]. We find it now maintained that Erechtheus was originally and always Poseidon: that Poseidon-Erechtheus was in the land and on the Acropolis before Athena, that he was conquered by her and her worshippers, and, losing his maritime character, gradually settled down to the functions of an agricultural hero-ancestor. A few objections to this theory have already been mentioned in an earlier part of this work[b]. But it demands a more searching investigation, for the ethnographic difficulties which it involves are very serious, and the champions of the theory have hitherto evaded them.

When we press the hypothesis to a few of its logical results, the *a priori* improbabilities tell heavily against it. Who are these pre-Athenian worshippers of Poseidon-Erechtheus? Professor Bury wishes to call them the Kekropidai; but this does not throw any light on the ethnographic problem. And the Kekropidai, if legend is of any value in such matters, are associated only with the cult of Zeus Hypatos and with Athena[c], never with Poseidon. Moreover, Herodotus regards the Kekropidai as earlier than the Erechtheidae, the worshippers of Erechtheus. But waiving any attempt to find a precise ethnic name for these votaries of Poseidon-Erechtheus, let us regard them for the moment either as the aborigines of Attica or one of the earliest Greek stocks that settled in the land. Who, then, were the conquering and dominant people who brought in Athena and gave to the city the name that lives?

The only great migration into Attica, of which we have trustworthy record in legend and cult, is that of the Ionians, who found there either an aboriginal or still earlier Hellenic stock. But the specially tribal deities of the Ionians are

A. Mommsen, *Heortologie*, p. 13; cf. his *Feste d. Stadt Athen*, p. 157, 3: Preller-Robert, p. 203, n. 2, tentatively put forward the opposite. Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.* 2, p. 73, regards Erechtheus-Poseidon as a later fusion of cult, and Erechtheus as the earlier figure: Hiller von Gärtringen in his treatise, *De fabulis ad Thraciam pertinentibus*, identifies Poseidon with Erechtheus; so also Gruppe, *Griech. Mythol.* 5. 2, 25; but none of these writers argue the question.

[a] Vide Miss Harrison, *Myths and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, p. lix: Professor Bury in his *History of Greece* has adopted her theory apparently without criticism.

[b] Vol. 1, p. 271 note[a].

[c] Paus. 1. 26, 5; 1. 27, 1; 8. 2, 3.

Poseidon and Apollo, nor were they, of all people, likely to have brought in and established an Athena-cult on the ruins of Poseidon's. It is still more idle to raise the question about the Minyans, the devotees of the sea-god, of whom a small stream may have filtered into Attica. Hitherto, whenever we have found a powerful Poseidon-cult, we have been able to discover an Ionic or the vestiges of a Minyan population. If Poseidon-Erechtheus were the aboriginal god of Attica, we might draw the conclusion that the earliest inhabitants were Ionians or Minyans, who were supplanted or overrun by the unrecorded immigration of an unnamed people who imposed Athena upon them. But to suppose this is to turn the whole of Attic tradition upside down.

Now the only evidence for the great antiquity of Poseidon in Attica is this mysterious Poseidon-Erechtheus, for the name and legend of Erechtheus is certainly one of the oldest facts in the mythology of Attica. We must consider therefore first what is the authority for the title, and then its probable meaning. Erechtheus is first mentioned in the second book of the *Iliad*, and then only as a buried hero honoured by the Athenians with annual sacrifices in the temple of Athena, though there is some doubt about the interpretation of the text: and the poet obviously is not aware of any association of him with Poseidon. The earliest authority [a] for this is a fifth-century Attic inscription [45 i], a dedication to Poseidon-Erechtheus, and this was evidently by that time recognized as an official title: though sometimes the names are still kept distinct, as in the decree of the Erechtheid tribe in the fourth century B. C. concerning sacrifices 'to Poseidon and Erechtheus [45 i].'

Now when we find a double name, such as this with which we are dealing, the first part of which designates a well-known god, the second a divine or semi-divine being usually distinct from him, two explanations are always *a priori* possible: the latter name was either originally an epithet of the god, then

[a] The statement in Pollux that the four Attic tribes were 'renamed in the time of Erichthonius 'Dias,' 'Athenais,' 'Poseidonias,' 'Hephaistias' is valueless (R. 45[b]): there is no trace of such names in the older historians. Strabo refers slightingly to the rumour that Poseidonia was an old name for Attica (R. 45[a]).

being no longer understood was disjoined from him and became a separate proper name of a new and distinct personage: or the two names were originally quite distinct and became conjoined owing to some later fusion of cults. The analysis of the religious terminology of the Greeks supplies us with many instances of both processes. Salient instances of the first are Athena-Nike, Aphrodite Πειθώ, Apollo Πύθιος[a]: of the second Zeus-Agamemnon, Apollo-Asklepios.

We shall be inclined in any given case to accept the former explanation, if the heroic or secondary name obviously expresses some attribute proper to the deity, if we have earlier evidence of its attachment to the deity than of its separate significance, if it is usually found in different places as an epithet of the deity, and only in isolated cases the name of a separate personage; finally, if the subordinate figure always remains in close association and companionship with the divinity. Now judged by these tests this explanation fails when applied to Poseidon-Erechtheus. It has been supposed indeed that the etymology is in favour of it. Ἐρεχθεύς must be derived from ἐρέχθω, and in some sense means 'the breaker'; but other things 'break' besides the sea-waves. Ἐρείκω is a cognate word, and is applied by Hesiod to 'breaking the soil.' Now, as has been well pointed out by Professor Bury[b], the name Ἐρεχθεύς is an abbreviation of Ἐριχθόνιος, the two personages being not really distinct, and the best explanation of this latter compound is that it is a shortened form of Ἐρεχθιχθόνιος, the 'breaker of the ground,' a natural name for a primitive agricultural hero. Again, Ἐρεχθεύς is nowhere found as a title of Poseidon save in Attica; yet if it was a descriptive epithet of the 'breaking' sea-waves, we might have expected that it would be elsewhere attached to him. But most fatal to the theory we are examining is the objection that the personality of Erechtheus reveals no trait of resemblance to that of Poseidon. He is the agricultural hero, sprung from the soil, the son of Ge and Hephaistos, with Athena, the

[a] Vol. 4, p. 215 (Pythios becomes a hero detached from Apollo.)

[b] *Class. Rev.* 1899, p. 308; he is misled, however, as to the original connexion of Erechtheus and Poseidon.

ancient goddess of the land, for his foster-mother; and his daughters Herse, Thallo, Auxe have names that refer to the vegetative functions of the earth. Poseidon also had such functions, but less than most Greek divinities. Again, Erechtheus is buried and lives under the earth, a ghostly chthonian personage, one of whose daughters is called Χθονία; his symbol is the οἰκουρὸς ὄφις on his shrine, with which we may suppose him identified, as Pausanias identifies Erichthonios with the δράκων of Athena. Now all this agrees very well with his character as an ancestor: but is strongly against the belief that he was Poseidon. There is no legend or cult-title that attributes with any distinctness any chthonian nature to the god; we have indeed a mysterious title Χαμαίζηλος attached to him in a very late Attic inscription in Oxford [45 q], which might seem to mean the 'god who loves the ground'; and which appears to have something of a chthonian force in the Orphic Argonautica, being attached to the dragon of Kolchis, the 'terror of Zeus Χαμαίζηλος.' But the evidence is very late and the meaning uncertain. The title Μύχιος in a very obscure Lesbian inscription may be intended there to designate Poseidon [67], or may be the cult-name of a quite distinct deity [a]: if we took the former view, we might explain it by supposing that Poseidon was there worshipped in a cave, as occasionally elsewhere. That Poseidon was sometimes associated with Ge as at Delphi, or with Erinys as at Tilphossa, or the chthonian Demeter as at Thelpusa, does not really impart a chthonian character to the god: it was eminently natural for the river-god to be joined with the earth-goddess, especially where a spring flowed from a cave or a stream fell into a chasm. Against such illusory indications we have, as negative evidence, the entire disassociation of Poseidon from any cult of the dead or ghost-legend, and the explicit statement in Dionysius of Halikarnassos that Poseidon was never worshipped with underground or chthonian rites, and therefore could not be identified with the Roman Consus who was honoured with an altar under the earth [7].

[a] The names Μυχία and Μύχιος may designate the goddess and god of the lower world.

And Dionysius' view agrees with that which we gather from the highway of Greek mythology and cult[a]. Though the waters of Greece often run underground, the Greeks in general did not regard Poseidon as a subterranean power, still less as a dead and buried god, as at certain times they did regard most of their deities of vegetation. Therefore we have no right, for the sake of a thesis, to say that in Attica the water-god assumed an entirely novel and abnormal character. Nor has the hypothesis of an original identity of Erechtheus with Poseidon ever succeeded in explaining the hostility between them that appears in Euripides' play and in Hyginus[b]. If their relations were not hostile but friendly in the accepted Attic folk-lore, why did Euripides gratuitously pervert them? It makes still more against the theory, that the Eteoboutadae, the priests of Poseidon-Erechtheus, do not even claim to be descended from the god, with whom their ancestor Boutes has no connexion[c]. They are an agricultural clan, 'shepherd-men,' having sacred functions in the worship of Zeus Polieus.

All this makes strongly for the belief that Poseidon and Erechtheus were originally wholly distinct, that Erechtheus was the autochthonous hero of the worshippers of Athena, being the first, according to Herodotus, to give them the name of Ἀθηναῖοι: and that Poseidon comes from without and after a struggle gains a place in the cult of the ancestor of the people and, without supplanting him, shares his honours.

In Attica, outside Athens itself, where the only cult of proved antiquity is that which has been discussed, the few Poseidon worships of which we have record[46–52] seem to

[a] It accords with this view that the spot in the Erechtheum which was specially marked as Poseidon's by the trident-print appears according to the most recent discoveries to have been under an opening in the roof, so that the god might be worshipped *sub divo*, vide Dörpfeld, *Ath. Mitth.* 1903, p. 467.

[b] Vide vol. 1, p. 271.

[c] Vide specially Plut. p. 843 E (*Vit. X. Orat.*), where descent from Poseidon would have naturally been mentioned, if it had been a family tradition of the Boutadai. Professor Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*, vol. 1, p. 152, identifies Boutes the Argonaut, who was sometimes regarded as the son of Poseidon, with the ancestor of the Boutadai, but the family legend of this clan did not. He is of opinion, following Toeppfer, that all the leading families of Attica traced their descent to Poseidon. This is by no means true. The Κήρυκες, the Λυκομίδαι, the Βουτάδαι, the Ἀλκμαιωνίδαι claimed no such descent.

betray their foreign origin. This has been maintained in respect of Poseidon Πατήρ at Eleusis and Hippios at Kolonos. The most interesting and important instance is that of Poseidon Ἑλικώνιος at Agrai, a place which, as it has been well remarked by Curtius, seems in early days to have offered an asylum to immigrant cults. We are told on good authority that the hill above the Ilissos was once called Helikon, and that on it was an altar of Poseidon Ἑλικώνιος [47], the cult which the Ionians brought from Bocotia and carried with them in their migrations as a bond of their political union.

We have valuable evidence to gather also from the legends of Aigeus and Theseus. The former conquers that part of Attica which came to bear the name of Tetrapolis, pointing to the Ionic organization of four tribes. And in Attic tradition Aigeus is the father of Theseus, while in the Troezenian the hero is the son of Poseidon. There need be no contradiction, for in all probability Αἰγεύς is a title of Poseidon himself. I venture to suggest that the name should be interpreted, in accordance with its ethnic formation, as the 'god of Aigai,' either of the Ionic-Euboean or Ionic-Achaean city. At any rate the Attic calendar closely associated Theseus with the god, for sacrifice was made to both on the same day [a]. Certain writers convert Theseus into a Minyan hero and derive him from the north of Greece: but the reasons for this appear very unsubstantial. Whatever was his original haunt, he comes to Attica from the Ionic Troezen, and the cults with which his name is associated, such as that of Aphrodite ἐφ' Ἱππολύτῳ, attracted to themselves Troezenian legends. The clan of the Φυταλίδαι, who purify him on his arrival in Attica from the taint of kindred bloodshed, may have derived their name, as Toeppfer has pointed out [b], from the worship of Poseidon Φυτάλμιος, which was common to Athens and Troezen. And there were other links connecting the two countries: the genealogies of Attic demes, such as the Anaphlystian and Sphettian, who drew their ancestors from Troezen [c], the cult of Poseidon Καλαυρεάτης in Athens [45], and especially the festival

[a] Vide Plut. *Thes.* c. 36, cf. Poseidon R. 66a.

[b] *Attisch. Geneal.* p. 252.

[c] Paus. 2. 30, 9.

of the Ἀπατούρια, a great political institution of the Ionian stock, common to the two cities, and in both consecrated to Athena, but at Troezen associated with the names of Theseus and Poseidon.

Combining these evidences with the legend of Theseus' journey by the Isthmus to Attica, we have the right to conclude that part at least of the Ionic settlement of Attica was due to a migration from Troezen under the auspices of Poseidon. And this may have been distinct from the possibly earlier migration which settled the Tetrapolis, where so far no clear trace of Poseidon-cult has been discovered. In Troezen the god was at least the equal of Athena: but in Attica she remained pre-eminent, maintaining her hold on the Apaturia and the festival of the συνοίκια, even though both of these were probably of Ionic name or foundation. Poseidon was admitted into the kindred of Erechtheus, but in spite of Theseus did not succeed in retaining in Attica the position he occupied in Troezen as ancestor-god. For he was overshadowed by Apollo Πύθιος and Δελφίνιος, with whom Ion and Theseus also are connected, and who becomes Πατρῷος for the Attic branch of the Ionians. In fact, had the Ionic migration to Asia Minor proceeded from Attica alone, we could hardly account for the political eminence in Ionia of Poseidon Helikonios. But doubtless the tide flowed also from Argolis, Ionic Achaea, and Euboea. Troezen and Attica may have given the Apaturia as a clan festival under the patronage of Athena to the whole confederacy; but the one religious bond which could unite all the different elements that composed the Ionic people of Asia Minor and the Aegean was the worship of the ancient god endeared to them by a title that reminded them of their ancient Boeotian home.

This chapter may close with a brief notice of the question of Minyan settlement in Attica. Recent excavation has been supposed to reveal traces of the Minyans at Thoricus near Sunium; but the buildings that have come to light there show Mycenaean and a pre-Mycenaean barbaric style[a]; and neither one nor the other is a certain criterion of Minyan handiwork.

[a] *Eph. Arch.* 1895, p. 227.

Strabo [a] speaks of a barbarous tribe of Temmikoi who sailed from Sunium to Boeotia, and Lycophron styles them the lords of Orchomenos: if they were Minyans they would account for Poseidon's worship at Sunium, to which was consecrated the stately temple that still rears its ruined columns above the sea [b]. But that the Minyans were non-Hellenic and that the Minyan occupation of Orchomenos and Thessaly preceded northwards from Attica are most perplexing assumptions. Busolt is inclined to regard the Minyan legend in Attica as a later fiction, invented to explain Minyan elements among the Ionians of Asia Minor. But the legend is well attested and corroborated by cult: Herodotus [c] makes Kodros and Melanthos, kings of the Neleid stock, lead a migration from Pylos to Attica. In the legendary genealogy they belong to a later stratum than the Erechtheidai or Theseids, and their arrival on Attic soil may have been the result of the Doric conquest of Messenia that swept Pylos and its Poseidon away. The Attic cults that attest the truth of the tradition are those of Poseidon Μέλανθος [45 n], and of Kodros, Neleus, and Basile, whose shrine is mentioned in an inscription containing an Attic decree of about the end of the fifth century found near the Ilissus [d]. The conclusion seems legitimate that a small Minyan stock was able to mingle with the population of semi-Ionic Attica, and that Poseidon-worship in this country owed its establishment and strength mainly to these two peoples, who throughout the Hellenic world were his chief votaries.

[a] p. 401.

[b] Recently discovered inscriptions have restored to Poseidon the temple that used to be regarded as Athena's: vide R. 52.

[c] 5. 65; cf. Paus. 7. 2, 3.

[d] Eph. *Arch.* 1884, pp. 161–2.

CHAPTER II

MONUMENTS OF POSEIDON-CULT

THE monumental evidence, which always supplements the literary record of the higher Greek cults and often reveals religious facts that might otherwise have escaped our knowledge, is disappointingly meagre as regards Poseidon's worship. But though it may convey to us no new ideas serviceable for the history of this religion, it is useful as illustrating the prevalence of certain cult-concepts which the literature has brought to our notice.

The art-symbolism that attached to him was mainly intended to express the functions and character of the sea-divinity. But the ancient and independent aspect of him as the horse-god is attested by coins and other monuments of some antiquity. Besides those that have been already mentioned [a] we can quote the early coin-device of Potidaia [19], the fifth-century coins of Rhaukos in Crete, with their fairly prevalent type of Poseidon Hippios [84], and their combination of the horse's head, trident, and dolphin (Coin Pl. A, 2); also certain sixth-century terra-cotta *pinakes* from Corinth in Berlin, on some of which Poseidon appears driving a chariot with Amphitrite, and on one [b] as a horseman of rather diminutive figure (Pl. I a). And the monuments of the later Corinth that arose upon the ruins of the old were full of reminiscences of this traditional cult-figure [55], which has also inspired several representations of secular art [c]. Another animal with which the god had sacral relations was the bull, but our monumental record reveals but little concerning this; an illustration is afforded by a black-

[a] Vide supra, p. 15.

[b] *Jahrb. des deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1897, Fig. 14, p. 23 (with dedication, Εὐρυμέδης μ' ἀνέθηκε Ποτέδανι, sixth century B. C.).

[c] e.g. Poseidon with the horse on the Kertsch vase (Pl. XI a), and frequently in the Gigantomachy.

a

b

To face page 56

PLATE I

a

b

figured amphora of Würzburg representing Poseidon seated sideways on a bull holding boughs, and a fish with a trident behind him (Pl. I b); and probably by the bull on the coins of Poseidonia and Sybaris[a].

On the last-mentioned vase the boughs may be an emblem of Poseidon Φυτάλμιος, an aspect of him that was rare in cult and rarely portrayed, but not unknown, in art[b]. Philostratus' description of a picture that depicted the god with a ploughshare as a deity of agriculture may not be altogether fanciful[c], and the bunch of grapes engraved by the side of his figure on the coinage of Tenos [122] may allude to his fertilizing streams (Coin Pl. A, 11). The same idea may explain his occasional association with Demeter[d], as on the coins of Byzantium [120].

It is difficult to attach special cult-epithets to the various manifestations of this deity in art. A coin of Rhodes of the imperial period is inscribed Ποσειδῶν Ἀσφάλειος, and shows us the deity standing peacefully before an altar holding dolphin and trident [82 a], and we may regard this as a monument of the local cult, propitiatory of the earthquake-god; but similar representations elsewhere may not have had this special significance[e]. If an appropriate artistic type was created for the Lycian cult of Poseidon Ἑδραῖος [93 a], we must suppose that he would be represented enthroned and holding his usual emblems, trident or aplustre of ship, tunny or dolphin, as we see him on the coins of Corinth [121] and Boeotia [42], or seated on a rock as in the coin-device of Mantinea [64 d] and Byzantium [120] (Coin Pl. A, 3). Such types as these and as that of the temple statue at Antikyra [34], representing him with his foot resting on a dolphin and his hand on his thigh, may be understood to embody the peaceful aspect of the sea-god who upholds the lands, just as the more dramatic representations of the deity striding forward and threatening with his trident[f] may allude to the

[a] See p. 47.

[b] Vide Athena-chapter, vol. I, p. 325, Pl. XIV a.

[c] Imag. 2. 17.

[d] Vide pp. 6–7.

[e] Cf. types of Boiai R. 62[d], Gythion 62[f], Kaphyai 64[b], Patrai 64[c], Attaleia in Pamphylia 93[b], Lydia-Nysa, Thyateira, Smyrna 97[a], Bruttii 110, Tabai in Caria 123, Galatia 124, Lykaonia-Cilicia 125.

[f] Cf the coin-devices of Potidaia 107, Sybaris 108, Haliartos 39[e].

turbulence of his element; and some of these may be derived from monuments of state-religion, but special and certain appellatives cannot be attached to them.

Nor do we find among the monuments any clear characteristic of Poseidon as a god of the political community; for instance, the turreted crown is never assigned to him. But we may question the coin-evidence to test his predominance in the cults of the states of Hellas, and to see how far it accords with that which we have gathered from the literature. The results of the numismatic inquiry appear to show that he did not occupy so prominent a place in the city-communities as the other high divinities. In the archaic period his figure was the dominant type of the cities called by his name, Potidaia on the Thermaic Gulf[19] and Poseidonia in Magna Graecia[107]; and though on the coinage of the latter state he at last gives place to Hera[a], his political significance here is attested by the fact that the new Sybaris which arose about 453 B.C. adopted the Poseidonian coin-device of the god brandishing the trident as a monument of their alliance with this state[108]. On the coins of the other cities of North Greece, besides Potidaia, his figure is not conspicuous, though not infrequent among the later types[b] of Byzantium[120]. The numismatic evidence from Boeotia would in itself suffice to prove that the Poseidon-cult possessed a certain importance in this region, but does not suggest that it was dominant[39, 42]. As regards the Corinthian isthmus, where the monuments of his worship were varied and numerous, his figure does not seem to have specially attracted the coin-artist[55, 121]; nor is it found among the earlier types of Corcyra[58], while those of Troezen[58], Boiai[62 d], Gythion[62 f], Mantinea[64 d], Kaphyai[64 b] reflect, but not very vividly, the cults of these states. The form of a temple-statue at Patrai[66 c] appears on one of its coins, which shows the god standing with his left foot on a rock; but the Achaean coinage as a whole furnishes by no means adequate testimony to his early supremacy in this region[c]. On the other hand, the predominance of

[a] Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 68.

[b] The bull standing above the dolphin on fourth-century coins of Byzantium is rightly regarded by Head as alluding more probably to the cult of Hera than to that of Poseidon (*Hist. Num.* p. 230, vide Hera, R. 56).

[c] Head of Poseidon on early fourth-

Plate II

a

b

the god in Tenos is sufficiently illustrated by its coinage from 300 B.C. onwards, the island-mint appearing to acknowledge no other deities but Poseidon and Zeus-Ammon [122]. On a late imperial coin of the Carian Tabai he is represented as holding the 'Tyche' of the city in his hands [123]. Finally, a fourth-century coin-type of Tarentum may be regarded as the most interesting of this class of monuments which recognize the god as the guardian or the founder of the state (Coin Pl. A, 5): this beautiful device, showing the child Taras raising his arms in appeal to his father Poseidon, has been skilfully interpreted by Dr. Evans [127] as a symbol of the appeal to Lacedaemon made by the Tarentines when threatened by the Lucanians, which was answered by the ill-fated expedition of Archidamos in 338 B.C. Taras obviously stands for Tarentum, and as the city was mainly settled by the Parthenii who were intimately associated with the south of Laconia, a district dominated by Poseidon-cult, the god may naturally be regarded as the representative of their ancient father-land.

Looking at the other branches of art, we do not find many monuments that speak directly to the significance of Poseidon's cult for the public communities. The art of Attica which illustrates his relations with Athena has already been discussed [a]; and the vase of Hieron has been mentioned which embodies the genealogical legend of the Eumolpidai concerning his ancestral cult at Eleusis [b]. As regards the various statues in our museums, it is usually impossible to determine how far they represent the local idols of public worship: but we may believe that the statuette in the Augusteum of Dresden, showing Poseidon with his left foot on a dolphin, descends from the cult-statue described by Pausanias at Antikyra [34], for with the proper restoration of the missing arms the work agrees in the main with his account (Pl. II a).

But the most valuable result of the art-evidence is the illustration, however scanty, it affords of a theological dogma concerning the unity of nature in the different forms of the two

century coin of Helike (R. 66[b]): trident on federal coins of the Achaean Keryneia, Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 351.

[a] Athena-monuments, vol. I, pp. 222-5.

[b] Demeter-monuments, p. 236, Pl. XIII.

high gods. It is not merely that the group of the two, occasionally also the three, brothers is invested with a solemn character that seems to attach to it a peculiar religious significance [a], as on the coins of Mytilene [67] and Samos [78], but the different symbols of Zeus and Poseidon are sometimes united in one person. On an early fifth-century coin of Zankle it may be Poseidon rather than Zeus who is striding forward and brandishing the thunderbolt, for there is a dolphin carved on the reverse (Coin Pl. A, 6) [b]. The two gems published by Overbeck [c] representing the god mounting a chariot and holding the trident in one hand and the thunderbolt in the other are of Etruscan style, but are known to correspond to a Greek conception of Zeno-Poseidon [d] (Pl. II b). We may take such monuments as evidence that the popular polytheism was occasionally susceptible to the influence of monotheistic ideas; but not as any proof of the original genesis of Poseidon as a mere emanation of Zeus [e]; the evidence is not only too scanty but also too late to assist such a theory.

Finally, a question might arise whether any hieratic significance attaches to the very rare type of the veiled Poseidon, which appears in two monuments only: (*a*) the Darius-vase, where he is associated with Zeus and Apollo, and all three divinities wear the veil behind the head; (*b*) a small bronze disk of the Roman period found in Spain representing Poseidon veiled and riding on a female Triton, a work of which the genuineness is guaranteed by Huebner [f]. The explanation which was before suggested for the similar type of Zeus [g] evidently fails here; and unless we suppose the attribute to have been suggested for Poseidon by the mere caprice of the artist or to have been borrowed from Zeus, for whom it may have had a meaning, it remains an enigma.

[a] Vide vol. 1, pp. 104–105; vol. 3, p. 287, Pl. XXXII b.

[b] Hill, *Sicilian Coinage*, p. 70, Pl. IV. 8; Head (who is doubtful), *Hist. Num.* p. 133.

[c] *K. M.* vol. 1, p. 259, Gemmentaf. III, 7, 8.

[d] That the hound—if it is a hound—below the chariot and the chariot itself are symbols of Hades, and that therefore the gem alludes to the Trinity of persons is a very dubious interpretation, which offers too frail a support to Mr. Cook's theory of the Pelasgian-Latin triple Zeus (*Class. Rev.* 1904, p. 361).

[e] Vide vol. 4, p. 6, n. a.

[f] *Arch. Zeit.* 1870, Taf. 34. 3.

[g] Vol. 1, p. 115.

CHAPTER III

THE IDEAL OF POSEIDON

AMONG the surviving creations of Greek religious art the figure of Poseidon is not one of the first importance, perhaps owing to the accident of loss, as we know it was occasionally the theme of the great sculptors and painters. In the anthropomorphic imagination of Homer, the two brother-divinities, Zeus and Poseidon, were characteristically distinguished; the latter is marked by a certain ruggedness and violence in demeanour and action, as if his divinity, stately as it appears at times, was usually the manifestation of physical rather than mental power. There is a subtle expression of this distinction in the lines that speak of the countenance and eyes as the salient features of Zeus, but the broad chest as Poseidon's [1]. It is probable that the same idea dominated the types of the advanced periods of art, while a close resemblance was always maintained between the forms of the two personalities. The archaic age could only distinguish them by means of external symbols or inscriptions. The most interesting representations of Poseidon belonging to the art of the sixth century are among the ex-voto terracottas from Corinth in Berlin, some representing him in peaceful attitudes, either driving in a chariot with Amphitrite or standing by her side in hieratic pose before Hermes, holding a tunny-fish and trident (Pl. iii a); one in violent action charging with the trident (Pl. iii b), as we see him also in a dedicatory bronze of nearly the same period from Chalkis, now in Berlin.

The early coins of Poseidonia represent him in the same vehement and dramatic pose (Coin Pl. A, 7); while the vase of Amasis, with its stately figures of Poseidon and Athena con-

fronted, is a good example of the more solemn and tranquil type of ripe archaic style[a]. Whether these two distinct art forms were explicitly intended in the earliest period to embody the double aspect of the sea and its different moods of storm and calm may be doubted; for they might naturally have been suggested by the conventions of archaic art. Again, it was natural, in this as in the later epochs, that this god should be presented as bearded and mature; yet a youthful and beardless countenance is sometimes given him, as in the Corinthian terracotta mentioned above, and occasionally on the early Poseidonian coins[b]; and this exceptional treatment is probably due to artistic caprice rather than to religious intention.

Only a few Poseidon-figures are preserved amidst the relics of the transitional art of the early fifth century. A coin of Kyzikos[c] of this period presents a curious type of the god, represented as kneeling above a tunny-fish, and holding a dolphin and a trident pointing downwards (Coin Pl. A, 8). More interesting and important is the bronze of life-size found in the Corinthian gulf, on the coast south of Boeotia, with an inscription that reveals the personality—τοῦ Ποτειδάονος Ἱαπός; the dialect is Boeotian, the letters and the style of the art suggest a date not far from 480 B.C., and we may believe that we have in this broken figure the cult-image of a neighbouring shrine[d] (Pl. IV). The attitude is severe, but free from stiffness and imposing; the restoration of the missing parts, proposed by Philios, is probably correct[e], and we must imagine the god holding the tunny-fish or the dolphin in his outstretched right hand, while his left is raised high and grasps the trident as a sceptre. The whole figure gives the impression of genial strength, but neither in the body nor the face, which retains a trace of the archaic smile on the lips, is there sufficient individual character to distinguish the personality from that of Zeus. The hair and features are treated

[a] Vol. 1, p. 222.

[b] Müller-Wernicke, *D. A. K.* 2. 12, 32.

[c] *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Mysia*,' Pl. VI, 8.

[d] *Eph. Arch.* 1899, Pl. V, VI, p. 57.

[e] He appears in almost the same pose on a Boeotian coin, Müller-Wernicke, op. cit. 2. 12, 33.

PLATE IV

PLATE V

in accordance with an artistic convention generally prevalent at this time.

This statue is nude, and in later art the water-god is as we should expect frequently represented thus, but at no period does any artistic rule appear to have prevailed in respect of the drapery or the nudity of Poseidon. In the examples of archaic art already mentioned, such as the *pinakes* of Corinth and the vase of Amasis, we find him with the full dress of chiton and himation; and he is draped in this fashion on an early transitional vase of Berlin, where he stands in quasi-hieratic pose, gazing quietly at Heracles, who is threatening him with his bow[a]. In works of the fifth and later centuries he often wears the himation alone, arranged sometimes with the same regard for decorous beauty that orders the drapery of Zeus[b], but usually in a simpler fashion and with more careless freedom.

Among the vase-paintings of the perfected style that contain ideal representations of Poseidon perhaps the following are the most impressive: (*a*) an Attic crater of about the middle of the fifth century, showing the adventure of Theseus beneath the sea, where he comes to prove his paternity and to obtain the garland from Amphitrite[c]; Poseidon lies in graceful ease on his couch, his lower limbs clad with the himation, his right hand raised high on his trident; it is a genial representation of the imperious sea-god in a friendly and placid mood, but there is no striking expression of character in the face (Pl. V): (*b*) a vase in the Cabinet des Médailles at Paris[d], with a representation that may refer to the same story of Theseus' visit to Poseidon; the latter is seated and greeting his son, and the draped and sceptred figure expresses the majesty of the high god, but here also the countenance is lacking in depth of characteristic expression (Pl. VI): (*c*) the Ruvo vase, in Naples, on which the death of

[a] Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, 3, Fig. 1536; Overbeck, *Atlas*, xii. 5.

[b] Vide coin of Tenos, Coin Pl. A, 12.

[c] Robert in his *Nekyia* has proved that the vase-painting is at least partly derived from Mikon's picture in the Theseion at Athens: vide Müller-Wernicke, op. cit. 2. 14, 2.

[d] *Mon. dell. Inst.* 1. 52.

Talos is depicted, of late fifth-century style[a]; Poseidon and Amphitrite are grouped together in loving union, she leaning familiarly on his shoulder, and the expression of inner life on the countenances is somewhat more profound than is the case in the last two examples (Pl. VII).

No doubt the school of Pheidias were as strenuous and imaginative in dealing with this as with other figures of the Olympian pantheon; and the remains of the Parthenon suffice to convey to us some conception of their Poseidon-type. Even if we possessed nothing more than Carrey's drawing of the central figure of the west gable, we might feel that anthropomorphic art could reach no further than this in its attempted embodiment of the resistless strength and elemental energy of the sea; but, besides the drawing, we have the wonderful breast in the British Museum, a masterpiece as regards the expression of animated physical power, and a monumental rendering of Homer's phrase.

We should expect to find a very different representation of the god in the peaceful group on the frieze, and we can recognize him with practical certainty in the bearded deity who sits in intimate converse with Apollo[b], resting his left hand on a trident that was indicated in painting, and letting his right fall idly by the seat of his throne (Pl. XXXIV). There is a forcible simplicity and a certain tranquil self-confidence in the figure; but the subtle characterization that marks the other divine personalities is lacking here, and neither in the pose, nor in the arrangement of the drapery, nor in the display of forms, is there the same elevation or effect of majesty as in the form of Zeus on the other side of the central group. It was evidently the intention of the sculptor to present the nature of Poseidon as on a slightly lower plane than that of Apollo or the supreme deity; the brow shows the noble Pheidian treatment, but the cheekbones are more strongly

[a] The epigraphy as well as the style points to Attic work of the close of the fifth century.

[b] He is discovered not merely by internal evidence and his grouping with Apollo, but also by a process of elimination, for no other figure in the frieze can advance any pretensions to his name.

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PLATE VIII

marked than in the other heads. The group in which he finds himself has a certain cult-value as showing the historic association of Poseidon Apollo and Aphrodite, the divinities of the later Ionic stratum which deposited itself above the bed-rock of the oldest Attic religion, and with which the personality and the myth of Theseus were connected.

Looking at the art of the fourth century, we find that the literary record concerning its sculpture shows us Scopas Praxiteles and Lysippos working once at least on this theme; but no figure of Poseidon is mentioned as standing out among their masterpieces, although the group of Scopas in which he appeared, and which is usually interpreted as the apotheosis of Achilles, receives Pliny's enthusiastic praise[a]. On the other hand there was a famous type of Poseidon at Athens, painted by Euphranor in his group of the Twelve deities, in which he was said to have depicted him in a style so majestic that his imagination failed him when he tried to find a still more august type for Zeus[b]. This is, in fact, the only Poseidon in antiquity that is singled out by the literary verdict.

Only a few monuments have descended to us from this age that are of significance for religious art. Chief among these will be the bronze from Dodona, in the British Museum, if we can be sure that it represents Poseidon rather than Zeus; and the somewhat troubled expression is in favour of this belief (Pl. VIII). The sea-god must then be imagined to be resting his outstretched right hand on his trident, and to be holding a fish in his left. The head reminds us of the Zeus of Ocricoli, the hair, though less violently treated, forming a framework to the face. If this interpretation is correct, then it was the emotional art of the fourth century that invented the characteristic expression for the Poseidon-countenance, the look of melancholy or of restless perturbation. But some doubt must remain as to this, owing partly to the paucity of the evidence, for fourth-century coins with any ideal representation of Poseidon's head are rare; nor do those that may be quoted clearly show this peculiar trait. For instance, a

[a] *Nat. Hist.* 36. 26.

[b] Valer. Max. 8. 11.

coin of Messene, in Sicily, undoubtedly of this period [a], presents us a countenance serious and even stern, with deep eye-sockets and strongly marked forehead, but there is no melancholy or trouble in the face (Coin Pl. A, 9); nor is this found on a coin of Nisyros of the later part of this century [b], which shows a striking type of Poseidon, with such characteristic traits as the wilder beard and the upturned glance.

As regards the vase-paintings of this century, there are but few that contribute any new trait to the development of this type. Near to, or just before the beginning of this period, we may place the Kadmos vase of the Berlin Antiquarium [c], with Doric inscriptions in an almost complete Ionic alphabet, and perhaps a product of Tarentum (Pl. IX): Poseidon, gazing on the combat between Kadmos and the dragon, is standing with his foot on a rock, his right hand on his hip, his left resting on the trident, his hair crowned with laurel, and a himation folded about his lower limbs and over his left shoulder. There is character in the pose, but nothing distinctive in the face. This is the elder bearded deity; but the youthful type, though very rarely chosen, was known to the vase-painters of the fourth century, as also to the earlier artists, for we find on a late vase in Naples a beardless Poseidon standing before Amphitrite [d]. But the most impressive representation of the god that this branch of art has bequeathed us from this period is to be found on the Kertsch vase, already noticed in the chapter on the monuments of Athena [e], where he figures in the Attic myth of the contest between the two divinities for possession of the land (Pl. X a). The form of Poseidon here has no doubt been derived from the Pheidian work in the west gable of the Parthenon: the god is striking downwards with his trident, full of wrathful energy; his face is dark and stern, and his hair rises erect above his forehead. The whole form is adapted to the dramatic occasion, but the wild treatment of the hair, of

[a] *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Sicily*,' p. 107 (Overbeck, Münztaf. V. 10).

[b] *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Caria*,' Pl. 34. 4.

[c] Furtwängler, *Beschreibung*, 2634; Overbeck, *Atlas*, xii. 8; Gerhard, *Etrusk. Campan. Vasenb.* Taf. C.

[d] Overbeck, *Atlas*, xiii. 15.

[e] Vol. I, p. 324.

Plate IX

ace page 66

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which this is the earliest example, becomes a typical and characteristic trait in the later centuries.

Of the larger plastic representations of this deity that the fourth century created no original example has been preserved; the marble statues in our museums are mainly Graeco-Roman copies. But it has been supposed that we can affiliate some of them to master-works of this period, and that an original statue of Lysippos has inspired the later copyists, to whom we owe that special type of Poseidon, in which he appears resting his foot on some support, such as a rock or a dolphin, and leaning forward, with one hand resting on his thigh and the other grasping the trident. The earliest examples of such a pose are offered by the Kadmos-vase mentioned above, which may be dated near to 400 B.C., and next by the coin of Demetrius, which is thought to commemorate his naval victory in 306 B.C.[a] (Coin Pl. A, 10); and from this time onward the motive is prevalent on coins, gems, and in statuary and painting[b]. These facts seem to speak to some famous original dedicated in some central locality, and we naturally think of the Isthmus of Corinth. Now Corinth is one of the states that used this type for her later coins; and that it was derived from some image of Poseidon that stood in his temple on the Isthmus is rendered probable by the evidence of the well-known Vienna cameo[c], a work of Graeco-Roman glyptic, that presents Poseidon as the central figure in this attitude, standing with his foot on a rock, as it were, between two seas, with a two-horsed chariot on each side of him as emblem of the Isthmian games, and with various local divinities or personifications in the field (Pl. X b).

It is a common assumption that this Isthmian original was

[a] Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 202; Overbeck, *K. M.* vol. 3, Münztaf. VI. 2.

[b] Cf. Coins of Patrai R. 66[c], Samos R. 78, Corinth, Imhoof-Blumer-Gardner, *Num. Comm. Paus.* Pl. D. 53; for other examples in Roman period vide Overbeck, op. cit. Münztaf. VI. 3–6; id. Gemmentaf, 2. 3–6: Mai, *Picturae Vergilii*, Pl. 43 (showing very late survival of the motive); mosaic in Pompeii, Overbeck, op. cit. p. 313.

[c] For detailed discussion of the work vide Wieseler, *Alte Denkmäler*, 2. 75[a] (who doubts the connexion between the cameo-figure and the Isthmian cult-image), and Wernicke, *Archäol. Anzeig.* 1899, p. 199.

a work of Lysippos[a]; and it seems in itself likely that so fine an observer of natural truth and character should have selected for his ideal of the sea-god an attitude so characteristic of the mariner. But the evidence that he did so is somewhat weak and indirect. It is only Lucian who speaks—in a quite casual way—of a bronze statue of Poseidon, made by this sculptor for the Corinthians[55c]; but there is no indication that it was intended specially for the Isthmian shrine, for there were other temples and other statues of Poseidon in Corinth. The theory can only maintain itself strongly if we can discern a marked Lysippean character in the surviving Poseidon statues that show the pose in question. The three well-known examples are found in the Lateran Museum, the Albani Collection, and in the Augusteum in Dresden[b]; of these the first and the last are close replicas of the same original, but in the Albani statue the pose of the arms and legs has been shifted from right to left, and the head is turned towards its left. The forms of the head are generally the same in all three; the hair is raised erect above the forehead to fall in thick clusters that encase the cheeks, the lips are slightly parted, the centre of the forehead is strongly marked and protruding, the eyes seem gazing into the distance; and all three bear a distinct resemblance to the head of Zeus from Ocricoli, which is generally regarded as of Lysippean character. The expression of the countenance will be best gathered from the accompanying plate, showing the head of the Lateran statue (Pl. XI). As compared with the Ocricoli bust, it gives the impression of a personality forcible and energetic, but of a lower grade of divinity; the energy revealed is physical rather than intellectual.

[a] Vide Lange, *Das Motiv des aufgestützten Fusses*, s. 41; much of his argument proving that the Isthmian cult-image was by Lysippos is unsatisfactory: he gives no adequate explanation of Pausanias' silence; nor is his assumption justified that Lucian selects in each case the most famous type of each divinity consecrated in the most famous centre of worship. The only direct evidence that Lysippos carved a statue of Poseidon in this posture would be the notice of a statue found at Siena published by Lorenzo Ghiberti (vide *Mem. dell. Inst.* 1837, p. 69), 'il nome del maestro era Lysippo e aveva in sulla gamba in sulla quale ella si posava uno "alfino"'; but we cannot test the authenticity of the ascription.

[b] Overbeck, *Atlas*, xii. 29, 30, 31.

PLATE XI

PLATE XII

We may believe that the original work from which these statues descend was a creation of fourth-century art; and as the treatment of some of the forms in these heads and partly the expression recall the Apoxyomenos to our minds, we naturally think of Lysippos. But the whole question of Lysippean art has taken a new departure since the discovery of his statue at Delphi, and cannot be discussed in this place.

The monuments just described suggest that the artists of this age were partly guided by the conception of the general physical resemblance between Poseidon and the Supreme God. And it is likely that this was maintained occasionally in the treatment of the drapery. Another statue of Poseidon, in Dresden (Pl. XII), which has been wrongly restored, with a head of the benevolent type of Asklepios[a], shows us the god in a pose full of imperious dignity, standing erect but supported, his left foot on a dolphin; the arms are missing, but his right hand was evidently grasping the trident as a sceptre, and from certain marks it appears that his left was touching the drapery by his left thigh. In the imposing treatment of the muscles and in the display of the broad chest the old tradition has been followed; and the himation is arranged about his limbs, as it usually appears in the draped statues of Zeus, only that it leaves bare the left leg from the knee downwards. All this is skilfully calculated for the decorous display of physical power. The statue, which, as Wernicke has pointed out[b], appears to be a reproduction of the cult-image of Antikyra, is probably a copy of a work that belonged to the end of the fourth century.

Even in the next age the more tranquil and decorous type of Poseidon occasionally survived. A coin of Tenos, of the earlier part of the third century, gives a representation of the god that in pose, drapery, and treatment of the head assimilates him very closely to Zeus (Coin Pl. A, 12). But usually his pose becomes more restless, the expression in his countenance more passionate and strained, and the art aims at more explicitly conveying in his type an allusion to the physical

[a] Vide Wernicke, *Archäol. Anzeig.* 1899, p. 201, Fig. 2.

[b] Op. cit.

nature of the sea as poetically conceived : and this accords with the trend of later Hellenistic art.

The original of the Lateran statue had probably already taken into account the wet matted hair ; and this is a striking feature of the fine head of the coin of Antigonos Gonatas or Doson [a], which shows the damp tufts falling over the forehead and a garland of seaweed round the head ; but the expression is still somewhat subdued, grave rather than wild : the forehead is swollen but not violently, the mouth slightly open. Other coins of this century accentuate the characteristics of this type : the deep eye-sockets, the protuberance of the forehead between them, the wavy bend of the hair, the parted lips mark the Poseidon heads upon the coins of Bruttium (Coin Pl. A, 13), Brundisium [b], Hiero II [c], and Boeotia [d], and produce the impression of restless passion [e].

A few works of sculpture that are either originals or copies of originals of the Hellenistic period are worth noting. In the Central Museum at Athens there is a torso and head of Poseidon [f] of a good period, as is shown by the warm and liquid treatment of the pectinal muscles and abdomen (Pl. XIII) ; the countenance shows the characteristic expression and features ; as the body is inclined to the left and the left shoulder uplifted, it is likely that the left hand was supported on a trident. Later than this and of inferior workmanship, but still showing the warm touch of the Hellenic chisel, is the colossal Poseidon in the same museum, found at Melos [g], with a dolphin by his side (Pl. XIV). The left hand holds a fold of the himation, the right held the trident ; the forms of the body are largely and softly treated with some delicacy of detail ; the head is high and not very broad ; the beard falls in separate wild strips. Though the

[a] Vide Coin Pl. A, 13.

[b] R. 110[a].

[c] Overbeck, Münztaf. V. 12.

[d] Ib. no. 4.

[e] The overstrained and excited expression is found also in some of the Zeus-heads on the later coins ; cf. Macedonian coins of the second century B. C., *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Macedonia*,' p. 13 (Zeus), and p. 14 (Poseidon).

[f] Kavvadias, *Glypta*, no. 258, who regards it as Asklepios.

[g] Vide Collignon, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1889, Pl. 3. It was found near the headless statue with the inscription Θεοδωρίδας, but no evidence as to the date of the Poseidon can be drawn from this.

PLATE XIII

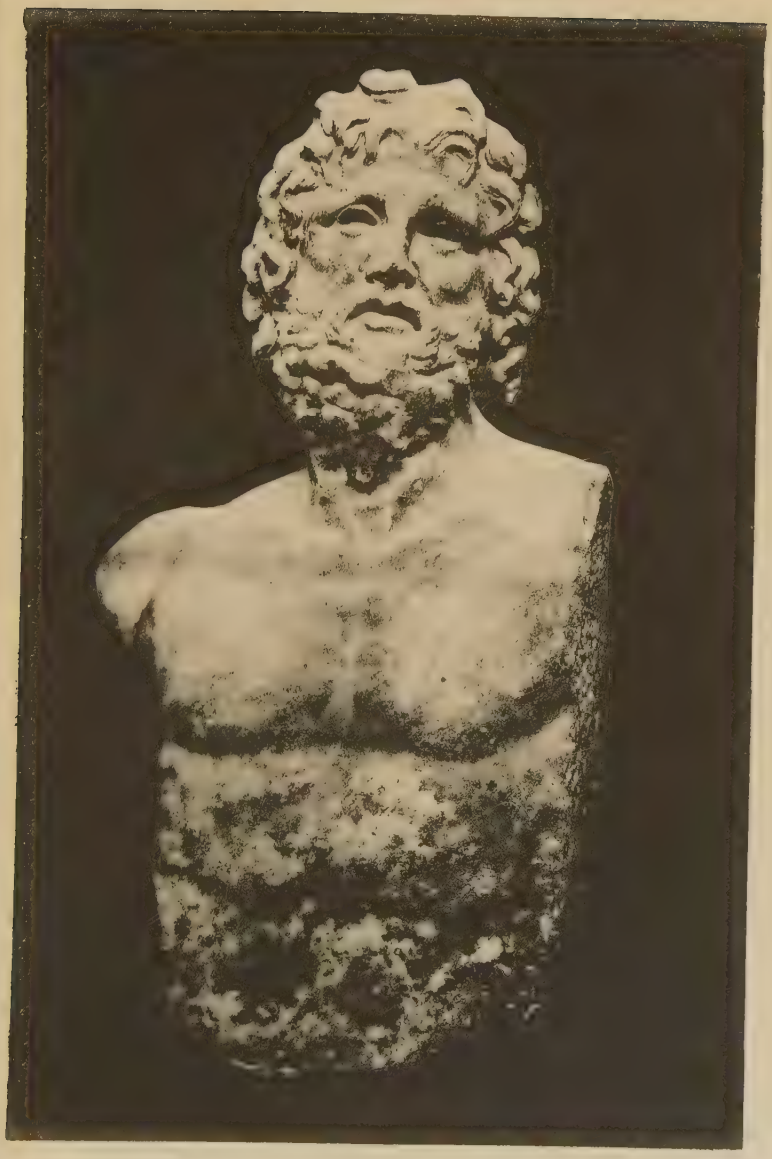


PLATE XIV

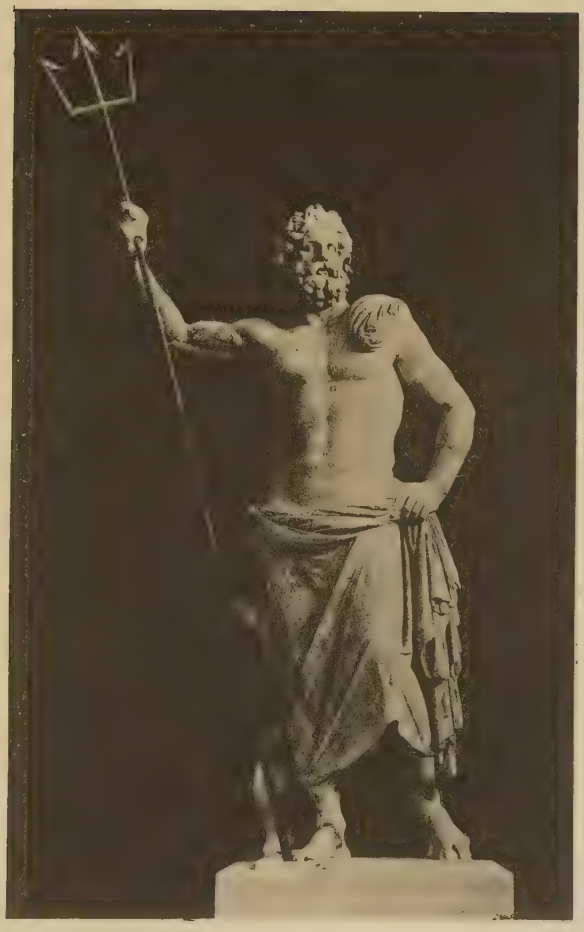
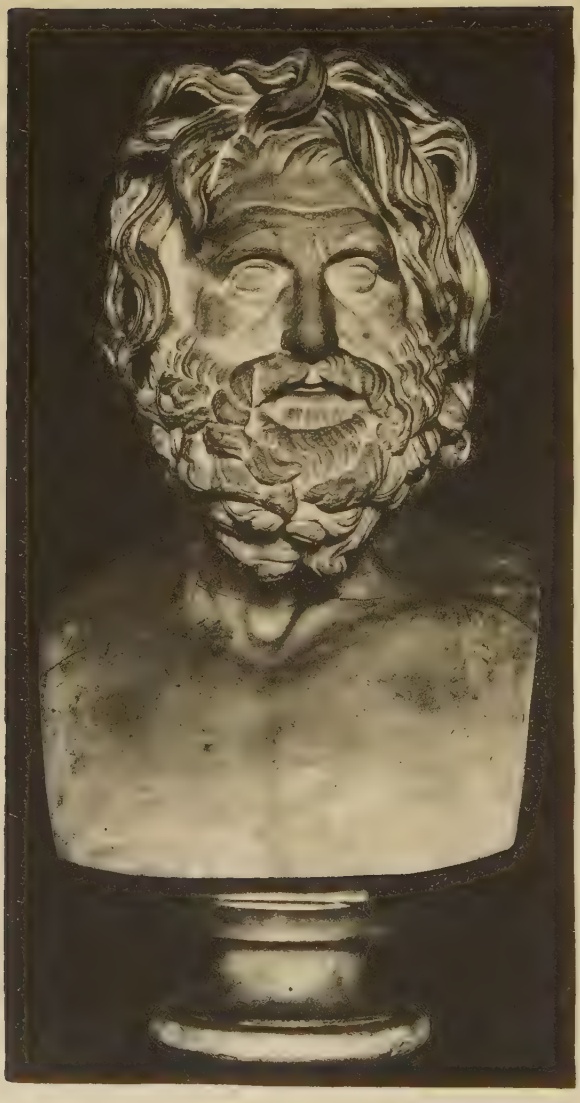


PLATE XV *a*

PLATE XV *b*



surface of the countenance is very defaced, one can discern the characteristic features, the swollen forehead, the deep eye-sockets, the convex centre of the eyeballs. The expression is fierce and defiant, and the whole pose somewhat theatrical. We may compare the theatrical pose and the wild imperious countenance of the bronze statuette of Poseidon in Vienna, a late copy of a Hellenistic original[a].

The head in the museum at Syracuse showing Greek treatment, but probably of the early Roman period[b], is remarkable for the expression of wildness and yearning in the face (Pl. XV a); we may suspect Pergamene influence here, for something of the same mental quality is seen in the countenance of the young Triton of the Vatican, a work of undoubted Pergamene affinities. This look of restless longing becomes in the later period characteristic of the sea-powers, and the expression sometimes degenerates into a sentimental languor, as we see in a bronze statuette of Poseidon with his head drooping wearily to one side[c].

The Chiaramonti head in the Vatican is of very peculiar character, and is in fact unique among our monuments of Poseidon (Pl. XV b). The god is recognized by the wavy matted hair and the high and swollen forehead, but the sculptor has given him the appearance of a weather-beaten ancient mariner or ἅλιος γέρων, rather than of the Olympian sea-deity: the deeply-furrowed features bear the imprint of storm and wind, and a forcible naturalism is attained at the expense of divine characteristic. The original was probably a work of the late second century.

The plastic monuments need not be further traced, for the Graeco-Roman sculpture merely carries on the Hellenistic tradition of this type[d]. To the development and diffusion of it

[a] Sacken u. Kenner, *Broncen*, Taf. 6. 1; Overbeck, op. cit. vol. 3, Taf. 3. 1.

[b] Vide my article on 'Sicilian Museums,' *Hell. Journ.* 1891, p. 58; Müller-Wernicke, *Denkmäler*, Taf. 15. 4; Reinach, *Recueil de têtes antiques*, Pl. 235 (who notes its Pergamene character).

[c] Figured by Braun, *Bullettino-Annali dell' Instit.* 1854, Tav. 18, and Overbeck, op. cit. Taf. 2. 2; the bronze seems to have disappeared.

[d] A work of good Graeco-Roman period showing the excited type of features is the Poseidon in Holkham Hall (Michaelis, *Marbles*, p. 305).

much had probably been contributed by the art of painting which dominated sculpture in the later ages of Greece. At least the beautiful mosaic in Palermo with its striking and imaginative representation of the head and bust of the god suggests an original painting that might have been produced as early as the fourth century (Pl. XVI). And it was easier for painting to do justice to the later, more naturalistic, ideal of Poseidon; the most salient example, apparently little known, of this mode of conceiving and depicting the divine powers of the sea is an admirably preserved mosaic from Carthage now in Vienna, which shows us the head of a sea-deity with hair and beard as if of red and light green seaweed, and with deep eyes coloured dark blue and tinged beneath with green; the passion and unrest of the sea is in the eyes and in the pose of the head.

Such a theme is fascinating for art, but belongs to nature-worship rather than to ethical religion: and the monuments as well as the literature suggest that the personality of Poseidon did not appeal so strongly as some others of the Pantheon to the moral and intellectual enthusiasm of the Hellenes. He was always closer to the material than to the spiritual world.

PLATE XVI

[1] Hom. *Il.* 7. 445 : Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων.

13. 43 : Ποσειδάων γαιήοχος ἐννοσίγαιος.

7. 452 : τοῦ δ' ἐπιλήσονται τὸ ἐγὼ καὶ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλωι
ἥρῳ Λαομέδοντι πολίσσαμεν ἀθλήσαντε.

12. 27 : αὐτὸς δ' ἐννοσίγαιος ἔχων χείρεσσι τρίαιναν
ἡγεῖτ', ἐκ δ' ἄρα πάντα θεμείλια κύμασι πέμπε
φιτρῶν καὶ λάων, τὰ θέσαν μογέοντες Ἀχαιοί.

15. 187 :

τρεῖς γάρ τ' ἐκ Κρόνου εἰμὲν ἀδελφεοί, οὓς τέκετο Ῥέα,
Ζεὺς καὶ ἐγώ, τρίτατος δ' Ἀΐδης, ἐνέροισιν ἀνάσσων.
τριχθὰ δ' ἅπαντα δέδασται, ἕκαστος δ' ἔμμορε τιμῆς·
ἦ τοι ἐγὼν ἔλαχον πολιὴν ἅλα ναιέμεν αἰεὶ
παλλομένων.

2. 478 : ὄμματα καὶ κεφαλὴν ἴκελος Διὶ τερπικεραύνῳ,
Ἄρεϊ δὲ ζώνην, στέρνον δὲ Ποσειδάωνι.

(Cf. Cornut. 22 καλεῖται εὐρύστερνος ὁ Ποσειδῶν διὰ τὸ πλάτος τοῦ πελάγους.)

23. 306 : Ἀντίλοχ', ἦ τοι μέν σε νέον περ ἐόντ' ἐφίλησαν
Ζεύς τε Ποσειδάων τε καὶ ἱπποσύνας ἐδίδαξαν
παντοίας.

Cf. 277.

Od. 9. 528 :

κλῦθι, Ποσείδαον γαιήοχε, κυανοχαῖτα.

[2] Hom. *Hymn* 22 :

Ἀμφὶ Ποσειδάωνα, θεὸν μέγαν, ἄρχομ' ἀείδειν,
γαίης κινητῆρα καὶ ἀτρυγέτοιο θαλάσσης,
πόντιον, ὅς θ' Ἑλικῶνα καὶ εὐρείας ἔχει Αἰγάς.
διχθά τοι, Ἐννοσίγαιε, θεοὶ τιμὴν ἐδάσαντο,
ἵππων τε δμητῆρ' ἔμεναι, σωτῆρά τε νηῶν.

Cf. Hom. *Epigr.* 6.

[3] Aristoph. *Equ.* 551 :

Ἱππεῖ' ἄναξ Πόσειδον, ᾧ
χαλκοκρότων ἵππων κτύπος
καὶ χρεμετισμὸς ἀνδάνει
καὶ κυανέμβολοι θοαὶ

μισθοφόροι τριήρεις,
μειρακίων θ' ἅμιλλα λαμ-
πρυνομένων ἐν ἅρμασιν
καὶ βαρυδαιμονούντων,
δεῦρ' ἔλθ' ἐς χορόν, ὦ χρυσοτρίαιν', ὦ
δελφίνων μεδέων, Σουνιάρατε,
ὦ Γεραίστιε παῖ Κρόνου,
Φορμίωνί τε φίλτατ', ἐκ
τῶν ἄλλων τε θεῶν Ἀθην-
αίοις πρὸς τὸ παρεστός.

[4] Poseidon the Horse-God.

[a] Ἵππιος, 19 (Potidaia), 24, 29, 30 (Thessaly), 40[b] (Onchestos), 45[k] (Athens), 48 (Kolonos), 55[d] (Corinth), 64, 64[c–g] (Arcadia: cf. Demeter, R. 41—Thelpusa), 65 (Elis), 66[c] (Patrai), 82[e] (Rhodes), 114 (Argolis, Illyria).

[b] Ἱππηγέτης at Delos, 45[n].

[c] Ἱπποκούριος at Sparta: vide Artemis, R. 18.

[d] Himer. *Or.* 3. 10 Ἱππεῖον Ποσειδῶνα τιμῶσιν Ἕλληνες καὶ θύουσιν ἐπὶ Ἰσθμῷ τῷ θεῷ, δεικνύοντες αὐτὸν ἡνίοχον καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀγάλμασιν.

Poseidon a god of vegetation.

[5] Π. φυτάλμιος: vide Demeter, R. 16.

[a] Plut. *Quaest. Conviv.* p. 676 A ἀμφότεροι οἱ θεοὶ τῆς ὑγρᾶς καὶ γονίμου κύριοι δοκοῦσιν ἀρχῆς εἶναι καὶ Ποσειδῶνί γε φυταλμίῳ καὶ Διονύσῳ Δενδρίτῃ πάντες ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν οἱ Ἕλληνες θύουσι.

[b] At Athens, 45[p]; Troezen, 58[d]; Rhodes, 115; Poseidon with Γῆ Καρπυφόρος at Kyzikos, 86; Troezen, 58[a]. Cf. Ritual, 116.

[6] Π. Φύκιος, 113[a]. Π. Ἀσφάλιος (? a god of earthquakes): Plut. *Thes.* 36 τοῦ θεοῦ ὃν Ἀσφάλειον καὶ Γαιήοχον προσονομάζομεν. Macr. *Sat.* 1. 17, 22 Neptunum quem alias Ἐνοσίχθονα id est terram moventem, alias Ἀσφαλίωνα id est stabilientem vocant. Cornut. *Compend.* c. 22 γαιήοχος λέγεται ὁ Ποσειδῶν καὶ θεμελιοῦχος ὑπό τινων καὶ θύουσιν αὐτῷ Ἀσφαλείῳ Ποσειδῶνι πολλαχοῦ. Vide 45[f] (Athens), 62[b] (Sparta), 62[e] (Tainaron), 75 (Syros), 82[a] (Rhodes), 86 (Kyzikos).

[7] Π. Γαιάοχος.

[a] Arion, *Frag.* Bergk, 3, p. 80 Ὕψιστε θεῶν πόντιε χρυσοτρίαινα Πόσειδον, γαιάοχ', ἐγκύμον' ἀν' ἅλμαν.

[b] Dion. Halic. 2. 31 καλεῖται δὲ ὁ θεὸς ᾧ ταῦτα ἐπιτελοῦσι Κῶνσος ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων· ὃν . . . Ποσειδῶνα σεισίχθονά φασιν εἶναί τινες, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὑπογείῳ τετιμῆσθαι βωμῷ λέγουσιν, ὅτι τὴν γῆν ὁ θεὸς οὗτος ἔχει. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ

ἕτερον οἶδα λόγον ἀκούων . . . Ποσειδῶνι γὰρ ἀφανῆ βωμὸν οὐδαμόθι γῆς οὔθ' ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων οὔθ' ὑπὸ βαρβάρων καθιδρῦσθαι. Vide 40 (Onchestos), 45[i] (Athens), 55 (Corinth), 61 (Thurea), 62[a] (Therapne), 62[e] (Tainaron), 62[f] (Gythion). χαμαίζηλος (Athens), 45[q], god of earthquakes 66[b] (Helike), 98 (Apameia in Syria).

Poseidon as god of rivers and springs: 55[c], 62[g].

[8] [a] Aesch. *Sept.* 309 ὕδωρ τε Διρκαῖον εὐτρεφέστατον πωμάτων ὅσων ἵησιν Ποσειδὰν ὁ γαιάοχος Τηθύος τε παῖδες. Cf. Pind. *Ol.* 6. 58 Ἀλφεῷ μέσσῳ καταβὰς ἐκάλεσσε Ποσειδᾶν εὐρυβίαν, ὃν πρόγονον. Hesych. *s.v.* Ἐπιλήμνιος: ὁ Ποσειδῶν (leg. ἐπιλίμνιος or ἐπιλιμένιος). Cf. 43, 62[d]. Cornut. 22 λέγεται (Ποσειδῶν) παρά τισι καὶ νυμφαγέτης καὶ κρηνοῦχος.

[b] As sea-god: Ἐπακταῖος, Samos, 78. Πελάγιος at Athens, 45[o]; Rhodes, 82[e]; Πετραῖος, 24 (Thessaly); Πόρθμιος, 83 (Karpathos); Προσκλύστιος, 60[d] (Argos); Πόντιος, 32 (Elateia); 62[e] (Tainaron). Cf. 34, 55, 62[d, f], 64[b, d], 97, 100, 107.

[9] Deity of the family and clan: Plut. 730 E οἱ δὲ ἀφ' Ἕλληνος τοῦ παλαιοῦ καὶ Πατριγενείῳ Ποσειδῶνι θύουσιν. Π. Γενέθλιος, 60[c] (Argolis), 62[b] (Sparta). Π. Δωματίτας, 62[b] (Sparta); Πατήρ, 49 (Eleusis); Ἐρεχθεύς, 45[i] (Athens); Φράτριος, 33 (Delphi).

[10] Political titles: Ἀργεῖος, 80 (Rhodes, Nisyros); Βασιλεύς, 58[b] (Troezen); Ἑλικώνιος, 66[b], 87–88 (Ionia); Λαοίτας, 65 (Elis); Πολιοῦχος, 58[a] (Troezen).

[11] War-god: Π. τροπαῖος, 96 (Ptolemais); cf. 104 (Selinus). Cf. Herod. 7. 192 τοῖσι δὲ Ἕλλησι οἱ ἡμεροσκόποι . . . ἐσήμαινον πάντα τὰ γενόμενα περὶ τὴν ναυηγίην. οἱ δὲ ὡς ἐπύθοντο, Ποσειδέωνι Σωτῆρι εὐξάμενοι καὶ σπονδὰς προχέαντες τὴν ταχίστην ὀπίσω ἐπείγοντο ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον . . . περὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐναυλόχεον· Ποσειδέωνος Σωτῆρος ἐπωνυμίην ἀπὸ τούτου ἔτι καὶ ἐς τόδε νομίζοντες. Cf. R. 52.

GEOGRAPHICAL REGISTER

The Euxine and Thrace.

[12] Phanagoria: *C. I. G.* 2123 ἱερεὺς Ποσειδῶνος (imperial period).

[13] Pantikapaion: vide Aphrodite, R. 106[q] (Ποσειδῶν Σωσίνεως). Latyschef, *Inscr. Reg. Bosp.* 2123 [τὸν ἀπὸ] Ποσειδῶνος [κ]αὶ ἀ[φ' Ἡρακλ]έους Βασιλέα Βασιλέων μέγαν τοῦ σύμπαντος Βοσπόρου Τιβέριον Ἰούλιον Σαυρομάτην, υἱὸν Βασιλέως Ῥησκουπόριδος (time of Tiberius?).

[14] On the coast east of Heracleia Pontika τὸ Ποσείδειον: Arr. *Peripl.* c. 13.

[15] The Thracian Bosporus: Aristid. 1, p. 35 (Dind.) *ἐπὶ μὲν ταῖς εἰσβολαῖς τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου . . . ἱερά τε αὐτοῦ* [Ποσειδῶνος] *καὶ τεμένη καὶ βωμοί.*

[16] Byzantium: vide Aphrodite, R. 1. Cf. Hesych. Miles. *Constantinop.* 12 Ποσειδῶνος δὲ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος, ὥς φασι, συνεργούντων ἀνοικοδομεῖ τὰ τείχη. Dionys. Byz. *Anapl.* Fr. 9 *καὶ Ποσειδῶνος νεὼς ἀρχαῖος μὲν παρ' ὃ καὶ λιτός, ἐπιβεβηκὼς δὲ τῇ θαλάττῃ* (in the vicinity of the city).

Macedonia. (In upper valley of the Haliakmon) *Ath. Mitth.* 1902, p. 316 Ἀγοραῖας Ἀντιγόνου Ποσειδῶνι καὶ Ἀμφιτρίτῃ εὐχήν.

[17] Amphipolis, head of Poseidon on coins after 168 B.C.: *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Macedonia*,' pp. 46, 49.

[18] Pella: *ib.* p. 90.

[19] Potidaia: *ib.* p. 99 'Poseidon Hippios, naked, on horseback; he holds trident and reins; beneath horse, star' (circ. 500 B.C.). Cf. Herod. 8. 129 *τοῦ Ποσειδέωνος ἐς τὸν νηὸν καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸ ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ ἠσέβησαν οὗτοι τῶν Περσέων.*

[20] Thessalonika: *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Macedonia*,' p. 111, head of Poseidon with trident (after 168 B.C.).

[21] Poseidonion, promontory of Pallene: Thuc. 4. 129; Livy 44. 11.

Thessaly.

[22] Strab. p. 330 (Fr. 32) *τὰ δὲ ἄκρα Ποσείδιον μὲν τὸ μεταξὺ Μαλιακοῦ καὶ Παγασιτικοῦ.*

[23] Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 133 *ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ Φερεκύδῃ· ἔθυε, φησίν, ὁ Πελίας τῷ Ποσειδῶνι καὶ προεῖπε πᾶσι παρεῖναι.*

[24] Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 138 *παῖ Ποσειδᾶνος Πετραίου* [Πελίας]. Cf. Schol. *ib.* Πετραῖος τιμᾶται Ποσειδῶν παρὰ Θετταλοῖς, ὅτι διατεμὼν τὰ ὄρη τὰ Θετταλικά, λέγω δὴ τὰ Τέμπη, πεποίηκε δι' αὐτῶν ἐπιτρέχειν τὸν ποταμὸν Πηνειόν (so also Herodotus, 7. 129). *Et. Mag.* p. 473, 42 *s. v.* Ἵππιος ὁ Ποσειδῶν· ὅτι δοκεῖ πρῶτον ἵππον γεγεννηκέναι Σίσυφον ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ, τῇ τριαίνῃ πέτραν παίσας· ὅθεν ἱερὸν Ποσειδῶνος Πετραίου καθίδρυται ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ.

[25] Larissa: Collitz, *Dialect. Inschr.* 1321, 1322, dedications Ποτειδοῦνι Πα[ρ]απαναίου.

[26] Thebes in Phthiotis: *C. I. G.* 1769 Φιλόμβροτος . . . Ποσειδῶνι (third century B.C.?).

[27] Inscription from Hestiaiotis, Collitz 333 Ποσειδῶνι Κουερίῳ.

[28] Kierion: *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Thessaly*,' p. 15, head of Poseidon on coins after 300 B.C.

[29] Serv. Verg. *Georg.* 1. 12 (ut) a Thessalis Neptuno equestre certamen memorent institutum.

[30] Π. Ἴμψιος: Hesych. *s. v.* Ἴμψας· ζεύξας, Θετταλοί. Ἴμψιος, Ποσειδῶν ὁ ζύγιος.

[31] Lokris Opuntia: terracottas in British Museum, dedications to Athena and Poseidon, circ. 450 B. C.

Phokis.

[32] Elateia: *C. I. G. Sept.* 3. 119 enfranchisement contract, fourth century B. C., ἐπιμεληταί· Ἀθάνα Ζεὺς Ἑρμᾶς Ἀπόλλων Ποτειδὰν Χάριτες. 130 Ποντίῳ Ἱπποµέδοντι Ποσειδῶνι Κρόνου υἱεῖ | ἡ πόλις εὐξαµένη τούσδ' ἀνέθηκε θεῷ | ἡµιθέους σωτῆρας (fourth century B. C.).

[33] Delphi: vide Apollo, R. 118. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1902, p. 65, inscription at Delphi mentioning τὸ Ποτειδάνιον (on the terrace above the Pythion). Aesch. *Eumen.* 27:

> Πλειστοῦ τε πηγὰς καὶ Ποσειδῶνος κράτος
> καλοῦσα καὶ τέλειον ὕψιστον Δία
> ἔπειτα µάντις ἐς θρόνους καθιζάνω.

Hesych. *s. v.* Πρόνεως· Ποσειδῶν. Poseidon Φράτριος in inscription containing the regulations of the phratria of the Labyadai (circ. 400 B. C.), *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1895, p. 8, B, 10 τὰν δὲ ψᾶφον φερόντων ἀνδεξάµενοι ποὶ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ τοῦ Ποτειδᾶνος τοῦ φρατρίου καὶ τοῦ Διὸς Πατρωΐου. ? Π. Ἀµοιβεύς: Schol. Lycoph. 617 οὕτω ἐν Δελφοῖς τιµᾶται.

[34] Antikyra: Paus. 10. 36, 8 Ἀντικυρεῦσι δὲ εἰσὶ µὲν ἀνδριάντες ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ χαλκοῖ, ἔστι δέ σφισιν ἐπὶ τῷ λιµένι Ποσειδῶνι οὐ µέγα ἱερόν, λογάσιν ᾠκοδοµηµένον λίθοις· κεκονίαται δὲ τὰ ἐντός. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλµα ὀρθὸν χαλκοῦ πεποιηµένον, βέβηκε δὲ ἐπὶ δελφῖνι τῷ ἑτέρῳ τῶν ποδῶν· κατὰ τοῦτο δὲ ἔχει τὴν χεῖρα ἐπὶ τῷ µηρῷ, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἑτέρᾳ χειρὶ τρίαινά ἐστιν αὐτῷ.

[35] Lokri Ozolai: Paus. 10. 38, 8 (at Myonia) Ποσειδῶνός ἐστιν ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν τέµενος καλούµενον Ποσειδώνιον, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ ναὸς Ποσειδῶνος· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλµα ἐς ἐµὲ οὐκ ἦν.

[36] Aetolia: Steph. Byz. Ποτιδανία· πόλις Αἰτωλίας.

[37] Epiros: Strab. 324 µετὰ δὲ Ὄγχησµον Ποσείδιον καὶ Βουθρωτόν.

[38] Korkyra: *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Thessaly*,' pp. 143–157. Coin-types: Poseidon: head bound with laurel or fillet, second century B. C.; p. 152, with loose spreading hair. *C. I. G. Sept.* 3. 690 ἱερὸν Ποσειδᾶνος (third century B. C.).

Illyria: vide Ritual, 114 c.

Boeotia.

[39] *Et. Mag.* 547 Ἑλικώνιον τὸν Ποσειδῶνα εἴρηκεν [Ὅμηρος] ἀπὸ Ἑλικῶνος, ὡς Ἀρίσταρχος βούλεται· ἐπεὶ ἡ Βοιωτία ὅλη ἱερὰ Ποσειδῶνος· οὐ γὰρ ἀρέσκει ἀπὸ Ἑλίκης. Paus. 9. 31, 3 (near the top of Helikon) ἡ τοῦ Ἵππου καλουμένη κρήνη· ταύτην τὸν Βελλεροφόντου ποιῆσαί φασιν ἵππον, ἐπιψαύσαντα ὁπλῇ τῆς γῆς (cf. R. 66[b], 2). ? At Aigosthena: *C. I. G. Sept.* 1. 43 cult of 'Posidonios,' possibly a hero-cult).

[40] Haliartos-Onchestos.

[a] Hom. *Il.* 2. 506:

Ὀγχηστόν θ' ἱερόν, Ποσιδήϊον ἀγλαὸν ἄλσος.

[b] *Hymn Herm.* 186:

Ὀγχηστόνδ' ἀφίκανε κιών, πολυήρατον ἄλσος
ἀγνὸν ἐρισφαράγου Γαιήοχου.

Hymn Apoll. 231:

Ὀγχηστόν . . .
ἔνθα νεοδμὴς πῶλος ἀναπνέει ἀχθόμενός περ
ἕλκων ἅρματα καλά, χαμαὶ δ' ἐλατὴρ ἀγαθός περ
ἐκ δίφροιο θορὼν ὁδὸν ἔρχεται· οἱ δὲ τέως μὲν
κεῖν' ὄχεα κροτέουσιν ἀνακτορίην ἀφιέντες.
εἰ δέ κεν ἅρματ' ἄγῃσιν ἐν ἄλσεϊ δενδρήεντι
ἵππους μὲν κομέουσι, τὰ δὲ κλίναντες ἑῶσιν·
ὡς γὰρ τὰ πρώτισθ' ὁσίη γένεθ· οἱ δὲ ἄνακτι
εὔχονται, δίφρον δὲ θεοῦ τότε μοῖρα φυλάσσει.

Schol. Hom. *Il.* 23. 346 Ποσειδῶν, ἐρασθεὶς Ἐρινύος, καὶ μεταβαλὼν τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν εἰς ἵππον, ἐμίγη κατὰ Βοιωτίαν παρὰ τῇ Τιλφούσῃ κρήνῃ· ἡ δὲ ἔγκυος γενομένη ἵππον ἐγέννησεν, ὃς . . . Ἀρείων ἐκλήθη. Κοπρεὺς δὲ Ἁλιάρτου βασιλεύων . . . ἔλαβε δῶρον αὐτὸν παρὰ Ποσειδῶνος.

[c] Strab. p. 412 Ὀγχηστὸς δ' ἐστίν, ὅπου τὸ Ἀμφικτυονικὸν συνήγετο ἐν τῇ Ἁλιαρτίᾳ πρὸς τῇ Κωπαΐδι λίμνῃ καὶ τῷ Τηνερικῷ πεδίῳ . . . ἔχων Ποσειδῶνος ἱερὸν καὶ αὐτὸ ψιλόν.

[d] Paus. 9. 26, 5 πόλεως ἐρείπια Ὀγχηστοῦ· φασὶ δὲ ἐνταῦθα οἰκῆσαι Ποσειδῶνος παῖδα Ὀγχηστόν· ἐπ' ἐμοῦ δὲ ναός τε καὶ ἄγαλμα Ποσειδῶνος ἐλείπετο Ὀγχηστίου καὶ τὸ ἄλσος, ὃ δὴ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐπῄνεσεν.

[e] Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 293, coin of Haliartos, B. C. 387–374 (*Brit. Mus. Cat.* 'Central Greece,' Pl. 7. 15), obv. 'Boeotian shield, on which trident'; rev. 'Poseidon-Onchestios naked, striking with trident.'

[41] The Minyan Orchomenos: vide *s. v.* Kalaureia, 58[e].

[42] Thebes: Hesiod, *Scut.* 104:

ταύρεος Ἐννοσίγαιος
ὃς Θήβης κρήδεμνον ἔχει ῥύεταί τε πόλιν,

Aesch. *Sept.* 130:

> ὅ θ' ἵππιος ποντομέδων ἄναξ
> ἰχθυβόλῳ μαχανᾷ, Ποσειδάν,
> ἐπίλυσιν πόνων, ἐπίλυσιν δίδου.

C. I. G. Sept. 1. 2465 Θεοκκὼ Ἑρμαῖω Ἰάρεια Ποτειδάονι Ἐμπυλήο[ι] (? circ. 300 B C.). ? Thebes: coin-type, circ. 288–244 B. C. Poseidon naked to waist, holding dolphin and trident, seated left on throne, at the side of which Boeotian shield, *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Central Greece*,' Pl. 6. 1.

Euboea.

[43] Aigai: Hom. *Il.* 13. 21 (vide R. 66):

> Αἰγάς· ἔνθα δέ οἱ [Ποσειδάωνι] κλυτὰ δώματα βένθεσι λίμνης
> χρύσεα μαρμαίροντα τετεύχαται, ἄφθιτα αἰεί.

Strab. 405 Αἰγὰς τὰς ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ, ἐν αἷς τὸ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερὸν τοῦ Αἰγαίου. Hesych. *s. v.* Αἰγαί· νῆσος πρὸς τῇ Εὐβοίᾳ, ἱερὸν Ποσειδῶνος.

[43 a] Chalkis: *Eph. Arch.* 1902, p. 31, sacrifice to Poseidon mentioned in the ἱερὸς νόμος of fifth century B. C. Cf. Monuments of Poseidon, p. 61.

[44] Geraistos: Schol. Hom. *Od.* 3. 178 ἐτιμᾶτο ὁ Ποσειδῶν ἐν Γεραιστῷ. Aristid. vol. 1, p. 35 (Dindorf) ὁ ἐν Γεραιστῷ λιμὴν καὶ ἱερὸν τοῦ θεοῦ· οὗ καὶ Ὅμηρος μέμνηται ἐν Ἀχαιῶν νόστῳ καὶ τῷ ἀπόπλῳ τῷ ἐξ Ἰλίου. Lucian, *Zeus Trag.* 25 ἢ σὺ αὐτὸς [Ποσειδῶν] περιεῖδες ἂν ἐν Γεραιστῷ τὸν ἁλιέα τὸν ἐξ Ὠρεοῦ ὑφαιρούμενόν σου τὴν τρίαιναν. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1891, p. 404, inscription mentioning temple, τοῦ Ποσειδᾶνος τοῦ Γεραιστίου. Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 13. 159 ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ Γεραίστια . . . ἄγεται Ποσειδῶνι διὰ τὸν συμβάντα χειμῶνα ἐν Γεραιστῷ. Cf. Hesych. *s. v.* Εὐρίπιος· Ποσειδῶν.

[44 a] Karystos: head of Poseidon on coins second century B. C., *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Central Greece*,' p. 104.

Attica.

[45] Athens.

[a] Strab. 397 Ἀκτὴν μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ Ἀκταίωνός φασι [κεκλῆσθαι] . . . Ποσειδωνίαν τε καὶ Ἀθήνας ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπωνύμων θεῶν.

[b] Pollux, *Onomast.* 8. 109 αἱ φυλαὶ . . . ἐπὶ Ἐριχθονίου [μετωνομάσθησαν] Διὰς Ἀθηναῖς Ποσειδωνιὰς Ἡφαιστιάς.

[c] Dispute between Poseidon and Athena for the possession of the land: vide Zeus, R. 107[i]. Cf. Athena, 17[a]: vide R. 118. Strab. 396 (from Hegesias) ὁρῶ τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν καὶ τὸ περιττῆς τριαίνης ἐκεῖθι σημεῖον. Paus. 1. 24, 3 πεποίηται δὲ καὶ τὸ φυτὸν τῆς ἐλαίας Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ

κῦμα ἀναφαίνων Ποσειδῶν. Cf. infra *s. v.* Arcadia (Mantinea). *C. I. A.* 3. 209 [Ποσει]δῶνα κατὰ ἐπίταγμα τοῦ θεοῦ Ἀψίνης ἐποίησε (private dedication found within the Propylaea, ? first century B. C.).

[d] Plut. *Theseus* 36 καὶ γὰρ Ποσειδῶνα ταῖς ὀγδόαις τιμῶσι.

[e] Poseidon in the formula of the public-oath: vide Demeter, R. 67 (oath of Heliasts). *Ib.* R. 69 (oath of alliance). Cf. *C. I. A.* 2, add. 66[b] [Ὀμνύω νὴ τὸν Δία] καὶ Ἥλιον καὶ Ποσειδῶ (oath of alliance between Athens and kings of Thrace against Philip (356–355 B. C.).

[f] Π. Ἀσφάλειος: Aristoph. *Acharn.* 682:

οἷς Ποσειδῶν ἀσφάλειός ἐστιν ἡ βακτηρία.

[g] Schol. *ib.* Ποσειδῶν ἀσφάλειος παρ' Ἀθηναίοις τιμᾶται.

[h] Π. Ἐλάτης: Hesych. *s. v.* ὁ Ποσειδῶν ἐν Ἀθήναις.

[i] Π. Ἐρεχθεύς: vide Athena, R. 17[a] and p. 271, note a. *C. I. A.* 1. 387 (inscription fifth century B. C. found near Erechtheum) Ἐπιτέλης Οἰνοχάρης Σφναύτου Περγασῆθεν Ποσειδῶνι Ἐρεχθεῖ ἀνεθέτην. *Ib.* 4. 556[c] (mutilated decree of Erechtheid tribe concerning sacrifices, fourth century B. C.) τῷ Ποσειδῶνι καὶ τῷ Ἐρεχθεῖ. *Ib.* 3. 276 ἱερεὺς Ποσειδῶνος Γαιηόχου καὶ Ἐρεχθέως. 815 ὁ ἱερεὺς Ποσειδῶνος Ἐρεχθέως Γαιηόχου (time of Nero).

[k] Π. Ἵππιος: *Ib.* 1. 196 (schedule of accounts fifth century B. C.) Ποσειδῶνος Ἱππίου.

[l] Π. Καλαυρεάτης: *Ib.* 1. 273 Ποσειδῶνος Καλαυρεάτου (schedule of accounts fifth century B. C.).

[m] Π. Κυνάδης: Hesych. *s. v.* Κυνάδης Ποσειδῶν ἐν Ἀθήνῃσιν ἐτιμᾶτο. (Cf. Apollo Κύννιος at Athens, Apollo, *Geogr. Reg. s. v.* Attica.)

[n] ? Π. Μελανθρος: Lycoph. *Cass.* 766 μὴ τόσος δ' ὕπνος λάβοι Λήθης Μέλανθρον ἐγκλιθέντ' Ἱππηγέτην. Schol. *ib.* Μέλανθος δὲ ὁ Ποσειδῶν παρ' Ἀθηναίοις, Ἱππηγέτης δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς παρὰ Δηλίοις.

[o] Π. Πελάγιος: *C. I. A.* 4. 184[b], l. 16 (decree of Βουλή, fourth century B. C.) ἐπαινέσαι τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος τοῦ Πελαγίου.

[p] Π. Φυτάλμιος: *Ib.* 3. 269 ἱερέως Ποσειδῶνος Φυταλμίου (late).

[q] Π. Χαμαίζηλος: *Ib.* 3. 77 (inscription at Oxford, late) Ποσιδέωνος ἡ ἱσταμένου πόπανον χοινικιαῖον δωδεκόφυλον καθήμενον, Ποσειδῶνι χαμαιζήλῳ νηφάλιον. (Cf. Orph. *Argon.* 934 the dragon guarding the golden fleece called δεῖμα χαμαιζήλοιο Διός.)

Attic Demes.

[46] Aixone (on the coast not far from Phaleron): *Ath. Mitth.* 1879, 202, formula of oath, νὴ τὸν Δία νὴ τὸν Ποσειδῶ νὴ τὴν Δήμητρα, in inscription B. C. 325–4.

[47] Agrai: Bekker's *Anecd. Graec.* 1, p. 326 Κλείδημος ἐν πρώτῳ Ἀτθίδος· τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄνω τὰ τοῦ Ἰλισσοῦ πρὸς ἀγορὰν Εἰλείθυια. τῷ δὲ ὄχθῳ πάλαι ὄνομα τούτῳ ὃς νῦν Ἄγρα καλεῖται, Ἑλικών, καὶ ἡ ἐσχάρα τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος τοῦ Ἑλικωνίου ἐπ' ἄκρου· καὶ ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ μητρῶον τὸ ἐν Ἄγραις.

[48] Kolonos. Π. Ἵππιος: vide Athena, R. 17[f], 17[a]; Apollo, R. 42[a]. Soph. *Oed. Col.* 712:

> ὦ παῖ Κρόνου, σὺ γάρ νιν ἐς
> τόδ' εἶσας αὔχημ', ἄναξ Ποσειδάν,
> ἵπποισιν τὸν ἀκεστῆρα χαλινὸν
> πρώταισι ταῖσδε κτίσας ἀγυιαῖς.

[49] Eleusis. Π. Πατήρ: vide Athena, R. 17[a 9]; Artemis, R. 18; Demeter, R. 176, 205[b] (the Eumolpidai descended from Poseidon); Demeter, R. 18 (participation of Poseidon in the Haloa); Poseidon with Demeter and ἡ Παῖς on the way between Athens and Eleusis, vide Demeter, R. 42.

[50] Lakiadas: vide Athena, R. 17[a].

[51] Peiraeus: Plut. 842 A τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἀγῶνα ποιεῖν ἐν Πειραιεῖ, κυκλίων χορῶν οὐκ ἔλαττον τριῶν.

[52] Sunion: vide supra, R. 3. Schol. *Od.* 3. 278 [Σούνιον] ἱερὸν εἴρηται παρὰ τὸ ἀνατεθεῖσθαι τῷ Ποσειδῶνι. Herod. 6. 87 ἦν τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι πεντήρης ἐπὶ Σουνίῳ. Skyl. *Peripl.*: Müller, *Geogr. Graec. Min.* 1, p. 46 Σούνιον ἀκρωτήριον καὶ τεῖχος· ἱερὸν Ποσειδῶνος. Cf. inscriptions found in Poseidon's temple at Sunion, *Eph. Arch.* 1900, p. 134 στῆσαι τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος (third century B. C.); cf. p. 145 στῆ[σαι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος] Σωτῆρος ἐπὶ Σουνίου, third century B. C. *C. I. A.* 1. 208 (fifth century B. C., schedule of accounts) Ποσειδῶνος ἐπὶ Σουνίῳ.

[53] Aegina: R. 58[e], vide Hekate, R. 7. Plut. *Quaest. Conv.* p. 741 A ἐν Αἰγίνῃ ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς [ἡττώμενον Ποσειδῶνα].

[54] Megara: *C. I. G. Sept.* 1. 47 Ποσείδεα πυγμήν (? fourth century B. C.).

[55] Corinth: vide Athena, R. 17[c], Π. Γαιάοχος with Athena Hippia.

[a] Aristid. 1, p. 36 οὐ μὴν οὕτω γε φίλον οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἀγαπητὸν αὐτῷ οὔτε τίμιον, ὡς ὁ Ἰσθμοῖ οὗτος καὶ ὅδε ὁ χῶρος, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐγὼ καὶ ἀρχεῖα Ποσειδῶνος καλῶ καὶ βασιλείαν καὶ αὐλήν . . . καὶ ὁρμητήριον.

[b] Paus. 2. 1, 6 λέγουσι δὲ καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι Ποσειδῶνα ἐλθεῖν Ἡλίῳ περὶ τῆς γῆς ἐς ἀμφισβήτησιν, Βριάρεων δὲ διαλλακτὴν γενέσθαι σφίσιν, Ἰσθμὸν μὲν καὶ ὅσα ταύτῃ δικάσαντα εἶναι Ποσειδῶνος, τὴν δὲ ἄκραν Ἡλίῳ δόντα τὴν ὑπὲρ

τῆς πόλεως. . . . § 7 ἐλθόντι δὲ ἐς τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦτο μὲν ἀθλητῶν νικησάντων τὰ Ἴσθμια ἑστήκασιν εἰκόνες, τοῦτο δὲ πιτύων δένδρα ἐστὶ πεφυτευμένα . . . τῷ ναῷ δὲ ὄντι μέγεθος οὐ μείζονι ἐφεστήκασι Τρίτωνες χαλκοῖ. καὶ ἀγάλματά ἐστιν ἐν τῷ προνάῳ, δύο μὲν Ποσειδῶνος, τρίτον δὲ Ἀμφιτρίτης καὶ Θάλασσα, καὶ αὕτη χαλκῆ. τὰ δὲ ἔνδον ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἀνέθηκεν Ἡρώδης Ἀθηναῖος, ἵππους τέσσαρας ἐπιχρύσους πλὴν τῶν ὁπλῶν· ὁπλαὶ δέ σφισίν εἰσιν ἐλέφαντος. καὶ Τρίτωνες δύο παρὰ τοὺς ἵππους εἰσὶ χρυσοῖ, τὰ μετ' ἰξὺν ἐλέφαντος καὶ οὗτοι· τῷ δὲ ἅρματι Ἀμφιτρίτη καὶ Ποσειδῶν ἐφεστήκασι, καὶ παῖς ὀρθός ἐστιν ἐπὶ δελφῖνος ὁ Παλαίμων· ἐλέφαντος δὲ καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ οὗτοι πεποίηνται. τῷ βάθρῳ δέ, ἐφ' οὗ τὸ ἅρμα, μέση μὲν ἐπείργασται Θάλασσα ἀνέχουσα Ἀφροδίτην παῖδα, ἑκατέρωθεν δέ εἰσιν αἱ Νηρηίδες καλούμεναι· ταύταις καὶ ἑτέρωθι τῆς Ἑλλάδος βωμοὺς οἶδα ὄντας. . . . § 9 τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος δέ εἰσιν ἐπειργασμένοι τῷ βάθρῳ καὶ οἱ Τυνδάρεω παῖδες, ὅτι δὴ σωτῆρες καὶ οὗτοι νεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων εἰσὶ ναυτιλλομένων. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἀνάκειται Γαλήνης ἄγαλμα καὶ Θαλάσσης, καὶ ἵππος εἰκασμένος κήτει τὰ μετὰ τὸ στέρνον, Ἰνώ τε καὶ Βελλεροφόντης καὶ ὁ ἵππος ὁ Πήγασος. Ch. 2. 1 τοῦ περιβόλου δέ ἐστιν ἐντὸς Παλαίμονος ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ναός, ἀγάλματα δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ Ποσειδῶν καὶ Λευκοθέα καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Παλαίμων. (Cf. Zeus, R. 40[d], dedication to Ino and Melikertes and Βύθιος Κρονίδης = Poseidon.)

[c] Paus. 2. 2, 7 (in the agora at Corinth) ᾠκοδόμηται κρήνη καὶ Ποσειδῶν ἐπ' αὐτῇ χαλκοῦς καὶ δελφὶς ὑπὸ τοῖς ποσίν ἐστι τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἀφιεὶς ὕδωρ. 2. 2, 3 ἐν δὲ Κεγχρέαις . . . ἐπὶ τῷ ἐρύματι τῷ διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης Ποσειδῶνος χαλκοῦν ἄγαλμα. Lucian, *Jup. Trag.* 9 ἀλλὰ σὲ μέν, ὦ Ἐννοσίγαιε, χαλκοῦν ὁ Λύσιππος καὶ πένητα ἐποίησεν, οὐκ ἐχόντων τότε τῶν Κορινθίων χρυσόν.

[d] Himer. 3. 10 ἵππειον Ποσειδῶνα τιμῶσιν Ἕλληνες καὶ θύουσιν ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ τῷ θεῷ, δεικνύοντες αὐτὸν ἡνίοχον καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀγάλμασιν.

[e] Plut. *Thes.* 25 τὸν ἀγῶνα [τὰ Ἴσθμια] πρῶτος ἔθηκε [Θησεὺς] . . . Ἴσθμια τῷ Ποσειδῶνι φιλοτιμηθεὶς ἄγειν τοὺς Ἕλληνας· ὁ γὰρ ἐπὶ Μελικέρτῃ τεθεὶς αὐτόθι νυκτὸς ἐδρᾶτο, τελετῆς ἔχων μᾶλλον ἢ θέας καὶ πανηγυρισμοῦ τάξιν. Ἔνιοι δέ φασιν ἐπὶ Σκείρωνι τὰ Ἴσθμια τεθῆναι . . . οἱ δὲ Σίνιν, οὐ Σκείρωνα . . . Ἔταξεν οὖν καὶ διωρίσατο πρὸς τοὺς Κορινθίους Ἀθηναίων τοῖς ἀφικνουμένοις ἐπὶ τὰ Ἴσθμια παρέχειν προεδρίαν, ὅσον ἂν τόπον ἐπίσχῃ καταπετασθὲν τὸ τῆς θεωρίδος νεὼς ἱστίον, ὡς Ἑλλάνικος καὶ Ἄνδρων ὁ Ἁλικαρνασεὺς ἱστορήκασι.

[f] Strab. 380 ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ Ἰσθμῷ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἰσθμίου Ποσειδῶνος ἱερὸν ἅλσει πιτυώδει συνηρεφές, ὅπου τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Ἰσθμίων Κορίνθιοι συνετέλουν.

[g] Plut. 675 B (*Sympos.* 5. 2) ἐκεῖ τοίνυν [ἐν τῷ Πολέμωνος βιβλίῳ περὶ τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖς θησαυρῶν] εὑρήσετε γεγραμμένον, ὡς ἐν τῷ Σικυωνίῳ θησαυρῷ χρυσοῦν ἀνέκειτο βιβλίον, Ἀριστομένης ἀνάθημα τῆς Ἐρυθραίας ποιητρίας, Ἴσθμια νενικηκυίας. Hyg. *Fab.* 2 huic (Melicertae) quinto quoque anno ludi gymnici fiunt, qui appellantur Isthmia.

[56] a ? Poseidon Δαμαῖος in the Isthmus: Pind. *Ol.* 13. 69 καὶ Δαμαίῳ νιν θύων ταῦρον ἀργᾶντα πατρὶ δείξον.

b Herod. 9. 81 (dedication of spoils after battle of Plataea) τῷ Ἰσθμίῳ θεῷ δεκάτην, ἀπ' ἧς ἑπτάπηχυς Ποσειδέων ἐξεγένετο.

[57] Epidauros: dedication to Poseidon Hippios, Cavvadias, *Fouilles* 55; on coins of Caracalla, Poseidon standing with dolphin and trident, *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Peloponnese*,' p. 159.

[58] Troezen: vide Halikarnassos, R. 91.

a Plut. *Thes.* 6 ἦν δὲ λόγος ὑπὸ τοῦ Πιτθέως διαδοθείς, ὡς ἐκ Ποσειδῶνος ἐτεκνώθη [Θησεύς]. Ποσειδᾶνα γὰρ Τροιζήνιοι σέβονται διαφερόντως, καὶ θεὸς οὗτός ἐστιν αὐτοῖς Πολιοῦχος, ᾧ καὶ καρπῶν ἀπάρχονται καὶ τρίαιναν ἐπίσημον ἔχουσι τοῦ νομίσματος.

b Strab. 373 Τροιζὴν ἱερά ἐστι Ποσειδῶνος ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Ποσειδωνία ποτὲ ἐλέγετο. Cf. Paus. 2. 30, 8 Αἴτιον δὲ τὸν Ἄνθα . . . παραλαβόντα τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν ἑτέραν τῶν πόλεων Ποσειδωνιάδα ὀνομάσαι; cf. Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Τροιζήν. Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 371, coin-types of Troezen, circ. 400–322 B. C., head of Poseidon, trident.

c Ποσειδῶν Βασιλεύς: vide Athena, R. 17 b.

d Π. Φυτάλμιος: Paus. 2. 32, 8 ἔστι δ' ἔξω τείχους καὶ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερὸν Φυταλμίου· μηνίσαντα γάρ σφισι τὸν Ποσειδῶνα ποιεῖν φασὶν ἄκαρπον τὴν χώραν, ἅλμης ἐς τὰ σπέρματα καὶ τῶν φυτῶν τὰς ῥίζας καθικνουμένης, ἐς ὃ θυσίαις τε εἵξας καὶ εὐχαῖς οὐκέτι ἅλμην ἀνῆκεν ἐς τὴν γῆν.

e In Kalaureia, the island off Troezen: vide Apollo, R. 118. Cf. Paus. 2. 33, 3 ἔστι δ' οὖν Ποσειδῶνος ἱερὸν ἐνταῦθα ἅγιον, ἱερᾶται δὲ αὐτῷ παρθένος, ἔστ' ἂν ἐς ὥραν προέλθῃ γάμου. τοῦ περιβόλου δὲ ἐντὸς καὶ τὸ Δημοσθένους μνῆμά ἐστι.

f Strab. 374 ἦν δὲ καὶ Ἀμφικτυονία τις περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦτο ἑπτὰ πόλεων αἳ μετεῖχον τῆς θυσίας· ἦσαν δὲ Ἑρμιὼν Ἐπίδαυρος Αἴγινα Ἀθῆναι Πρασιεῖς Ναυπλιεῖς Ὀρχομενὸς ὁ Μινύειος. οὕτω δὲ ἐπεκράτησεν ἡ τιμὴ τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὥστε καὶ Μακεδόνες δυναστεύοντες ἤδη μέχρι δεῦρο ἐφύλαττόν πως τὴν ἀσυλίαν. Inscription (? third century B. C.) found in Kalaureia, *Ath. Mitth.* 1895, p. 288 . . . μηνὸς Γεραιστίου ἔδοξε τοῖς πολίταις τοῦ ἀργυρίου καὶ τοῦ χωρίου οὗ ἀνέθηκαν Ἀγασικλῆς καὶ Νικαγόρα τῷ Ποσειδᾶνι ἐπιμελητὰς καταστᾶσαι δύο, οἵτινες τό τε ἀργύριον ἐκδανεισοῦντι . . . καὶ θυσοῦντι τῷ Ποσειδᾶνι ἱερεῖον τέλειον καὶ τῷ Διὶ τῷ Σωτῆρι ἱερεῖον τέλειον, βωμὸν ἐσσάμενοι πρὸ τᾶν εἰκόνων αὐτῶν ποὶ τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ: vide Artemis, R. 18. Head of Poseidon on coins of Troezen: *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Peloponnese*,' p. 176, Pl. 31. 3.

[59] Hermione, 58 e: vide Artemis, R. 34. *C. I. G.* 1223 ἱερέα θεοῦ

Ποσειδῶνος καὶ πατέρα τῆς πόλεως (late period). Paus. 2. 34, 10 ἐνταῦθα ἡ προτέρα πόλις τοῖς Ἑρμιονεῦσιν ἦν. ἔστι δὲ σφισι καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἱερὰ αὐτόθι, Ποσειδῶνος μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκτῆς τῇ ἀρχῇ. Cf. Demeter, *Geogr. Reg. s.v.* Hermione.

[60] Argolis (vide R. 114[b], Ritual).

[a] Nauplia, R. 58[e]: Paus. 2. 38, 2 οἰκιστὴς ἐγένετο αὐτῆς Ναύπλιος Ποσειδῶνος λεγόμενος καὶ Ἀμυμώνης εἶναι. λείπεται δὲ καὶ τειχῶν ἔτι ἐρείπια καὶ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερὸν καὶ λιμένες εἰσὶν ἐν Ναυπλίᾳ.

[b] Temenion: *ib.* § 1 Ποσειδῶνος ἱερὸν ἐν Τημενίῳ πεποίηται καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἕτερον.

[c] Near Lerna: *ib.* § 4 ἔστι δὲ ἐκ Λέρνης καὶ ἑτέρα παρ' αὐτὴν ὁδὸς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐπὶ χωρίον ὃ Γενέσιον ὀνομάζουσι. πρὸς θαλάσσῃ δὲ τοῦ Γενεσίου Ποσειδῶνος ἱερόν ἐστιν οὐ μέγα.

[d] Argos: Paus. 2. 22, 4 ἐνταῦθα Ποσειδῶνός ἐστιν ἱερὸν ἐπίκλησιν Προσκλυστίου· τῆς γὰρ χώρας τὸν Ποσειδῶνα ἐπικλύσαι τὴν πολλήν, ὅτι Ἥρας εἶναι καὶ οὐκ αὐτοῦ τὴν γῆν Ἴναχος καὶ οἱ συνδικάσαντες ἔγνωσαν.

[61] Thurea in Kinuria: Roehl, *Inscr. Graec. Ant.* 79 (Laconian inscription fifth century) τάδε ἐνίκαε Δαμώνων· τῷ αὐτῷ τεθρίππῳ αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίων ἐν ΓαιFόχῳ τετράκιν· . . . καὶ Ποσίδαια Δαμώνων ἐνίκη Θευρία ὀκτάκιν.

[62] Laconia.

[a] Therapne: Paus. 3. 20, 2 Ποσειδῶνος ἱερὸν ἐπίκλησιν Γαιαόχου. Cf. Xen. *Hell.* 6. 5, 30 προῆλθον οἱ ἱππεῖς εἰς τὸν ἱππόδρομον εἰς Γαιαόχου κατὰ τάξεις. Cf. the preceding inscription.

[b] Sparta. Π. Ἀσφάλιος: vide Athena, R. 17[d] and 38[b] (inscription late period). Cf. Aristid. 1, p. 29 Διὸς Σωτῆρος τυχὸν καὶ Ποσειδῶνος Διὸς ἀδελφοῦ Ἀσφαλίου. Π. Γενέθλιος: Paus. 3. 15, 10 τοῦ θεάτρου δὲ οὐ πόρρω Ποσειδῶνός τε ἱερόν ἐστι Γενεθλίου καὶ ἡρῷα Κλεοδαίου τοῦ Ὕλλου καὶ Οἰβάλου. Π. Δωματίτης: vide Apollo, R. 27[a]. Paus. 3. 14, 7 παρὰ τοῦ Ἄλκωνος τὸ ἡρῷον Ποσειδῶνός ἐστιν ἱερόν, Δωματίτην δὲ ἐπονομάζουσιν; vide Artemis, R. 18 Ποσειδῶν Ἱπποκούριος. Cf. the hero Hipposthenes (? =) Poseidon, Paus. 3. 15, 7 πλησίον δέ ἐστιν Ἱπποσθένους ναός, ᾧ γεγόνασιν αἱ πολλαὶ νῖκαι πάλης· σέβουσι δὲ ἐκ μαντεύματος τὸν Ἱπποσθένην ἅτε Ποσειδῶνι τιμὰς νέμοντες. Π. Ταινάριος: Paus. 3. 12, 5 (on the road leading out of Sparta called Apheta) τούτων δὲ οὐ πόρρω τέμενος Ποσειδῶνος Ταιναρίου, *C. I. G.* 1374 ἱερέα καὶ ἀπόγονον Ποσιδᾶνος (Roman period). Cf. 1349.

[c] Helos: Roehl, *Inscr. Graec. Ant.* 79 καὶ Ποσίδαια Δαμώνων ἐνίκη Ἥλει.

[d] Boiai: Paus. 3. 23, 2 Πλέοντι ἐκ Βοιῶν τὴν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄκραν τῆς Μαλέας λιμήν ἐστιν ὀνομαζόμενον Νύμφαιον καὶ Ποσειδῶνος ἄγαλμα ὀρθόν. Cf. coin

quoted *Hell. Journ.* 7, p. 68, Imhoof-Blumer-Gardner, *Num. Comm. Paus.* Pl. O. 16 'Poseidon naked, standing, holds in right hand dolphin, in left trident.'

e Tainaron: Strab. 363 ἐν δὲ τῷ κόλπῳ τῆς παραλίας τὸ μὲν Ταίναρον ἀκτή ἐστιν ἐκκειμένη τὸ ἱερὸν ἔχουσα τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἐν ἄλσει ἱδρυμένον· πλησίον δ' ἐστὶν ἄντρον, δι' οὗ τὸν Κέρβερον ἀναχθῆναι μυθεύουσιν ὑφ' Ἡρακλέους ἐξ Ἅιδου. Cf. Paus. 3. 25, 4 ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ἄκρᾳ ναὸς εἰκασμένος σπηλαίῳ, καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἄγαλμα· ἐποίησαν δὲ Ἑλλήνων τινὲς ὡς Ἡρακλῆς ἀναγάγοι ταύτῃ τοῦ Ἅιδου τὸν κύνα, οὔτε ὑπὸ γῆν ὁδοῦ διὰ τοῦ σπηλαίου φερούσης. . . . Hesych. *s. v.* Ταιναρίας· παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἑορτὴ Ποσειδῶνος, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ Ταιναρισταί. Plut. *de Ser. Num. Vind.* p. 560 E ὁ γὰρ ἀποκτείνας ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τὸν Ἀρχίλοχον . . . ἐκβληθεὶς τὸ πρῶτον ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθίας, ὡς ἱερὸν ἄνδρα τῶν Μουσῶν ἀνῃρηκώς, εἶτα χρησάμενος λιταῖς τισὶ καὶ προστροπαῖς μετὰ δικαιολογίας, ἐκελεύσθη πορευθεὶς ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Τέττιγος οἴκησιν, ἱλάσασθαι τὴν τοῦ Ἀρχιλόχου ψυχήν· τοῦτο δ' ἦν ὁ Ταίναρος· ἐκεῖ γάρ φασιν ἐλθόντα μετὰ στόλου Τέττιγα τὸν Κρῆτα πόλιν κτίσαι καὶ κατοικῆσαι παρὰ τὸ ψυχοπομπεῖον. Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 45 πὰρ χθόνιον Ἅιδα στόμα, Ταίναρον εἰς ἱερὰν Εὔφαμος ἐλθὼν υἱὸς ἱππάρχου Ποσειδάωνος ἄναξ, τὸν ποτ' Εὐρώπα Τιτυοῦ θυγάτηρ τίκτε Καφισοῦ παρ' ὄχθαις. Schol. Aristoph. *Equ.* 1222 μιμεῖται τοὺς Εἵλωτας, ὅταν στεφανῶσι τὸν Ποσειδῶνα. Schol. *Acharn.* 509 Ταίναρόν ἐστι τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἀκρωτήριον, ἐν ᾧ στόμιον ἦν κατάγον εἰς Ἅιδου. ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἦν καὶ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερὸν Ἀσφαλείου . . . τοὺς Εἵλωτας οἰκέτας καθεσθέντας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος τοῦ Ταιναρίου οὐδὲν δείσαντες ἀνεῖλον Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐδόκουν ἐναγεῖς εἶναι. Cf. Eupolis, *Frag.* 140 (Kock) τέμενος Ποτειδᾶ Ποντίῳ, referring to the worship of the Helots at Tainaron. Roehl, *Inscr. Graec. Ant.* 83 ἀνέθηκε Ἐκέφυλος Νεαρέταν τῷ Ποσειδᾶνι· ἔφορος Ἀριστεύς (circ. 423 B.C.): the temple a depository of political documents, vide *C. I. G.* 1335; Collitz, *Dialect. Inschr.* 4594.

f Gythion: Paus. 3. 21, 8 Δήμητρος ἱερὸν ἅγιον καὶ Ποσειδῶνος ἄγαλμα Γαιαόχου. ὃν δὲ ὀνομάζουσι Γυθεᾶται γέροντα, οἰκεῖν ἐν θαλάσσῃ φάμενοι, Νηρέα ὄντα εὕρισκον (coin of Gythion, period of Caracalla, with 'Poseidon naked, standing, holding dolphin and trident,' *Hell. Journ.* 7, p. 66.

g Aigiai: Paus. 3. 21, 5 ἐνταῦθά ἔστι μὲν λίμνη καλουμένη Ποσειδῶνος, ἔστι δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ λίμνῃ ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα τοῦ θεοῦ. τοὺς δὲ ἰχθῦς δεδοίκασιν ἐξαιρεῖν τὸν θηρεύσαντα ἁλιέα γενέσθαι λέγοντες ἐξ ἀνθρώπου.

h Poseidon Γεραίστιος (?): Thuc. 4. 119 Μηνὸς ἐν Λακεδαίμονι Γεραστίου. Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Ταίναρος· πόλις ἀπὸ Ταινάρου τοῦ Γεραίστου μὲν ἀδελφοῦ, Διὸς δὲ παιδός.

i Xen. *Hell.* 4. 7, 4 σπονδῶν τῶν μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον ἤδη γινομένων, ἔσεισεν

ὁ θεός. καὶ οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ δαμοσίαν πάντες ὕμνησαν τὸν περὶ τὸν Ποσειδῶ παιᾶνα.

[63] Messene: Schol. Hom. *Od.* 11. 289 Νηλεὺς ὁ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Τυροῦς παῖς, ἐξελασθεὶς ὑπὸ Πελίου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τῆς Ἰωλκοῦ ἀφίκετο εἰς Μεσσήνην . . . καὶ . . . τὴν Πύλον κτίζει . . . ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ Φερεκύδῃ. Paus. 4. 2, 5 Νηλέα τὸν Κρηθέως τοῦ Αἰόλου Ποσειδῶνος δὲ ἐπίκλησιν . . . φεύγοντα ἐξ Ἰωλκοῦ Πελίαν. Vide Ritual, 112[a].

[64] Arcadia: Dion. Halic. 1. 33 (at Rome) ἀπέδειξαν [οἱ Ἀρκάδες] δὲ καὶ Ποσειδῶνι τέμενος Ἱππίῳ καὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν Ἱπποκράτεια μὲν παρ' Ἀρκάδων, Κωνσουάλια δὲ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων λεγόμενα κατεστήσαντο, ἐν ᾗ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἐξ ἔθους ἐλινύουσιν ἔργων ἵπποι καὶ ὀρεῖς.

[a] Asea, with Athena Soteira: vide Athena, R. 17[e].

[b] Kaphyai: vide Artemis, R. 47. Cf. Imhoof-Blumer-Gardner, *Num. Comm. Paus.* T. 13, Poseidon with dolphin and trident.

[c] Lykosura: vide Demeter, R. 119.

[d] Mantinea: Pind. *Ol.* 10. 69 (84) ἀν' ἵπποισι δὲ τέτρασιν ἀπὸ Μαντινέας Σᾶμος ὠλιροθίου. Schol. *ib.* Ἀλιρρόθιον γὰρ ἐπιθετικῶς τὸν Ποσειδῶνά φησι. Bacchylides, *Frag.* 2 (Kenyon) Ποσειδάνιον ὡς Μαντινέες τριόδοντα χαλκοδαιδάλοισιν ἐν ἀσπίσιν φορεῦντες. One of the tribes at Mantinea called Ποσοιδαία, Collitz, *Dialect. Inschr.* 1203. Paus. 8. 10, 2 (on Mount Alesion, between Tegea and Mantinea, vide Demeter, *Geogr. Reg. s.v.* Arcadia) παρὰ τοῦ ὄρους τὰ ἔσχατα τοῦ Ποσειδῶνός ἐστι τοῦ Ἱππίου τὸ ἱερόν, οὐ πρόσω σταδίου Μαντινείας. τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦτο ἐγώ τε ἀκοὴν γράφω καὶ ὅσοι μνήμην ἄλλοι περὶ αὐτοῦ πεποίηνται. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ᾠκοδομήσατο Ἀδριανὸς βασιλεύς, ἐπιστήσας τοῖς ἐργαζομένοις ἐπόπτας ἄνδρας, ὡς μήτε ἐνίδοι τις ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἀρχαῖον μήτε τῶν ἐρειπίων τι αὐτοῦ μετακινοῖτο. πέριξ δὲ ἐκέλευε τὸν ναὸν σφᾶς οἰκοδομεῖσθαι τὸν καινόν. τὰ δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῷ Ποσειδῶνι τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦτο Ἀγαμήδης λέγονται καὶ Τροφώνιος ποιῆσαι, δρυῶν ξύλα ἐργασάμενοι καὶ ἁρμόσαντες πρὸς ἄλληλα. ἐσόδου δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ εἴργοντες ἀνθρώπους ἔρυμα μὲν πρὸ τῆς ἐσόδου προεβάλοντο οὐδέν, μίτον δὲ διατείνουσιν ἐρεοῦν. . . . φαίνεται δὲ καὶ Αἴπυτος ὁ Ἱππόθου . . . διακόψας αὐτὸν ἐσελθὼν ἐς τὸ ἱερόν. καὶ ποιήσας οὐχ ὅσια ἐτυφλώθη τε ἐμπεσόντος ἐς τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῷ τοῦ κύματος καὶ αὐτίκα ἐπιλαμβάνει τὸ χρεὼν αὐτόν. θαλάσσης δὲ ἀναφαίνεσθαι κῦμα ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τούτῳ λόγος ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖος. ἐοικότα δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσιν ἐς τὸ κῦμα τὸ ἐν Ἀκροπόλει, καὶ Καρῶν οἱ Μύλασα ἔχοντες ἐς τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ἱερὸν ὃν φωνῇ τῇ ἐπιχωρίᾳ καλοῦσιν Ὀσογῶα. . . . § 5 πέραν δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος τρόπαιόν ἐστι λίθου πεποιημένον ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἄγιδος. 8. 11, 1 μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος χωρίον ὑποδέξεταί σε δρυῶν πλῆρες, καλούμενον Πέλαγος. . . . § 2 εἰ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἐς ἀριστερὰν ἐκτραπῇναι θελήσειας, σταδίους τε ἥξεις μάλιστά

που πέντε καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Πελίου θυγατέρων ἀφίξῃ τοὺς τάφους. Polyb. 9. 8 *τὸ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερόν, ὃ κεῖται πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐν ἑπτὰ σταδίοις.* Inscriptions of Roman period dated *ἐπὶ ἱερέως τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος*, Le Bas Foucart 352 k, 352 o (Dittenb. *Syll.* 444). Imhoof-Blumer-Gardner, *Hell. Journ.* 7, p. 99, coin of Mantinea (autonomous), 'Poseidon naked, striding with trident, sometimes a dragon before him.' *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Peloponnese*,' Pl. 35. 4, Poseidon seated on rock with drapery over knee; dolphin and trident (third century B. C.).

[e] Megalopolis: vide vol. 5, Hermes, R. 27. Paus. 8. 30, 1 *πλησίον δὲ ἤδη τῆς πόλεως Ποσειδῶνός ἐστιν Ἐπόπτου ναός. ἐλείπετο δὲ τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἡ κεφαλή.*

[f] Methydrion: Paus. 8. 36, 2 *ἔστι δὲ ἐν Μεθυδρίῳ Ποσειδῶνός τε Ἱππίου ναός.* Orchomenos: 8. 13, 2 *θέας δὲ αὐτόθι ἄξια πηγή τε ἀφ' ἧς ὑδρεύονται καὶ Ποσειδῶνός ἐστι καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἱερά· λίθου δὲ τὰ ἀγάλματα.*

[g] Pheneos. Π. *Ἵππιος*: vide Athena, R. 16[m]; Artemis, R. 48. Vide Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 379, coin-type of Pheneos, horse grazing.

[h] Phigaleia: vide Demeter, R. 40.

[i] Tegea: vide vol. 5, Hermes: *Geogr. Reg. s.v.* Arcadia. Cf. private dedication, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1901 (25), p. 276 *Ἀγησίας ἀνέθηκε Ποσειδᾶνι.*

[k] Thelpusa: vide Demeter, R. 41.

[l] Trikolonos: Paus. 8. 35, 6 *πόλις δὲ ἦσαν καὶ οἱ Τρικόλωνοί ποτε. μένει δὲ αὐτόθι καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι ἐπὶ λόφου Ποσειδῶνος ἱερὸν καὶ ἄγαλμα τετράγωνον καὶ δένδρων περὶ τὸ ἱερόν ἐστιν ἄλσος.*

[m] ? Pallantion: Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 352, trident on Achaean federal coinage.

[65] Elis. At Olympia, Poseidon *Ἵππιος*: vide Hera, R. 46[b]. Π. *Λαοίτας*: vide Zeus, R. 109[b]. (Cf. Herodot. 4. 145–148 for Minyan settlement in Elis.) Strab. 343 *τὸ Σαμικὸν μετὰ ταῦτα, ὅπου τὸ μάλιστα τιμώμενον τοῦ Σαμίου Ποσειδῶνος ἱερόν· ἔστι δ' ἄλσος ἀγριελαίων πλέων. ἐπεμελοῦντο δ' αὐτοῦ Μακίστιοι· οὗτοι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν ἐπήγγελλον, ἣν καλοῦσι Σάμιον· συντελοῦσι δ' εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν πάντες Τριφύλιοι.* Cf. vol. 5, Hermes, R. 32.

[66] Achaea.

[a] Aigai: Hom. *Il.* 8. 203:

> *οἵ δέ τοι εἰς Ἑλίκην τε καὶ Αἰγὰς δῶρ' ἀνάγουσι*
> *πολλά τε καὶ χαρίεντα.*

Pind. *Nem.* 5. 37 (66) *Ποσειδάωνα ὃς Αἰγᾶθεν ποτὶ κλειτὰν θαμὰ νίσσεται Ἰσθμὸν Δωρίαν*: temple of Poseidon and Aphrodite, vide Aphrodite, R. 31.

[b] Helike: Strab. 384 ἐξαρθὲν ὑπὸ σεισμοῦ τὸ πέλαγος κατέκλυσε καὶ αὐτὴν καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἑλικωνίου Ποσειδῶνος, ὃν καὶ νῦν ἔτι τιμῶσιν Ἴωνες καὶ θύουσιν ἐκεῖ τὰ Πανιώνια, μέμνηται δὲ ὡς ὑπονοοῦσί τινες ταύτης τῆς θυσίας Ὅμηρος ὅταν φῇ "αὐτὰρ ὁ θυμὸν ἄϊσθε καὶ ἤρυγεν, ὡς ὅτε ταῦρος ἤρυγεν ἑλκόμενος Ἑλικώνιον ἀμφὶ ἄνακτα." τεκμαίρονταί τε νεώτερον εἶναι τῆς Ἰωνικῆς ἀποικίας τὸν ποιητήν, μεμνημένον γε τῆς Πανιωνικῆς θυσίας ἣν ἐν τῇ Πριηνέων χώρᾳ συντελοῦσιν Ἴωνες τῷ Ἑλικωνίῳ Ποσειδῶνι, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ Πριηνεῖς ἐξ Ἑλίκης εἶναι λέγονται· καὶ δὴ πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην καθιστᾶσιν ἄνδρα νέον Πριηνέα τὸν τῶν ἱερῶν ἐπιμελησόμενον. . . . νομίζουσι καλλιερεῖν περὶ τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην Ἴωνες, ὅταν θυόμενος ὁ ταῦρος μυκήσηται· οἱ δ' ἀντιλέγοντες μεταφέρουσιν εἰς τὴν Ἑλίκην τὰ λεχθέντα τεκμήρια περὶ τοῦ ταύρου καὶ τῆς θυσίας . . . κατεκλύσθη δ' ἡ Ἑλίκη δυσὶν ἔτεσι πρὸ τῶν Λευκτρικῶν. Ἐρατοσθένης δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἰδεῖν φησι τὸν τόπον, καὶ τοὺς πορθμέας λέγειν ὡς ἐν τῷ πόρῳ ὀρθὸς ἑστήκει Ποσειδῶν χάλκεος, ἔχων ἱππόκαμπον ἐν τῇ χειρὶ κίνδυνον φέροντα τοῖς δικτυεῖσιν. . . . p. 385 Ἡσίοδος δὲ καὶ ἄλλης Ἑλίκης μέμνηται Θετταλικῆς (cf. Hes. *Scut.* 381). Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 349, coin-type of Helike, circ. 400–373 B.C., 'head of Poseidon diademed within a circle of waves': on rev. trident between dolphins. Schol. Hom. *Il.* 20. 404 Ἑλικώνιον ἀμφὶ ἄνακτα τὸν Ποσειδῶνα, ἤτοι ὅτι ἐν Ἑλικῶνι ὄρει τῆς Βοιωτίας τιμᾶται, ἢ ἐν Ἑλίκῃ· μᾶλλον οὖν παρὰ τὸν ἐν Ἑλίκῃ. . . . Νηλεὺς ὁ Κόδρου χρησμὸν λαβὼν ἀποικίαν ἔστειλεν εἰς Μίλητον καὶ τὴν Καρίαν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν καὶ τῆς Ἀχαϊκῆς Ἑλίκης. παραγενόμενος δὲ εἰς τὴν Καρίαν ἱερὸν Ποσειδῶνος ἱδρύσατο καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Ἑλίκῃ τεμένους Ἑλικώνιον προσηγόρευσε. . . . ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ Κλειτοφῶντι. Paus. 7. 24, 5 ἐνταῦθα ᾤκητο Ἑλίκη πόλις, καὶ Ἴωσιν ἱερὸν ἁγιώτατον Ποσειδῶνος ἦν Ἑλικωνίου. διαμεμένηκε δέ σφισι . . . σέβεσθαι Ποσειδῶνα Ἑλικώνιον· καὶ Μιλησίοις τε ἰόντι ἐπὶ τὴν πηγὴν τὴν Βιβλίδα Ποσειδῶνος πρὸ τῆς πόλεώς ἐστιν Ἑλικωνίου βωμός, καὶ ὡσαύτως ἐν Τέῳ περίβολός τε καὶ βωμός ἐστι τῷ Ἑλικωνίῳ θέας ἄξιος (vide R. 87).

[c] Patrai: Paus. 7. 21, 7 πρὸς δὲ τῷ λιμένι Ποσειδῶνός τε ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμά ἐστιν ὀρθὸν λίθου. Ποσειδῶνι . . . τοσαίδε ἐς ἅπαντας γεγόνασιν ἐπικλήσεις . . . Πελάγειος καὶ Ἀσφάλιός τε καὶ Ἵππιος. ὠνομάσθαι δὲ Ἵππιον τὸν θεὸν πείθοιτο μὲν ἄν τις καὶ ἐπ' αἰτίαις ἄλλαις. ἐγὼ δὲ εὑρετὴν ἱππικῆς ὄντα ἀπὸ τούτου σχεῖν καὶ τὸ ὄνομα εἰκάζω (cf. Aphrodite, 30[a]). Imhoof-Blumer-Gardner, *Num. Comm. Paus.* Q. 19, coin-type of imperial period, Poseidon standing with right foot on rock, trident in left, copy of statue in temple.

[d] ? At Rhion: Paus. 10. 11, 6 (dedications of Athens at Delphi, with inscription referring to the victories of Phormion) γενέσθαι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ναυμαχιῶν τούτων καὶ θυσίαν Θησεῖ καὶ τῷ Ποσειδῶνι ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνομαζομένῳ Ῥίῳ.

The Islands.

North Aegean.

[67] Lesbos (vide Ritual, R. 111): Hesych. *s. v.* Ἐλύμνιος and Ἐλύτιος· Ποσειδῶν ἐν Λέσβῳ. Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Μεσοπόντιος . . . οὕτω ἐν Ἐρέσῳ τιμᾶται, πόλει τῆς Λέσβου. *C. I. G. Ins. Mar. Aeg.* 2. 484, long inscription mentioning the priest Πνιστίας Ἐτηφίλας Ποσειδῶνος Μυχίῳ καὶ Μυχίας (cf. 136 ἱέρεια Πνιστίας). *Ib.* 71 τὰ Ποσίδεα, mentioned in decree of late period. *Ib.* 95 fragmentary inscription dedicating a fountain to Poseidon, and mentioning a ναός. On coin of Mytilene, imperial period, Zeus, Hades, Poseidon, with inscription θεοὶ ἀκραῖοι Μυτιληναίων, Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 488. Cf. *Ath. Mitth.* 1899, p. 358, inscription found at Mitylene:

Ζηνὶ θεῶν ὑπάτῳ πανεπώπῃ καὶ Πλούτωνι
ἠδὲ Ποσειδάωνι πανασφαλίοις ἀνέθηκε
Ζωσίμη οὐρανίοιο θεοῦ σωθεῖσα προνοίαις.

[68] Chios: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1879, p. 323, doubtful dedication to Poseidon. Strab. 645 ἐν δὲ τῷ περίπλῳ δεξιὰν τὴν νῆσον ἔχοντι ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως πρῶτον μέν ἐστι τὸ Ποσείδιον.

The Cyclades.

[69] Amorgos: *Ath. Mitth.* 1876, p. 330 ἱερατεύσαντα Διὸς καὶ Ἥρας καὶ Ποσειδῶνος (? second century B. C.).

[70] Delos: Verg. *Aen.* 3. 73:

gratissima tellus Nereidum matri et Neptuno Aegaeo.

Strab. 373–4 φασὶ τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον ἀλλάξασθαι πρὸς μὲν Λητὼ τὴν Καλαυρίαν ἀντιδόντα Δῆλον, πρὸς Ἀπόλλωνα δὲ Ταίναρον ἀντιδόντα Πυθώ· Ἔφορος δὲ καὶ τὸν χρησμὸν λέγει 'Ἴσόν τοι Δῆλόν τε Καλαυρείαν τε νέμεσθαι, Πυθώ τ' ἠγαθέην καὶ Ταίναρον ἠνεμόεντα.' *C. I. G.* 2271 (decree of thiasos of Heracles, ? first century B. C.) ταῖς συντελεσομέναις θυσίαις τῷ Ποσειδῶνι. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1903, p. 77 τὸν βωμὸν τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος τὸν ἐν Δελάτρει. Ποσίδεια in Delos in month Poseidon: *Ib.* 1890, p. 495 (B. C. 279). ? Ποσειδῶν Ἱππηγέτης: R. 45[11]. *Ib.* 1883, p. 468, dedication, Ῥώμην θεὰν εὐεργέτιν τὸ κοινὸν Βηρυτίων Ποσειδωνιαστῶν.

[71] Keos: *Ath. Mitth.* 1877, p. 144, oath of Keos dictated by Athens B. C. 363–2 νὴ τὸν Δία νὴ τὴν Ἀθηνάαν νὴ τὸν Ποσειδῶ νὴ τὴν Δήμητρα.

[72] Melos: *C. I. G. Inscr. Mar. Aeg.* 3. 1096 (dedication found with statue of male figure near harbour) Θεοδωρίδας Λαιστράτου Ποσειδᾶνι (circ. 300 B. C.).

[73] Mykonos: vide Ritual, 113[a]. Month Ποσειδεών: vide Demeter, R. 9.

[74] Naxos: Plut. *Quaest. Conviv.* p. 741 A ἐν Νάξῳ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Διονύσου [ἡττώμενον Ποσειδῶνα].

[75] Syros: *C. I. G.* add. 2347 h Ποσειδῶνος Ἀσφαλείου (? inscription on boundary-stone, ? fourth century B. C.).

[76] Tenos: Strab. 487 Τῆνος δὲ πόλιν μὲν οὐ μεγάλην ἔχει, τὸ δ' ἱερὸν τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος μέγα ἐν ἄλσει τῆς πόλεως ἔξω θέας ἄξιον, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἑστιατόρια πεποίηται μεγάλα, σημεῖον τοῦ συνέρχεσθαι πλῆθος ἱκανὸν τῶν συνθυόντων αὐτοῖς ἀστυγειτόνων τὰ Ποσειδώνια. *C. I. G.* 2331 ἐν [τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ] τῆς Ἀμφιτρίτης . . . Ποσιδείων καὶ Διονυσίων τῷ ἀγῶνι [τῶν τρα]γῳδῶν (? circ. 200 B. C.). Cf. 2332, 2329 (decree awarding crown to be deposited) ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος. *C. I. G. Sept.* 3. 97 (Elateia) δεδόχθαι τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Φωκέων τὰν νᾶσον ἄσυλον εἶμεν. Tac. *Ann.* 3. 63 Tenios eiusdem (Apollinis) carmen referre, quo sacrare Neptuni effigiem aedemque iussi sint. Π. Ἰατρός in Tenos: Clem. Alex. *Protr.* p. 26 Φιλόχορος δὲ ἐν Τήνῳ Ποσειδῶνά φησι τιμᾶσθαι ἰατρόν. *Id.* p. 41 τοῦ Τελεσίου τοῦ Ἀθηναίου, ὥς φησι Φιλόχορος, ἔργον εἰσὶν ἀγάλματα ἐννεαπήχη Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Ἀμφιτρίτης ἐν Τήνῳ προσκυνούμενα.

[77] Thera: Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 11 Κάδμος κατὰ ζήτησιν Εὐρώπης τῆς ἀδελφῆς στελλόμενος προσορμισθεὶς τῇ νήσῳ ἀνέκτισε Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν αὐτόθι, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Θεόφραστος. *Arch. Anz.* 1899, p. 183 (inscription of middle archaic period) [Ποσειδῶν] Γαιάοχος. Cf. *C. I. G. Ins. Mar. Aeg.* 3. 441 Ποσειδᾶνος.

Middle and South Aegean.

[78] Samos: Strab. 637 ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν οὖν προσπλέουσι πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἔστι τὸ Ποσείδιον ἄκρα . . . ἔχει δὲ νεὼν Ποσειδῶνος. Hesych. *s. v.* Ἐπακταῖος· Ποσειδῶν ἐν Σάμῳ. *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Ionia*,' Pl. 37. 12, p. 308, coin of Trajan Decius, Zeus and Poseidon standing naked facing one another, Poseidon with trident and foot on rock.

[79] Kos: vide Ritual, R. 113, 118.

[80] Nisyros (at this time a Rhodian dependency): *C. I. G. Ins. Mar. Aeg.* 3. 103 ἐπὶ ναυάρχων Κλεωναίου Ἀκεσιμβρότου Εὐδάμου Ποσειδᾶνι Ἀργείῳ καὶ Ἄρει χαριστήριον (referring to the Rhodian-Cretan war, B. C. 153).

[81] Telos: *C. I. G. Ins. Mar. Aeg.* 3. 37 Ποτειδᾶνος.

[82] Rhodes.

[a] Π. Ἀσφάλειος: Strab. 57 (referring to rise of volcanic island between Thera and Therasia) μετὰ τὴν παῦλαν τοῦ πάθους ἐθάρρησαν πρῶτοι Ῥόδιοι θαλαττοκρατοῦντες ἐπιπροσπλεῦσαι τῷ τόπῳ καὶ Ποσειδῶνος Ἀσφαλίου ἱερὸν ἱδρύσασθαι κατὰ τὴν νῆσον. Cf. Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 542, Rhodes, coin-type imperial period, Ποσειδῶν Ἀσφάλειος standing before altar, holding dolphin and trident.

b Diod. Sic. 5. 58 [Κάδμος] ἱδρύσατο κατὰ τὴν νῆσον τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου τέμενος, καὶ τῶν Φοινίκων ἀπέλιπέ τινας τοὺς ἐπιμελησομένους. οὗτοι δὲ καταμιγέντες Ἰαλυσίοις διετέλεσαν συμπολιτευόμενοι τούτοις· ἐξ ὧν φασὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς κατὰ γένος διαδέχεσθαι τὰς ἱερωσύνας.

c *C. I. G. Ins. Mar. Aeg.* 1. 705[22] [ἱερεὺς] Ποτειδᾶνος κυρητείου (Kameirus, third century B. C.; cf. Demeter, *Geogr. Reg. s. v.* Knidos) *ib.* 905.

d Π. Φυτάλμιος: vide Ritual, R. 115.

e *C. I. G. Ins. Mar. Aeg.* 786 [ἱερεὺς] Ποτιδᾶνος Γιλαίου [? Πελαγίου] καὶ Ἱππίου (Lindos): vide vol. 5, Dionysos, *Geogr. Reg. s. v.* Rhodes.

83 Karpathos: *Arch. Epigr. Mitth. Oester.* 1893, p. 103 (inscription from Karpathos, dedication of Rhodian general, early second century B. C.) Νικαγόρας . . . στρατηγήσας—Ποτειδᾶνι Πορθμίῳ. *C. I. G. Ins. Mar. Aeg.* 1. 1032 ἀναθέμεν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ποτειδᾶνος τοῦ Πορθμίου στάλαν λιθίναν (first century B. C., decree of the city Brykos). 1033, l. 25 ἀναθετῶντι μία μὲν [στάλα] ἐμ Πορθμῷ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ποσειδᾶνος, μία δὲ ἐν Ποτιδαίῳ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τᾶς Ἀθάνας τᾶς Λινδίας (decree of ἁ κοινὰ ἁ Ποτιδαιέων).

84 Crete: Apollod. 3. 1, 3 φήσας δὲ Μίνως παρὰ θεῶν τὴν βασιλείαν εἰληφέναι, χάριν τοῦ πιστευθῆναι, ἔφη, εἴτι ἂν εὔξηται, γενέσθαι. καὶ Ποσειδῶνι θύων, ηὔξατο ταῦρον ἀναφανῆναι ἐκ τῶν βυθῶν, ὑποσχόμενος καταθύσειν τὸν φανέντα. τοῦ δὲ Ποσειδῶνος ταῦρον ἀνέντος αὐτῷ διαπρεπῆ τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβε· τὸν δὲ ταῦρον εἰς τὰ βουκόλια πέμψας, ἔθυσεν ἕτερον. *C. I. G.* 2554 (oath of alliance between Latos and Olus) Ὀμνύω τὴν Ἑστίαν . . . καὶ τὸν Ποσειδάν. Priansos: Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 404, Coin-type circ. 350–300 B. C., Poseidon standing with himation around him, holding trident and dolphin. Rhaukos (town between Gortyna and Knossos), Coin-type, Poseidon standing by his horse, holding trident (fourth century B. C.), *id. Hist. Num.* p. 405; Gardner, *Types*, Pl. 9. 3.

Asia Minor coast.

85 a Sinope: *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Pontus*,' p. 98, coin-type, seated Poseidon with trident, circ. 300 B. C.

b Bithynia: Ptolem. 5. 1 τὸ Ποσίδιον ἄκρον, near Nikomedeia.

86 Kyzikos. Π. Ἀσφάλιος: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1882, p. 454 (oracle from Delphi) ὁ θεὸς ἔχρησε . . . θύσαι καὶ καλλιερῆσαι Ποσειδᾶνι Ἀσφαλείῳ Γᾷ Καρποφόρῳ (? second century B. C.). *Hell. Journ.* 1902, p. 128, dedication to Ποσειδῶνι Ἰσθμίῳ, first century A. D. Cf. *ib.* 1906, p. 28, dedication to Poseidon found near Miletopolis.

Ionia.

87 a Herod. 1. 148 τὸ Πανιώνιόν ἐστι τῆς Μυκάλης χῶρος ἱρὸς πρὸς ἄρκτον τετραμμένος, κοινῇ ἐξαιρημένος ὑπὸ Ἰώνων Ποσειδέωνι Ἑλικωνίῳ. 1. 143 αἱ δὲ

δυώδεκα πόλιες . . . ἱρὸν ἱδρύσαντο ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτῶν, τῷ οὔνομα ἔθεντο Πανιώνιον· ἐβουλεύσαντο δὲ αὐτοῦ μεταδοῦναι μηδαμοῖσιν ἄλλοισι Ἰώνων. οὐδ' ἐδεήθησαν δὲ οὐδαμοὶ μετασχεῖν, ὅτι μὴ Σμυρναῖοι. Paus. 7. 5, 1 χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον καὶ Ἴωνες μετέδοσαν Σμυρναίοις τοῦ ἐν Πανιωνίῳ συλλόγου. 7. 4, 10 Γενομένης δὲ ἀπαλλαγῆς πολέμου Χίοις, ἀφικέσθαι τηνικαῦτα ἐς μνήμην Ἕκτορι ὡς σφᾶς καὶ Ἴωσι δέοι συνθύειν ἐς Πανιώνιον· . . . τοσαῦτα εἰρηκότα ἐς Χίους Ἴωνα εὕρισκον· οὐ μέντοι ἐκεῖνό γε εἴρηκε καθ' ἥντινα αἰτίαν Χῖοι τελοῦσιν ἐς Ἴωνας.

[b] Strab. 639 πρῶτον δ' ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ [Ἐφεσίων] τὸ Πανιώνιον τρισὶ σταδίοις ὑπερκείμενον τῆς θαλάττης, ὅπου τὰ Πανιώνια, κοινὴ πανήγυρις τῶν Ἰώνων, συντελεῖται τῷ Ἑλικωνίῳ Ποσειδῶνι καὶ θυσία. ἱερῶνται δὲ Πριηνεῖς.

[c] Diod. Sic. 15. 49 κατὰ τὴν Ἰωνίαν ἐννέα πόλεις εἰώθεισαν κοινὴν ποιεῖσθαι σύνοδον τὴν τῶν Πανιωνίων, καὶ θυσίας συνθύειν ἀρχαίας καὶ μεγάλας Ποσειδῶνι περὶ τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Μυκάλην ἐν ἐρήμῳ τόπῳ. ὕστερον δὲ πολέμων γενομένων περὶ τούτους τοὺς τόπους οὐ δυνάμενοι ποιεῖν τὰ Πανιώνια μετέθεσαν τὴν πανήγυριν εἰς ἀσφαλῆ τόπον, ὃς ἦν πλησίον τῆς Ἐφέσου. πέμψαντες δὲ θεωροὺς Πυθῶδε χρησμοὺς ἔλαβον ἀφιδρύματα λαβεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων καὶ προγονικῶν αὐτοῖς βωμῶν ἐξ Ἑλίκης.

[d] Ephesos: vide Ritual, 112[d]. *C. I. G.* 3028 οἱ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐργάται προπυλεῖται πρὸς τῷ Ποσειδῶνι. Teos: R. 66[b].

[e] Priene: R. 66[b]. *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Ionia*,' Pl. 24. 8 Poseidon head with trident on coins of third century B.C.

[88] Caria. Miletos: R. 66[b]. Schol. Lycophr. 722 Ἐνιπεὺς ὁ Ποσειδῶν παρὰ Μιλησίοις τιμᾶται. Polyb. 16. 12 τοῦ τῆς Μιλησίας Ποσειδίου = temple of Poseidon at the northern extremity of the bay of Iasos. Strab. 633 τοῦ δὲ Νηλέως ἐπὶ τῷ Ποσειδίῳ βωμὸς ἵδρυμα δείκνυται. Vide Apollo, R. 200[e].

[89] Worship of Ζηνο-Ποσειδῶν in Caria: vide Zeus, R. 41; temple of Osogos at Mylasa: vide R. 64[d].

[90] (?) Karyanda: vide Le Bas, *Asie Mineure* 499, inscription, circ. 100 B.C., mentioning a ταυραφέτης in connexion with bull-combats in a festival of (?) Poseidon: the flesh given to the priest.

[91] Halikarnassos: *C. I. G.* 2655 ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ . . . μεταγράψαι ἐκ τῆς ἀρχαίας στήλης τῆς παρεστώσης τοῖς ἀγάλμασι τοῖς τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος τοῦ Ἰσθμίου τοὺς γεγενημένους ἀπὸ τῆς κτίσεως κατὰ γένος ἱερεῖς τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος τοῦ κατιδρυθέντος ὑπὸ τῶν τὴν ἀποικίαν ἐκ Τροιζῆνος ἀγαγόντων Ποσειδῶνι καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι. (Cf. Strab. 374 Ἄνθης ὁ προκατέχων [Τροιζῆνα] πλεύσας Ἁλικαρνασὸν ἔκτισεν.)

[92] Knidos: vide Apollo, *Geogr. Reg. s. v.*

[93] Lycia. Π. Ἑδραῖος, Σωτήρ: vide Apollo, R. 31. Cf. *C. I. G.* 4267 (inscription from Xanthos, late period) Ποσειδῶνι εὐχὴ Μαυσώλου Ἀλαβάρχου.

[93a] ? Attaleia in Pamphylia: *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Lycia*,' &c., p. 110, Pl. 23. 1: coin-type, Poseidon standing with himation over left shoulder, resting on trident.

[94] Cilicia.

[a] Aigai: vide Aphrodite, R. 57.

[b] Cf. *C. I. G.* 4411[a], inscription from Cilicia, late imperial period, mentioning *ναὸν τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος*.

[c] *Stadiasm. Mar. Mag.* § 193 (Müller, *Geogr. Min.* 1, p. 485) *ἀκρωτήριον Ποσείδιον ἀπὸ Μανδάνης στάδιοι ξ'*. Herod. 3, 91 (city Poseidion on borders of Cilicia and Syria).

[95] Syria.

[a] (Near Laodikeia): Strab. 751 *Ποσείδιον πολίχνη*.

[b] Berytos: vide R. 70.

[96] Ptolemais: Athenae. p. 333 *οἱ περὶ τὸν Σαρπηδόνα* [*τοῦ Δημητρίου στρατηγόν*] . . . *ἔθυσαν Ποσειδῶνι Τροπαίῳ πρὸς τοῖς προαστείοις τῆς πόλεως* (from Posidonios).

Asia Minor, interior.

[97] ? Phrygia, Dorylaion: *Ath. Mitth.* 1894, p. 313 (inscription of late period):

Λαίνεόν με τέχνασμα ἐσορᾶς ἁλιῆα γέροντα·
Θῆκε δ' Ἀπολλωνὶς ἀνάθημα Ποσειδάωνι.

Bull. Corr. Hell. 1879, p. 479 *Διὶ καὶ Ποσειδῶνι καὶ Ἀθηνᾷ καὶ πᾶσιν θεοῖς εὐχαριστήριον καὶ ποταμῷ Εὔρῳ κινδυνεύσας καὶ διασωθεὶς ἐν τῷδε τῷ τόπῳ.*

[97a] Lydia: Poseidon standing with right foot on dolphin, left arm resting on trident, right on knee—on coins of late imperial period of Nysa in Lydia: *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Lydia*,' p. 183, Pl. 20. 11. Coins of Thyateira-Smyrna: *ib.* p. 321, Pl. 41. 6 'Poseidon resting right foot on prow, holding in extended right dolphin, leaning with left on trident.'

[98] Apameia in Syria: Strab. 579 *Ἀπάμεια μὲν πρὸ τῆς Μιθραδάτου στρατείας ἐσείσθη πολλάκις . . . διόπερ εἰκός ἐστι καὶ τὸν Ποσειδῶ τιμᾶσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς καίπερ μεσογαίοις οὖσι, καὶ ἀπὸ Κελαινοῦ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἐκ Κελαινοῦς μιᾶς τῶν Δαναΐδων γενομένου κεκλῆσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἐπώνυμον.*

Egypt, Africa.

[99] Alexandria: *Ποσειδῶν Ἴσθμιος* inscribed on coins of Nero, Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 719.

[100] Inscription of king of Aethiopia, second century A. D., *κατῆλθον εἰς τὴν Ἀδούλην τῷ Διὶ καὶ τῷ Ἄρει καὶ τῷ Ποσειδῶνι θυσιάσαι ὑπὲρ τῶν πλωιζομένων*. Cf. Diod. Sic. 3. 42 (*τὸ Ποσείδειον*, promontory in Arabia, at the south-east corner of the Red Sea) *οὗτος ὀνομάζεται Ποσείδειον*,

ἱδρυσαμένου Ποσειδῶνι Πελαγίῳ βωμὸν Ἀρίστωνος τοῦ πεμφθέντος ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου πρὸς κατασκοπὴν τῆς ἔως Ὠκεανοῦ παρηκούσης Ἀραβίας.

[101] Cyrene: Hesych. *s. v.* Πελλάνιος· Ποσειδῶν ἐν Κυρήνῃ. Schol. Lykoph. 749.

[102] Carthage: R. 114[c]. Polyb. 7. 9, oath of Hannibal in treaty with Philip, ἐναντίον Διὸς καὶ Ἥρας καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος· ἐναντίον Δαίμονος Καρχηδονίων, καὶ Ἡρακλέους καὶ Ἰολάου· ἐναντίον Ἄρεως, Τρίτωνος, Ποσειδῶνος· ἐναντίον... Ἡλίου καὶ Σελήνης καὶ Γῆς· ἐναντίον ποταμῶν καὶ λειμώνων καὶ ὑδάτων.

Sicily.

[103] Messana: vide Coin Pl. A, 9. Diod. Sic. 4. 85 Ἡσίοδος ὁ ποιητής φησιν . . . ἀναπεπταμένου τοῦ πελάγους Ὠρίωνα προσχῶσαι τὸ κατὰ τὴν Πελωρίδα κείμενον ἀκρωτήριον καὶ τὸ τέμενος τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος κατασκευάσαι, τιμώμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων διαφερόντως. Cf. Aristid. 1, p. 59 (Dind.).

[104] Selinus: *C. I. G. Sic. It.* 268 διὰ τὼς θεὼς τώσδε νικῶντι τοὶ Σελινώντιοι· διὰ τὸν Δία νικῶμες καὶ διὰ τὸν Φόβον καὶ διὰ Ἡρακλέα καὶ δι' Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ διὰ Ποτειδᾶνα καὶ διὰ Τυνδαρίδας καὶ δι' Ἀθαναίαν καὶ διὰ Μαλοφόρον καὶ διὰ Πασικράτειαν καὶ διὰ τὼς ἄλλως θεώς, διὰ δὲ τὸν Δία μάλιστα (circ. 450 B. C.).

[105] Syracuse: *ib.* 7 ὅρκιον βουλῆς καὶ . . . καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτᾶν· Ὀμνύω τὰν Ἰστίαν τῶ[ν Συρακοσίων καὶ τὸν Ζῆνα] τὸν Ὀλύμπιον . . . καὶ τὸν Ποσειδᾶνα. Cf. *C. I. G.* 5421 εὐχομένην σε θεοῖς στεφ[ανηφόρον εἶλε Π]οσειδών (late).

Italy.

[106] Rhegium: Strab. 257 τοῦ Ποσειδωνίου, τῆς Ῥηγίνων στυλίδος.

[107] Posidonia (Paestum): Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 67, coin-type of archaic period, 'Poseidon naked, with chlamys hanging loosely across his shoulders, wielding trident. A sea-monster or pistrix sometimes as an adjunct symbol.'

[108] Sybaris: *Id.* p. 70, circ. 453–448, 'Poseidon brandishing trident (coin-type of Sybaris in alliance with Posidonia).

[109] Tarentum: Hor. *Od.* 1. 28, 29 Neptunus sacer custos Tarenti.

[110] Bruttii: Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 77, coin-type, B. C. 282–203, 'Poseidon standing, resting on sceptre, one foot on capital of column. Cf. Overbeck, *Kunst. Mythol.* Bd. 3, Münztaf. V. 1, head of Poseidon, third century B. C.

[a] Brundisium: Head, op. cit. p. 43, head of Poseidon (Overbeck, op. cit. Münztaf. V. 13).

Ritual: vide R. 7[b], 29, 56, 58[a], 58[e] (maiden-priestess at Kalaureia), 66[d] (sacrifice to Poseidon and Theseus for naval victory), 82[b], 84, 90. Demeter, R. 176 (Eleusis).

[111] ? Human sacrifice: Pind. *Isthm.* 3. 91 *κρανίοις ὄφρα ξένων ναὸν Ποσειδῶνος ἐρέφοντα σχέθοι* (combat of Herakles and Antaios in Libya). Cf. Plut. *Mor.* p. 163 B *χρησμοῦ γενομένου τοῖς οἰκίζουσι Λέσβον, ὅταν ἔρματι πλέοντες προστύχωσιν, ὁ καλεῖται Μεσόγειον, τότε ἐνταῦθα Ποσειδῶνι μὲν ταῦρον, Ἀμφιτρίτῃ δὲ καὶ Νηρηΐσι ζῶσαν καθιέναι παρθένον.* Athenae. 466 C (quoting from Antikleides) *χρησμὸς ἦν αὐτοῖς καθεῖναι διαπλέοντας τῷ Ποσειδῶνι ἐς τὸ πέλαγος παρθένον.*

Animal sacrifice.

[112] Bulls.

[a] Hom. *Il.* 11. 728 (sacrifice of the Pylians):

ἔνθα Διὶ ῥέξαντες ὑπερμενεῖ ἱερὰ καλά,
ταῦρον δ' Ἀλφειῷ, ταῦρον δὲ Ποσειδάωνι.

Cf. 20. 404 (vide R. 66[b]). *Od.* 1. 25:

ἀντιόων ταύρων τε καὶ ἀρνειῶν ἑκατόμβης.

Ib. 11. 130:

ῥέξας ἱερὰ καλὰ Ποσειδάωνι ἄνακτι
ἀρνειὸν ταῦρόν τε συῶν τ' ἐπιβήτορα κάπρον.

[b] Cornutus 22 *θύουσιν αὐτῷ ταύρους παμμέλανας διὰ τὴν χροιὰν τοῦ πελάγους.* Cf. Philostr. *Imag.* 2, 16. Arr. *Anab.* 6. 19, 5 *ἐνταῦθα ταύρους τε σφάξας* [Ἀλέξανδρος] *τῷ Ποσειδῶνι ἀφῆκεν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν.* Cf. Serv. *Aen.* 3. 18: tempestati atras pecudes, candidas serenitati immolant.

[c] Hesych. *s. v.* *Ταύρεια· ἑορτή τις ἀγομένη Ποσειδῶνος.*

[d] Athenae. p. 425 e *παρὰ δὲ Ἐφεσίοις οἱ οἰνοχοοῦντες ἤθεοι τῇ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἑορτῇ ταῦροι ἐκαλοῦντο, ὡς Ἀμερίας φησίν.* Artemid. *Oneir.* 1. 8 *ταύροις δὲ κατὰ προαίρεσιν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ παῖδες Ἐφεσίων ἀγωνίζονται καὶ ἐν Ἀττικῇ παρὰ ταῖς θεαῖς Ἐλευσῖνι . . . καὶ ἐν Λαρίσσῃ πόλει τῆς Θεσσαλίας οἱ τῶν κατοικούντων εὐγενέστατοι.* Cf. R. 90.

[113] Rams, sheep, lambs.

[a] Dittenb. *Syllog.* 373 (at Mykonos, Macedonian period) *Ποσιδεῶνος δυωδεκάτει Ποσειδῶνι Τεμενίτῃ κριὸς καλλιστεύων λευκὸς ἐνόρχης. ὁ κριὸς εἰς πόλιν οὐκ εἰσάγεται . . . τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ Ποσειδῶνι Φυκίῳ ἀμνὸς λευκὸς ἐνόρχης· γυναικὶ οὐ θέμις.*

[b] Collitz, *Dialect-Inschr.* 3632 (Kos, 189–167 B.C.) *θυόντων καὶ σκανοπαγείσθων τοὶ κωποξύσται τῷ Ποτειδᾶνι καὶ Κῷ οἶν . . . καὶ Ῥόδῳ . . . θυόντω δὲ κατὰ ταὐτὰ καὶ τοὶ μετάβολοι τοὶ ἐν τοῖς ἰχθύσιν . . . καὶ τοὶ νεωλκοί . . . καὶ ὁ ναύαρχος κ.τ.λ.*

[114] Horses: R. 29.

[a] Sext. Empir. *Ὑποτυπ.* 3. 221. Vide Apollo, R. 274[c].

b At Argolis: Paus. 8. 7, 2 ἔστι δὲ ἡ Δίνη κατὰ τὸ Γενέθλιον καλούμενον τῆς Ἀργολίδος, ὕδωρ γλυκὺ ἐκ θαλάσσης ἀνερχόμενον. τὸ δὲ ἀρχαῖον καὶ καθίεσαν ἐς τὴν Δίνην τῷ Ποσειδῶνι ἵππους οἱ Ἀργεῖοι κεκοσμημένους χαλινοῖς. Dio Cass. 48. 48 ὁ Σέξτος . . . τοῦ τε Ποσειδῶνος υἱὸς ὄντως ἐπίστευεν εἶναι, καὶ στολὴν κυανοειδῆ ἐνεδύσατο, ἵππους τε, καὶ ὥς γε τινές φασι, καὶ ἄνδρας ἐς τὸν πορθμὸν ζῶντας ἐνέβαλε.

c Illyria: Serv. *Georg.* 1. 13 nonnulli Saturno cum suos filios devoraret pro Neptuno equum oblatum devorandum tradunt: unde Illyricos quotannis ritu sacrorum equum solere aquis inmergere. Cf. Diod. Sic. 13. 86 [Ἀμίλκας] τῷ Ποσειδῶνι πλῆθος ἱερείων καταποντίσας (? the Hellenic Poseidon).

115 Swine-sacrifice at Rhodes: *C. I. G. Ins. Mar. Aeg.* 1. 905 Θευδαισίου ἕκτᾳ ἱσταμένου Ποτειδᾶνι Φυταλμίῳ ὗς τέλεος θοινῆται (third century B.C.).

116 Fish: Polyaen. 6. 24 (sacramental feast near Lampsakos) ἰχθῦς ἀφθόνως ἐπιβάλλειν τῷ πυρὶ καὶ οἶνον πολὺν ἐπισπένδειν ὡς Ποσειδῶνι θύοντας. But cf. Plut. p. 713 E (*Quaest. Conv.* 8. 8) ἀεὶ οἱ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερεῖς, οὓς ἱερομνήμονας καλοῦμεν, ἰχθῦς οὐκ ἐσθίουσιν· ὁ γὰρ θεὸς λέγεται φυτάλμιος. Athenae. 297 e Ἀντίγονος ὁ Καρύστιος ἐν τῷ περὶ λέξεως τοὺς ἁλιέας λέγει θυσίαν ἐπιτελοῦντας τῷ Ποσειδῶνι ὑπὸ τὴν τῶν θύννων ὥραν, ὅταν εὐαγρήσωσι, θύειν τῷ θεῷ τὸν πρῶτον ἁλόντα θύννον, καὶ τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην καλεῖσθαι θυνναῖα.

117 Bloodless offerings: R. 45[q], 58[a]. Feast of Προτρύγαια: vide vol. 5, Dionysos, R. 45[i].

118 Days of sacrifice: eighth day of the month at Athens, vide R. 45[d], ? second of Boedromion, Plut. p. 741 A (*Quaest. Conv.*) τὴν δευτέραν τοῦ Βοηδρομιῶνος ἡμέραν ἐξαιροῦμεν οὐ πρὸς τὴν Σελήνην ἀλλ' ὅτι ταύτῃ δοκοῦσιν ἐρίσαι περὶ τῆς χώρας οἱ θεοί. At Kos: Paton and Hicks, 43[b] Ἀρταμιτίου δ' Ποσειδάνια. *Id.* 401. 14. Δεκάτᾳ [Πανάμου] Ποτει[δᾶνι ἔριφον] ἄρσενα at Mykonos, twelfth of Poseidon, R. 113[a].

119 The priest descended from the god at Sparta: R. 62[b].

SUPPLEMENTARY LIST OF POSEIDON-TYPES ON COINS

120 Byzantium (cf. R. 16): *Eph. Arch.* 1889, Πίν. 1, no. 18, Poseidon seated on rock, with left hand on trident, in right a tunny (Tiberius); for other types see *ib.* pp. 77–78. Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 230, fourth-century types, bull on dolphin, trident; third-century type, Demeter's veiled head with corn-crown on obverse, Poseidon

naked to waist, seated on rock, holding trident and aplustre, on reverse (Coin Pl. A, 4).

[121] Corinth: Imhoof-Blumer-Gardner, *Num. Comm. Paus.* Pl. D. 60, Poseidon standing naked with trident and dolphin, copy of statue on the mole of the harbour: *ib.* D. 52, 54–56, Poseidon enthroned.

[122] Tenos: Coin Pl. A, 12, Poseidon enthroned, with left arm raised on trident, dolphin in extended right, himation round waist and lower limbs, circ. 300 B. C. (*Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Crete*,' Pl. 28. 10). Coin Pl. A, 11, Poseidon standing with dolphin and trident, and himation round lower limbs and over left shoulder, bunch of grapes in field, third century B. C. (*ib.* no. 17).

[123] Caria: *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Caria*,' Pl. 18. 9, Halikarnassos, second century B. C., head of Poseidon on obverse, trident on reverse: *ib.* pp. 164, 165, 174–175, coin-types of Tabai, Poseidon standing with left hand on trident and right foot on dolphin: Poseidon holding statuette of seated female figure with sceptre (coin of Gallienus).

[124] Galatia: *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Galatia*,' coin-type of Apameia of Seleukis, on reverse Poseidon standing clad in himation, with patera in right hand, left on trident, dolphin at feet.

[125] Cilicia: *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Lycaonia*,' &c. Cilicia, Anemurion, p. 41, Pl. 7. 4, Poseidon standing, with dolphin in right, trident in left (imperial period). Kelenderis, p. 59, Pl. 10. 17. Similar type with lighted altar at feet (imperial period). Korycos, p. 68, Pl. 12. 5, Poseidon standing, with foot on prow, in right dolphin, in left trident. Similar type at Zephyrion, *ib.* p. lxxvi. At Soli-Pompeiopolis, *ib.* (imperial period).

[126] Alexandria: *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Alexandria*,' pp. 108, 119, 162, Poseidon resting on dolphin holding sword and trident, p. 300.

[127] Tarentum: Evans, *Horsemen of Tarentum*, p. 67, Pl. 5. 1, fourth century coin-type, the boy Taras appealing to his father Poseidon (Coin Pl. A, 5).

[128] Sicily: head of Poseidon on coins of Katana, *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Sicily*,' p. 51; of Solus, p. 144; Tyndaris, p. 236 (all of late period of decline).

CHAPTER IV

APOLLO-CULTS

THE most striking personage of the old Hellenic religion that remains to be studied is Apollo. The investigation is always attractive for the student of pure Hellenism, and is of value also for the general history of European ethic and religious thought. Being certainly the brightest creation of polytheism, he is also the most complex ; so many aspects of the people's life and progress being reflected in his cult. It may not, indeed, present us with the highest achievement of the Hellenic spirit in religious speculation : for instance, to trace the gradual evolution of ideas that made for monotheism, we must turn rather to the worship of Zeus. Nor, again, did it attempt to satisfy, as the Dionysiac and Eleusinian worships attempted, the personal craving for a happy immortality which was appealing strongly to the Hellenic world before the diffusion of Christianity. Currents of mystic speculation, coming partly from the East, and bringing new problems concerning the providence of the world and the destiny of the soul, scarcely touched and in no way transformed the personality of Apollo. A Panhellenic god, he survived almost down to the close of paganism as a brilliant and clearly-outlined figure of the genuinely national religion : and in reviewing his cults one is surveying the career of a people in its transition from the lower barbarism into the highest social and intellectual life.

We have the right to assume an 'Aryan' origin for him, although we cannot explain the name. None of the various etymological theories and guesses are worth mentioning, except that one perhaps which connects Ἀπόλλωνν—in its Doric form Ἀπέλλωνν—with ἀπέλλα, a Doric word denoting 'assembly,'

ἐκκλησία as Hesychius defines it[a]. On this view, Apellon would have originally been the Dorian deity of the political meeting, adopted at an early period by the Ionian and other tribes, with the corresponding and normal change of the vowel 'ε' into 'ο': or else ἀπέλλα or ἀπόλλα may have been an aboriginal word for 'assembly,' common to all the Greek communities, and everywhere the source of the name of the presiding god. The importance of the theory is that it would prove the political character of Apollo to have been his from the beginning. But there are etymological difficulties: the word ἀπέλλα would give rise to such a personal derivative as Ἀπελλαῖος[b], not to an uncontracted form such as Ἀπέλλων: in fact neither the form Ἀπόλλων (Ἀπέλλων) nor ἀπόλλα (ἀπέλλα) can normally arise the one from the other, though both may possibly be derivatives from the same root. And we shall also find reason for supposing that the aboriginal Apollo had more to do with wolves and boars than with political meetings. Deserted then—as often happens—by etymology, we can nevertheless gather some interesting ethnologic conclusions from legend and ritual. We discern that Apollo came into Hellas with the invaders from the North[c], and aided by the light of two records we can perhaps follow the double trail of his southward pilgrimage, the record concerning the Hyperboreans[3] and that about the sacred way from Tempe to Delphi. The former is no fairy-tale, though wild illusions have arisen about

[a] The theory occurs first in Plutarch, and some modern writers seem tacitly to accept it: see *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1895, p. 44.

[b] The month Ἀπελλαῖος in Macedon and Delphi should be derived directly from the ἀπέλλα, not from Ἀπόλλων. The ἀπελλᾶια mentioned in the Delphic inscription containing the rules of the phratry of the Labyadai are the name of a festival or festive offerings commemorating the admission of the adult to the assembly of the citizens, and are not explicitly associated with Apollo at all, as the writer in the *Bulletin de Corr. Hellén.* 1895, p. 44, assumes.

[c] The thesis has recently been maintained by no less a scholar than Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, that Apollo is a deity of the pre-Hellenic inhabitants of the Asia Minor coast and the islands, *Hermes*, 1903, p. 575; but his statement is too slight to be considered a serious ethnographic discussion. The same view appears in Hommel's *Grundriss der Geogr. u. Geschichte d. alt. Orient*, p. 53, who adduces the place-name Ἀπέρλαι, from which he thinks 'Apollo' is derived; certain etymological reasons are against this equation, and he does not consider the ethnographic facts of the cult of Apollo Λύκειος.

it. The foolish etymology of the name, as if it designated those 'who live beyond the north wind'—for which Pindar and Herodotus are our earliest authorities, and which has not become wholly obsolete yet—has been answerable for much misappreciation of the real value of the facts: the Hyperborean story has either been regarded as an unaccountable dream or as a vague reminiscence of a prehistoric trade-route from the Danube regions southwards.

But the furthest northern points to which we can push back the cult of Apollo are Illyria, Thrace[a], and Macedon. And no peoples dwelling in the well-known districts immediately to the north of Greece could be naturally designated as the people 'who live beyond the north wind.' We note, too, that this mysterious folk are not regarded as barbarians, and nearly all the features of their legend are marked with Apolline associations: they sacrifice asses to their god, and we have now evidence[b] suggesting that the ass was actually a sacrificial victim in the Delphic cult[274 k]: they throw themselves in old age over a rock into the sea[c], and we have clear testimony that human sacrifices were thus devoted to Apollo at Leukas and in Cyprus[275 a, b]: a narrative in Ovid tells us that the Hyperboreans in Pallene adorned themselves with light feathers, and then dived nine times in the Tritonian lake[d], and the merciful Leukadians, in later times, attached feathers to the human victim to break his fall: the Hyperboreans were long-lived according to the legend, and Pliny mentions the town of Apollonia on the summit of Mount Athos, whose inhabitants

[a] The wide diffusion of the cult of Apollo in Thrace in the historical period, vide *Geogr. Reg.* s. v., may be regarded as an inheritance from an aboriginal period: the figure of Apollo may have emerged when the Hellenes were in Thrace, or may have belonged equally to Thracians and Hellenes: Thomaschek's *Die alten Thraker* takes the view that Thrace was his original home. Hommel, *Grundr. der Geogr. u. Geschichte d. alt. Orient*, p. 33, regards the Thrako-Phrygians as possibly an old Hellenic stock mixed with Eranian elements.

[b] It is true that Ahrens would alter τος ὄνος in the Amphictyonic inscription to ὦνος (*Dialect.* 2, p. 484), regarding the 'ο' an error of the stone-cutter; but he does not discuss the question. Only one such error of 'ο' for 'Ω' is found in the inscription. For the Hyperborean sacrifice vide Pind. *Pyth.* 10, 53; Clem. *Protrept.* p. 25 P.

[c] Plin. 4. 26, § 90.

[d] Ov. *Met.* 15. 356.

were called the Μακρόβιοι [a]: and when we are told that the Hyperboreans were a just people and strict vegetarians [b], we may remind ourselves of the bloodless and vegetarian ritual of Apollo Γενέτωρ in Delos[276]. There seems, then, a certain method in these quaint stories, which touch at many points on real Apolline ritual. Again, ancient writers, in spite of the fallacy of Herodotus, were not always inclined to place the abode of this people in the dim background of the undiscovered north: Servius assigns them to Thrace[242 b], but earlier and better authorities speak of Thessaly, Dodona [c], and Delphi as their various habitations[2]. Finally, their names, when the story attaches any names to them, are all Greek [d]: we hear of Pagasos, Agyieus[2], and Loxo [e], which remind us of Apollo Παγασίτης, Apollo Ἀγυιεύς, and Loxias, and of the maidens Hyperoche and Laodike at Delos[242 d] who brought the offerings from the Hyperboreans to the sacred island, while Delphi treasured the memory of two Hyperborean heroes, Hyperochos and Ἀμάδοκος, the last, perhaps, an abbreviative of Ἀμαλλοδόκος [f], 'the receiver of the wheat-offerings': finally, the Delian maidens who, according to Herodotus, came to the island with Apollo and Artemis, and whose names, Opis and Hekaerge, are derived from cult-names of the two divinities, were Hyperboreans according to the Cumaean poet Melanopos, Callimachus, and others [g].

And one important fact of ritual, important also for the ethnologic question, emerges clearly from the Delian narrative given by Herodotus[242 d]: that in the historian's own period, cereal offerings [h] were coming to Delos in time for the early

[a] Vide Geogr. Reg. *s. v.* Athos.

[b] Hellanikos Frag. 96, Müller, *F. H. G.*

[c] Dodona, a χωρίον τῶν Ὑπερβορέων frag. from Thrasybulos and Akestodorus, Müller, *F. H. G.* 2, p. 464.

[d] With the exception of Abaris whose legend came into vogue after the Hyperborean story had been entirely blurred and disfigured.

[e] Artemis, R. 79[a].

[f] Paus. 1, 4, 4: vide Crusius in Roscher's *Lexikon*, 1, p. 2810.

[g] Vide Artemis, R. 79[a]: Themisto, the bride of Apollo and the daughter of the King of the Hyperboreans (Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Γαλεῶται), is a Thessalian name, given also to the wife of Athamas.

[h] He speaks of them merely as 'sacred things wrapped in wheaten straw'; and Pausanias tells us no more, but Callimachus speaks more clearly of the 'straw and the sacred corn-stalks' (R.

summer-festival of Apollo, arriving by a circuitous route from the north and starting as he believed from the 'Hyperborean' country, and accompanied, or supposed to be accompanied, by sacred couriers called Περφερέες. Now in all these facts there is something definite and tangible, and they cannot be simply ignored. We have the right to suppose that the 'Hyperboreans' were not a people at all, but real ministers of the god who performed certain sacred functions for north Hellas. The brilliant explanation given by Ahrens [a] of the meaning of the name throws light on the darkness: he notes the name of the Macedonian month Ὑπερβερεταῖος, the last month of the year, and therefore falling probably in midsummer and about the time of the harvest, derivable also immediately from no other word than ὑπερβερέτης; he notes also the North Greek equation of β and φ, and concludes that the form Ὑπερβόρειοι is merely a lengthening, due to mistaken popular etymology of Ὑπέρβοροι, which equals Ὑπέρφοροι, a possible variant of Ὑπερφερέται, a name for the sacred ministrants who carry the cereal offerings from one community to another, and whom Herodotus calls Περφερέες [b]. This deduction has won some acceptance, and is by

242[e, e, f]). No doubt it is to these that Kratinos alluded in the *Deliades* —the Hyperboreans 'reverencing the offerings beneath the open heaven' (R. 242[d]).

[a] *De Graec. Ling. Dialect.* 1, p. 341: he compares the name of the Cretan month (3, p. 340) Ὑπερβέρετος: the month Ὑπερβερεταῖος was adopted into the calendar of Pergamon—see inscr. published in *Athen. Mitth.* 1902, p. 80. A curious reminiscence may be preserved of the connexion between the word Ὑπερβερεταῖος and the Hyperboreans by the Paraemiographi, vide R. 2: 'the word is used of those who have lived beyond the ordinary age of man, for it is the name of the last month of the Macedonians.' If the proverbial phrase referred to in this citation was in general vogue, it is more likely to have arisen from the story of the long-lived Hyperboreans.

[b] The text of Herodotus suggests that these were a real body of officials living in his own time, not heroic figures of a past mythology: and he probably understood the name to mean 'the carriers from place to place,' just as he afterwards speaks of the Hyperborean Abaris 'carrying round' the sacred arrow τὸν οἰστὸν περιέφερε (4. 36): O. Schroeder's objection, *Archiv Relig. Wiss.* 1904, p. 73—that the word by its form should have a passive meaning is not final, for such compounds occasionally oscillate between active and passive senses (cf. ἀναφερής, active in Aristotle, *Phys.* 4. 9, 2). But the narrative of Herodotus itself suggests that in his time there were no actual couriers escorting the offerings along the whole line of their route: the περφερέες may have been the name in the fifth century for those who brought them from their last stage.

far the most interesting contribution made by philology to the solution of a problem of Greek religion[a]. We can trace back the name itself to the eighth century B.C., but we cannot say when the false etymology first arose[b], or when the name acquired this *ex hypothesi* fictitious ethnic significance. Accepting Ahrens' explanation, we can draw some interesting conclusions bearing on the ethnology of the cult from the antiquity of the word and the legends attaching to it. It appears that in prehistoric times certain settlements of the Apolline worship along the northermost border of Hellas were in the habit of sending first-fruits for the god to some famous cult-centre of his worship further south. In the earliest times we should suppose that this could be none other than Delphi, which was already famed for its wealth in the days of Homer, when, as far as we can judge, Delos was still obscure. The most ancient temple of Delphi was built of laurel-wood from Tempe, according to the legend, and built by Hyperborean architects, Pagasos and Agyieus[2]. And the 'Pythian way' that led from Tempe past Larissa through Thessaly and the old Pelasgiotis, touching no doubt at Pherai, and thence proceeding through the country of the Ainianes and the old Dryopian settlements of Oeta, through Doris and the territory of the western Locrians to Delphi, must have been a route of ancient pilgrimage connecting places that were hallowed by associations with the earliest

[a] O. Schroeder, op. cit., in a recent discussion of the whole question proposes another explanation: he assumes a 'pre-Hellenic' word Βόρις = 'mountain,' and interprets Ὑπερβόρεοι as 'those who live above the mountains,' that is the 'heavenly folk': but apart from the doubts that might be raised concerning this etymology, I do not find that his paper throws much light on the questions of ritual and ethnology.

[b] Herodotus (4. 33) states that the Hyperboreoi were mentioned by Hesiod and by the epic poet of the Epigoni: the author of the Homeric hymn to Dionysos (l. 29) refers to them as a definite people imagined by him perhaps as living somewhere at the circumference of the Greek world: it seems that Alcaeus conceived of them as a people living in the north of Greece, probably in the region of Tempe (R. 256[d], vide infra, p. 104). It may have been in the sixth century, the flourishing period of the Ionic colonies in the Black Sea, at a time when the poetry and legends associated with the names of Aristeas and Abaris arose, that the transplantation of the Hyperboreans to the country north of Scythia, the dim land 'beyond the north wind,' took place (cf. Herod. 4. 13–15). Pind. *Ol.* 3. 31 gives the first example of the false etymology.

period of the conquering Apolline cult [264 g, h]. Along this route in late spring or early summer came the sacred Delphian boy who every ninth year, at the feast of the Stepteria, impersonated the young god returning from Tempe, purified and bearing the sacred laurel. And the poem of Alcaeus, paraphrased by Himerius [256 d]—speaking of the return of Apollo from the 'Hyperboreans' in midsummer, a time that would coincide nearly with the Pythian festival—suggests that this triumphal return of the god was in some way associated in the people's imagination with the procession along the Pythian way. We find then that the route led from and through countries that might properly be called 'Hyperborean.' It led from Macedon, where the presumable existence of the name *ὑπερβερεταῖοι* as a synonym of *Ὑπερβόρεοι*—if we may trust the Paroemiographi—and the designation of the harvest-month as *ὑπερβερεταῖος* are, as we have seen, facts of crucial significance, and the later attested cults along the Macedonian and adjacent coasts [a] may be descended in part from a very ancient inheritance. Thessaly also was a land full of Hyperborean traditions; the significance of the names of Pagasos and Themisto has been pointed out, while Crusius [b] has ingeniously suggested that the very name of Pherai alludes to the sacred 'carriers': the antiquity and prestige of the cult of Apollo at Pagasai, where Kyknos was in the habit of intercepting the hecatombs that were passing by this place *en route* for the southern temple [c], are attested by Hesiod [2], and there seems to be a legend of human sacrifice associated with it: we can therefore understand why Philostephanos of Cyrene identified the Thessalians with the Hyperboreans as Mnaseas identified the Delphians [2]. Possibly the cult-title of *Κερδοῖος* 'the gainful' at Larissa may allude to the god whose revenues are swelled by the transmission of the first-fruits; and the chief functionary in his ritual at this city was called the *ἀρχιδαφνηφόρος*, a name reminding us of the laurel-bearing boy from

[a] Vide Geogr. Reg. *s. v.* Thrace, Macedon.

[b] Roscher, *Lex.* I. 2831.

[c] Müller, *Dorians*, I, p. 205, reasonably regards this as proof that Pagasai was one of the halting-points of the Pythian way.

Tempe, the human counterpart of the god [a]. As regards the other tribes whose territory was traversed by the Pythian way, the legends and the historical record sufficiently prove the very ancient and close connexion of the Ainianes and the Dryopians with Delphi [77, 144]. Finally, that the Locrians were associated with the Hyperboreans is attested by the curious statement of the Scholiast on Apollonius, derived almost certainly from Hekataeus, that the latter were divided into three tribes, the Ozolai, the Epiknemidii, and the Epizephyrii [2]. We may further note that these 'Hyperborean' North Greeks are all mentioned in the list of communities that constituted the Amphictyonic assembly [122]; and we find in the constitution of this religious association a marked preponderance of the North Greek element, some of the leading Peloponnesian communities being not represented, also the reflection of an epoch when society was still tribal rather than civic. We may conclude then that the central point of the earliest Hyperborean or North Greek Apolline ritual was Delphi, that the sacred way from Tempe thitherward was the route of the first Hyperborean offerings, and that this may have corresponded more or less with the line of the earliest southward migrations of the worshippers of Apollo.

But these may have followed more than one path from the Balkans into the Hellenic peninsula; another wave of invasion may have moved down from the Hadriatic through Illyria and Epirus to Dodona. It is a very significant fact that this tract of country lay on the route which the 'Hyperborean' offerings pursued in the historical times, and of which the goal was Delos. It seems for a moment that we are here treading on firmer ground. For there is no reason to suppose that the Delians deceived Herodotus, or themselves were ignorant of the places within or near the Hellenic border whence the offerings came [242 d]. Something then was being transmitted in the fifth century along the Adriatic frontier of Greece till it reached Dodona, at which point, apparently, the carriers struck across the mountainous interior and finally emerged on the shores of the Maliac gulf; after which the offerings passed along the

[a] Geogr. Reg. *s. v.* Thessaly.

Euboean cities of the Euripus, the last being Karystos, and the link between Karystos and their final goal was the island Tenos. If we are to find any *vraisemblance* in the first part of Herodotus' statement, that the starting-point was Scythia, we may interpret this to mean that before his time the Ionic cities of the Black Sea were sending their quota and connected themselves at some point with an old Hyperborean chain of delivery. And his account may be thus reconciled on the whole with that of Pausanias [242 f], who informs us that the first Hellenic station which received the Apolline tribute from the Scythians was Sinope, whence they were then passed on by the Hellenes—he does not say by what route—till they reached Prasiai in Attica, and the Athenians finally escorted them to Delos. And in the later prehistoric and all through the historic period the sacred island attracted to itself the 'Hyperborean' offerings and most of the Hyperborean legend, and we hear no more of Delphi in this connexion. We are confronted here with many difficulties in the way of the ethnological explanation of the development of the ritual and the cult.

The Delian foundation is probably later than the Delphian. Besides the evidence from the Homeric poems, which is of some value, we have fairly clear testimony that the North Greek cults of Apollo belong to the oldest period, and no such archaic institution can be found in his more southern worships as the Delphic Amphictyony. The oldest race in the Peloponnese that were devoted to the god, the Dryopians, preserved a firm tradition of their aboriginal connexion with Delphi, and to them we may trace the leading worships of Apollo Pythaeus in the Peloponnese [144], and possibly the Karneian [a]. In Arcadia the god was obviously an intruder, and is scarcely associated with the oldest and autochthonous divinities: the incident at Pheneos, narrated by Plutarch [b], and the story of Leimon and Skephros [c], suggest in fact a certain hostility between him and the aboriginal inhabitants. It has been shown already how frequent are the traces of ethnic connexion between Arcadia and North Greece; there are some slight indications

[a] Vide infra, pp. 132–133. [b] 557 D. (*de ser. num. vind.* c. 12).
[c] Paus. 8. 53, 2–3.

of a Dryopian settlement in Arcadia[a], and the name of Apollo Ὀγκειάτας at Thelpusa[b], as well as the religious associations of this district, which have been examined in a former chapter, point clearly to Boeotia. Again, there are reasons for supposing that in the famous pre-Doric cult of Apollo of Amyclai, which will be discussed later, an immigrant god dispossessed an autochthonous hero. Finally, in Attica his cult marks the Ionic settlement, and won no hold on the Acropolis nor any close association with the Zeus-Athena worship, and cannot, therefore, have belonged to the aboriginal Hellenic religion of the land.

From the analogy, then, of these facts we may regard the priority of Delphi as probable, and may disregard the Delian legend of the birth as valueless for the chronology of the cult. And the general direction of Ionic migration makes strongly for the belief that the Delos-temple was the later foundation. The fame and power of the Apolline worship in the island were entirely due to the Ionic expansion, and we cannot find any clue that might enable us to trace it back to a pre-Ionic period. We may believe that in their North Greek home the Ionians were already ardent worshippers of the god, and had already won the right of membership of the Delphic Amphiktyony before they moved southward and over sea: and as in a former chapter reasons have been given for the assumption that they once had settlements in Boeotia, so here a thread of connexion may be discerned between Delos and Boeotia in the name of the Delian month Γαλαξιών and the cult of Apollo Γαλάξιος in the latter district[14]. Both the cult and the name of the month are unique, and the coincidence is not likely to be accidental[c]. We may assume then that the Delian temple and worship arose at a time when Ionic colonization was pushing across into the eastern waters of the Aegean: for, as Strabo tells us, Delos was a very convenient resting-place for

[a] Immerwahr, *Kult. Myth. Arkad.* p. 137.

[b] Vide Geogr. Reg. *s.v.* 'Arcadia.'

[c] The name and the temple of Delion on the Boeotian coast are probably to be associated with the Hyperborean route down the Euripus, as also in all probability the Delian personages Opis, Achaiia, vide vol. 2, p. 488 and Demeter-chapter, vol. 3, pp. 71–72, and R. 60.

those who were sailing from Greece to Asia, and the Delian legend of the Ionic Theseus and the Cretan Ariadne suggests that the island was in very ancient days a post in a trade-route that joined Attica and Crete. We may also conclude that as it was the Ionic γένη of the Attic tetrapolis who in the main achieved the Ionization of Athens, so it was a branch of this same stock that settled at Delos, for only in Delos and Attica is Apollo known to have been πατρῷος or Γενέτωρ [54, 55]; and it is also probable that the settlement of Delos took place before Athens became Ionic, as the only ancient Attic cult of Apollo Delios was in the Tetrapolis [156 g]. We can easily understand that this new and brilliant foundation of the Ionic religion might attract the offerings of the Ionic communities even away from Delphi. The statement then of Pausanias is entirely credible that offerings came from Sinope to Prasiai on the Attic coast, and were carried across thence by the Athenians to Delos [242 f]. And an interesting inscription from Sestos of the second century B.C.[a] supplies a confirmation that may not have been noticed hitherto: certain games are mentioned, consecrated to Hermes and Herakles, and performed in a sacred building or enclosure called τὸ Ὑπερβερεταῖον. We have here in an official state-document the preservation of the Macedonian synonym for the Ὑπέρβοροι or the Ὑπερβόρεοι: for it is natural to explain the name in the inscription of Sestos as a designation of the spot or the building where the 'Hyperborean' offerings were landed or lodged for transmission, if they were coming through the Hellespont, or where the state of Sestos collected and dispatched its own to join the contributions from the Black Sea that may have come to Byzantium and then been transmitted by land along the Thracian coast. In any case, the fact that in the second century the name of ὑπερβερέται, of the meaning of which there can be no doubt, was still preserved at Sestos to designate the carriers of the sacred tribute, furnishes strong additional support to Ahrens' brilliant theory.

We cannot say whether the route given by Pausanias converged at some point on the north-eastern coast with that which Herodotus gives us on the authority of his Delian

[a] Dittenb. *Syll. Inscr.* 1st ed., no. 246.

informants, or whether it was entirely independent, a specially Ionic pilgrims'-way. Certainly the historian's description carefully omits all reference to Prasiai or Athens; but this silence may reflect the local jealousy of the Delians in the middle of the fifth century, when they had not yet entirely lost their religious autonomy. It was from the Marathonian tetrapolis that the signal was given for the dispatch of the Athenian theoria to Delos; and it was here, as we have seen, in the oldest Ionic settlement of Attica, not in Athens, that the Attic temple of Apollo Delios was erected. And Prasiai might well have been a post in an old Delian route that came from North Greece by Euboea and the Euripos; and the Mycenaean finds at this place prove it to have been a prehistoric settlement of some importance, while the legends concerning Erysichthon [a] attest its very early association with Delos, an association probably independent of Athens.

But, in the Herodotean account, what is hardest to understand is the reason why the Northern Greeks of Thessaly and the Macedonian border, and the communities of the north-western shores should have come to select Delos as the goal of their offerings, if this—as has been argued—had originally been Delphi. For why should the prestige of the later Ionic foundation have persuaded the non-Ionic peoples of the north to neglect the older shrine in this matter of the Hyperborean oblations? We could explain it if we found traces of a bitter rivalry between the two Apolline centres, which at an early period might have lowered the authority of the Delphian. But we do not find any. It may indeed have been some slight feeling of jealousy that moved the Delphic oracle to encourage the claims of the Boeotian Tegyra, as against Delos, to be the birthplace of the twin-divinities [b]. Yet the relations between the Pythian shrine and the island-temple appear to have been cordial, and the latter loyally acknowledged the religious hegemony of the former, regarding it as a pious duty to hospitably entertain all Delphians [75], and never attempting to

[a] Paus. 1. 31, 2 (tomb of Erysichthon at Prasiai, who was buried there on his return from a θεωρία to Delos), cf. 1, 18, 5.

[b] Vide Plut. p. 412[b].

compete with the former as a seat of mantic inspiration. In Attica the organization of the Delian service was associated with that of the Delphian [155 f], and in various ways the Pythion at Athens with the temple of Delos [a]; we have also a record of the conjoint celebration in the island of the Pythia and Delia by Polykrates the tyrant [158]. In fact we may believe that the Ionians, to whom the Delian worship owed both its foundation and its brilliant prosperity, had been from of old, when still in their prehistoric North-Greek home, closely attached to Delphi, and would not be severed from their old allegiance by the new cult-centre that they themselves had created. Moreover so far is it from being true, that the Pythian cult paled at all as the Delian rose to its zenith, that on the contrary the Ionic colonization which gave birth to the latter, helped to exalt the prestige of the older oracular shrine; and the Dorian conquest of the Peloponnese brought it a further increase of power. Yet Delos became the 'hyperborean' depository not only for the Ionians but for the Northern and North-western Greek stocks: perhaps because the transmarine expansion, in which most of the communities took part, suggested the convenience of finding a central island home for the propitiatory cult of their leader Apollo, who had become a god of the sea while retaining his character as a god of the harvest. Later, we find the 'Hyperboreans' vaguely relegated to the west [b], perhaps even to the south-east, of the Mediterranean world; and this is just what we should expect, according to Ahrens' explanation; for the Greek communities of the western waters, as well as those of the Asia Minor coast, if they sent offerings to either Delphi or Delos would be called 'hyperboreans,' so long as a reminiscence of the original meaning of the word survived. Hence it is that Olen, who 'came from the Hyperboreans [2],' appears dimly as a Thessalian, an Achaean, or a Lycian [c]; and we may conclude that Lycia, hellenized by Apollo-

[a] Vide Geogr. Reg. *s.v.* Delos.

[b] Vide Crusius in Roscher, 1, p. 2816.

[c] There is only this indirect evidence for the identification of Lycia with the Hyperborean land. Crusius, op. cit. p. 2818, quotes Apoll. Rhod. 2. 674, as supporting it, but the citation appears to me to have no such significance.

worshippers in a very early prehistoric period, sent back its 'hyperborean' quota to Delphi or Delos. Nevertheless the northern element in the legend of the Hyperboreans is always dominant, and herein lies its value for the early ethnology of the cult. In no other worship of Greece do we find at so early a time a similar ritual of pilgrimage and dedication to a distant shrine. A glimpse is presented to us of a prehistoric period, when religion had already transcended the narrowest local and tribal barriers, when various Hellenic communities were already worshipping the same divinity and acknowledging to some extent a religious centre: when the nascent international law, which was religious in its origin, threw its aegis over the pilgrim-couriers, the περφερέες or ὑπέρβοροι or ὑπερβερέται who travelled from place to place collecting or transmitting the oblations, and bearing the arrow as the badge of their tutelary god just as heralds carried the staff of Hermes, and who were reputed to be pious because they were sacrosanct.

The ethnological question need not be pursued further at present: but a summary statement of it might emphasize the following conclusions which a minute examination of the phenomena will be found to confirm. The Apolline worship at a very early, though perhaps not the earliest, era of Hellenic history had struck deep roots in North Greece, and from thence spread its branches southwards and across the sea: of wider compass than Poseidon's, it was already in some sense the common property of the leading tribes in the north, Thessalian-Achaeans, Ionians, Dryopes, and Dorians, before the Dorian conquest of the Peloponnese and before the great colonies were planted along the Asia Minor coast; and hence in the later era of expansion it became a leading cult in the cities of Aeolis and Ionia, and dominant in the Dorian Pentapolis: the Peloponnesian Dorians were devoted to the cults of Apollo Πυθαεύς and Κάρνειος, but both these they probably found already established there by an earlier Dryopian immigration, while the Amyclaean Apollo was the divinity of the Achaean[a], the Messenian Apollo Κόρυδος probably of a Minyan

[a] The Amyclaean cult had travelled to Cyprus probably in connexion with

population[215]; and Apollo Lykeios who gave his name to Lycia belonged to the oldest stratum of the religion, and his cult was the common heritage of many races[a].

We can now inquire into the personality of the God, noting his characteristics in the earlier and later periods. Although he may have entered Hellas already a deity of the political community, yet some of his worships preserved a reminiscence of savagery and wild life, and we may regard these as aboriginal. The bow, his constant attribute, may have marked the divinity of the tribes who lived mainly by the chase. And of such a stage the cults of *Ἀγραῖος* at Megara, *Ἀγρέτης* at Chios and *Λάφριος* in Kalydon may be distant survivals[5,6]. Even in the later period the wild-wood and the cave were regarded here and there as his proper haunts: in two cities of Cyprus he was worshipped as *Ὕλάτης*, 'the god of the wood,' and inscriptions from the vicinity of Paphos dedicating a grotto to him under this name, and the cult travelled over to Egypt[4]. By a coincidence we again find the cave-dwelling god at a spot called *Ὕλαι* near Magnesia on the Maeander, where a striking ritual was practised of which Pausanias has preserved the record[3]: the very archaic image of Apollo, dedicated in a cavern there, inspired supernatural powers in the priests, who were able to throw themselves from precipitous heights, to pluck up tall trees by the roots and to carry them on their shoulders along dizzy paths. Such phrenzied possession, that lifts the worshipper above the ordinary level of humanity, was rarely found in the Apolline religion of the historic period, and would belong rather to

some early 'Achaean' migration from Laconia, which may also have brought to the island the cult of Apollo *Ἐλείτης*, from the Laconian Helos: see Geogr. Reg. *s. v.* Cyprus: Steph. Byz. *s. v.* *Ἕλος*: Meister, *Die griech. Dialecte*, 2, p. 129 (from Deeke), cf. *Rev. d'Ét. grec.* 1889, p. 231.

[a] The cults of Apollo *Ἀγραῖος*, *Ἀρχηγέτης* *Πύθιος* at Megara (R. 6, 64, 148), of Apollo (? *Καθάρσιος*) at Sikyon (R, 222[c], Geogr. Reg. *s. v.* Sikyon, cf. Artemis, R. 79[8]), Apollo Teneates at Tenea (Geogr. Reg. *s. v.*), *Ἐπιβατήριος* and *Θεάριος* at Troezen (R. 38, 145, 273[c]), as well as the chief cults of Argos, seem all to belong to the pre-Dorian period, so far as their legendary associations are an indication. In the scanty list of Elean and Achaean cults we can find no ethnographic clue, except that we may interpret the Elean Apollo *Θέρμιος* as Aetolian, vide p. 167.

the votaries of Dionysos; but we may regard it here as an aboriginal tradition that has followed the Thessalian colonists to their new home, and that descends from a time when Apollo in North Greece was still a deity of the wild wood, and when his ritual was marked with the savage ecstasy of wood-magic. The fashion of using the cave as a shrine was still in vogue in the Mycenaean period—witness the Dictaean cave of Zeus with its Mycenaean hoard of votive-offerings—and did not wholly die out under the later civilization. It survived naturally in some of the chthonian worships; but Apollo was not 'chthonian'; and probably at the beginning of his Hellenic career, and certainly by the time he arrived at Athens, he had shaken off most of his savagery, and had become a deity of the higher political life. Therefore it is all the more surprising to find him still worshipped at Athens as a cave-dweller as late as the Roman period[a]; beneath the northern rocks of the Acropolis, which were called Μακραί, was the cavern which Euripides mentions as the scene of the union between Creusa and Apollo, and which, through the legend of Ion, was associated with Delphi and the Ionic settlement of Attica, and intimately connected with the official and political life of the state. In Hellenic life it often happened that the trace of the primitive fact still survived in the higher social organism; but there are special facts which will be examined below[b] explaining why the political deity of Athens should still haunt the cave.

To the same aboriginal period the worship of Apollo Λύκειος[7] must have belonged. The history of this title is more curious than that of any other in Greek religious nomenclature, the name of the country of Lycia probably, and the French Lycée obviously, being derived from the appellative of a primitive god of wolves. For this is etymologically, at least according to the data which we have to work on, the only right explanation of Λύκειος, and the other theory that derives the word from an assumed form λύκη='light,' which appears in ἀμφιλύκη and λυκάβας, is etymologically unsound. Serious error has arisen both among the older and younger

[a] Vide Geogr. Reg. *s. v.* Attica.

[b] Vide pp. 156–157.

school of mythological inquirers[a], by ignoring the well attested law of adjectival formations, by which noun-stems in *o* [ε] give rise to adjectival forms in *ειος* [*ιος*] and stems in *a* to forms in '*αιος*.' Therefore the forms *Λύκειος* and *Λυκαῖος* cannot be explained, as they usually are, by reference to the same noun-stem: the former can designate a wolf-god, and cannot designate a light-god; the latter can designate a light-god, but not originally or except by false analogy a god of wolves: and what else these two terms could respectively mean we cannot with our present material discover. Now, through a natural error of popular etymology, the wolf strayed into the legend of the Arcadian Zeus *Λυκαῖος* and possibly into his ritual: but the animal is far more intimately at home in the legend and the ritual of Apollo *Λύκειος*[b]. It was the wolves that led Leto in her travail, herself in the form of a she-wolf, from the country of the Hyperboreans to Delos, or to the river Xanthos in Lycia[7h,n]; and Apollo may have been called *Λυκηγενής* by Pandaros in the *Iliad* in the sense of 'born from the she-wolf[c].' Apollo sends the wolves to nourish his own child, Miletos, in Crete[7m]; and in the Argives' legend, explaining the origin of their ancient cult of Apollo *Λύκειος*, concerning the combat between the wolf and the bull on which hung the question of the sovereignty of Danaos or Gelanor, Apollo bade Danaos worship him as the chief deity of the community if the wolf conquered, but Poseidon (the bull-god) if the victory went to the bull. This is the story as preserved by Servius[d]; and even in the somewhat different version that Pausanias[7f] and—with trifling variations—Plutarch follow, in

[a] Examples are too numerous to quote: I was under the influence of the same error when I wrote vol. I, pp. 41, 92; perhaps the first who set the modern classical anthropologist on a false scent in this matter was Professor Robertson Smith in his article on 'Sacrifice' in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. The derivation of *λύκειος* from *λύκη* (= light) was rife in the Hellenistic period, vide Macrob. I. 17, 37.

[b] The orthography of the title of Zeus never varies: Apollo's epithet *Λύκειος* is once—in an erroneous gloss of Hesychius—given as *Λυκαῖος*[71]: but the classical writers and the inscriptions are entirely in accord as to the form.

[c] *λυκη-γενής* can arise from the stem *λυκο*; cf. *νεηγενής*, *ἐλαφηβόλος*, *πολεμαδόκος*. Vide Curtius, *Greek Gram. Expl.* pp. 165–166.

[d] *Aen.* 4. 377.

which the wolf appears merely as the symbol of the adventurous stranger, it is still the god who has sent his familiar animal. There are certain transformation-stories also in which Apollo himself takes this animal form: in this shape he slew the Telchines, and united himself with Kyrene. What is more important than these legends are the records that show that the wolf was occasionally his sacrificial animal; this is expressly stated by the Scholiast of Sophocles in regard to Argos [7 f], and the story given by Pausanias [7 d] seems to point to some kind of sacrifice once offered to the wolves at Sikyon in the temple of Apollo Λύκειος [a]. Being then the familiar animal, and at times the sacrificial victim, it is probable that the wolf was in some way regarded as 'the double' or the incarnation of the deity. For the older theories that read symbolism everywhere fail to explain Apollo Λύκειος: in a few legends the wolf may have symbolized the stranger, but there is no other legend besides the Argive attaching to Apollo Lykeios where the stranger appears at all. Perhaps the wolf may have occasionally been regarded as typical of death and the lower world, and for this reason Hades or the demon-hero of Temesa may have been represented with wolf's skin for cap or mantle; but it is difficult to discern any genuine chthonian feature in Apollo.

Nor, finally, does the wolf in Greek mythology possess any astral or solar significance that we can recognize [b]. Probably, no symbolism was intended at all in this association of the animal and the god.

We are very possibly confronted here with a remnant of direct animal-worship (or half-worship), upon which the cult of a higher god is engrafted: the primitive Greek may have made occasionally propitiatory offerings to the wolves, as the Acarnanians made to the flies [c]; and in fact we are told by a scholiast that a man who killed a wolf in Attica used 'to

[a] Prof. Robertson Smith—*Religion of Semites*, p. 209—interprets the record in this way.

[b] Macrobius believed that in Egypt both Apollo and the wolf were worshipped as solar beings, [R. 7 p]; and some modern writers, as might be expected, have tried to attach a solar symbolism to Apollo's wolf.

[c] Clem. Alex. *Protr.* p. 34, P. (so also at Leukas, Ael. *Nat. An.* 11. 8).

make a collection' for its burial[a], that is to say buried it with costly and propitiatory offerings[7b]. We are at liberty to conjecture that the wolf was once reverenced in Greece, as the sacred animal of a wolf-tribe, and that an Apollo Λύκειος supervened upon or emerged from a tribal totem-cult. But there is no trace of a wolf-tribe in Greece, like the Hirpini in Italy[b], and animals are frequently reverenced by tribes that do not take them for their badge, nor can we discover anything clearly totemistic in the legend or ritual of Apollo Lykeios. But we win from it a glimpse of a very primitive period of religious thought when Apollo was still the wood-deity of a race of hunters and shepherds, and the fierce beast of the wood was regarded as his natural and sacred associate and occasional incarnation. And even the later and civilized Greece recognized in him the deity of the chase, who cherished the living things of the wild[c], and to whom the hunter offered a thank-offering for his game[6].

We can now trace out the geography and the progress of this special cult. Like the others, it doubtless travelled southwards from the north. We may discern a trace of it on the old Hyperborean route that led from Tempe to Delphi, if we follow a clue that is afforded by the anonymous story which Servius preserves: 'after the death of Python it was a wolf that first brought Apollo the laurel from that place which is called Tempe'[7c]. But Apollo, or his human representative, came down from Tempe, bearing the purifying laurel; it seems then to have been remembered that he once moved down that highway of Hellenic conquest in the form of a wolf-god. It is certain that the worship existed at Delphi[7a], for in the well-known Labyadai inscription (fifth century B.C.) mention is

[a] This is not really inconsistent with the statement of the Scholiast on Aristoph. *Av.* 368, that an old Attic law ordered the killing of wolves and gave large rewards to the slayer. The Ainos seem to slay the bear freely, but are careful to propitiate him, vide Frazer, *G. B.*[2] 2. pp. 376 and 429.

[b] The statement of Servius, *Aen.* 2. 785, reveals a wolf-worship once practised on Mount Soracte by a wolf-tribe, the Hirpini, who dance a wolf-dance. The wolf figures in hieratic Mycenaean art, and was therefore probably a sacred animal in the Mycenaean period: on a Mycenaean seal in the museum of Candia we see two wolves heraldically grouped around a pillar like the lions on the Lion-Gate.

[c] Cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 55.

made of the sacrificial skins belonging to ὁ Λύκειος: and in the temple near the 'great altar' stood a bronze statue of a wolf, which as the cicerone informed Pausanias was dedicated to commemorate the following incident: a temple-robber had buried some treasure that belonged to the Delphic god on Mount Parnassos, and as he lay asleep there was attacked and slain by a wolf, which thereupon went every day to the city and by its howls at last attracted people to the spot, and the gold was recovered; the wolf was evidently inspired by Apollo Lykeios. It is possible—though the evidence of a late Orphic fragment is not enough to pronounce on [7a]—that it was as Λύκειος or Λυκωρεύς that the god first delivered his Pythian oracles, as in other places we find the wolf-god dealing in divination. The cult is not found elsewhere in North Greece; but it must have reached Attica at an early period, where it flourished down to a late age [a]. An archaic inscription attests its existence at Spata near Marathon, and we may suppose it to belong to the earliest Ionic period; the Lyceum at Athens stood on the south of the Acropolis, near the district known as Agrai, and the temple-legend associated it with the early Pandionid period, while a story was told to explain its dedication, which savours perhaps—from a very long way off—of a primitive wolf-sacrifice [b]. It is difficult to discern what special character attached to the worship in Attica: we find Aeschylus in a well-known passage [7r] appealing to Apollo Λύκειος with a full sense of the original significance of the epithet: but the dogma that is sometimes maintained, that it expresses generally the darker and destructive aspect of Apollo in contrast to the brighter, is unproved and improbable [c]. The history of the Athenian building known as τὸ Λύκειον was chequered: by the fifth century B.C. it had come to be used as a gymnasium, and its precincts for military exercises especially of the cavalry; in the fourth century it was chosen for the school of Aristotle, and hence the name has survived in modern Europe. All this may have been pure accident; we need not conclude that a god who was

[a] Geogr. Reg. *s.v.* Attica, cf. R. 7[b].
[b] Schol. Demosth. 24, p. 114.
[c] Vide Soph. *Electr.* 1379.

originally wolfish had come to be regarded as a power to whom warlike manœuvres or philosophic lectures might be specially consecrated. But certainly at an early time the cult of Λύκειος became as civilized as any other; and it is possible that at Athens he grew into a patron-deity of the law-courts. At least, this will be proved if it can be shown that the Attic hero Λύκος, whose statue 'in wolf's form' stood near the law-courts, was merely a degenerate form of the god; but this question belongs to a separate chapter on hero-worship. For the present it may be enough to note that the deity under this title is nowhere explicitly associated with any legal functions or with any advance in legal ideas, as Δελφίνιος was; unless we choose to interpret a vague passage in Philostratus' *Heroicus*, where Apollo Λύκειος is called Φύξιος, as an indication that the wolf-god protected the exile and was therefore interested in the higher law concerning homicide[7r]; but the context does not bear out any such interpretation.

The grave of Nisos behind the Lyceum connects this cult with the Megarid, whence it is probable that Athens derived it. The records attest its antiquity in the Isthmus and in the Peloponnese[7e-g], and we may regard it as a heritage from the pre-Dorian days. The Argive appears to have been the most prominent[7f]; its origin was, as we have seen, associated with the legend of Danaos[a], whose throne was preserved in the temple amidst other monuments of great antiquity; and still in the days of Pausanias the shrine was 'the most remarkable in the city.' It seems that here was maintained the perpetual fire, which we find in certain Greek communities, as we find it in the Vesta-service at Rome, the symbol of the continuity of the state: and it is noteworthy that this is here consecrated to Apollo, though the Argive Hera, the elder deity, remains the chief divinity of the state.

The current of Greek colonization, Aeolic and Ionic, bore the cult of Lykeios across the Aegean, and in Kalymna, where he appears to have been the chief god of the state[b], it may

[a] So far as the temple-legend is worth anything, it suggests that the Danai were a Hellenic tribe coming from the north.

[b] Vide Diod. Sic. 5. 54; Hom. *Il.* 2. 678: the lyre, the coin-type of Kalymna before 500 B. C.: Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 534.

have been planted by a Thessalian or Argive settlement[7k].

But the most interesting ethnologic problem which the study of Hellenic religion and myth may hope to elucidate is presented by the name of the country of Lycia. Some modern writers are inclined to derive the word from the appellative of Apollo that we are now considering[a]; but the theory needs to be submitted to a more searching criticism than as yet it has received.

In the first place we have every reason for believing that Λυκία and Λύκιοι is Greek and not an aboriginal word adopted by the earliest Hellenic immigrants: for at no time did the natives call themselves by it, but their ethnic names were Τερμίλαι, Τρεμίλαι [= Trm̃mili], or Μιλύαι. The word being Greek, we should certainly suspect a connexion between it and Apollo Λύκειος, especially when we remember how frequently the names of places in Greece betray a religious origin, and how powerful must have been the influence of the Apolline cult in Lycia in the pre-Homeric as it was in the post-Homeric times. For in the *Iliad*, the Lycian heroes, who are altogether of Hellenic character, are specially dear to Apollo and swear by Apollo Λυκηγενής, an epithet which may have meant for Homer 'Lycian-born,' though originally it probably designated 'the son of the she-wolf.' The Hellenization of Lycia goes back far into the prehistoric period, and we may believe this corner of Asia Minor to have been the earliest vantage-ground of Hellenism on the Eastern continent. The legends attempt to lift the veil for us, and we discover the greater value in them the more we examine them. The Hellenic settlement is represented by the names of Xanthos, Bellerophon, Iobates, Sarpedon, Glaukos, and Pandaros, and the immigration starts from Crete or Rhodes

[a] Müller, *Dor.* 2. 2, § 3; Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, p. 370; Bury, *History of Greece*, p. 62, is doubtful; Fick, *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen*, pp. 2, 132, believes in a 'Hittite' race of Lukki, from whose name and presence the names 'Lykia Lykaonia,' even the Arcadian Lykaon and Lykosura, are derived: the ancients usually connected the name with the hero Λύκος, the Athenian (Herod. 1. 173; Paus. 1. 19, 3) or the Rhodian (R. 7[n]); but this Lykos is usually attached to Apollo Λύκειος.

with which Argos is associated [a]. These names are all Hellenic —with the possible exception of Sarpedon—and are connected with Lycia by no mere fiction of ballad-song or epic-poetry. Xanthos, the eponymous hero of the Lycian city, is the son of Triopas [b] from Argos. Bellerophon and Glaukos belong to the Isthmus of Corinth and the Argolid, where the cult of Apollo Λύκειος must have been strong in the pre-historic period; and they also won a firm footing on Lycian soil in pre-Homeric days. According to Alexander Polyistor it was Bellerophon who changed the name of the people from Tremili to Lykioi [c], and his memory was maintained in the land by a later hero-cult which Quintus Smyrnaeus attests, and to which some lines in Glaukos' speech in the *Iliad* may refer [d]. The passage in Quintus is specially valuable, for it proves the existence in Lycia of a hero-cult of Glaukos also, and it attaches to it a ritual-legend which is really a replica of the Thessalian-Lapith legend of the death of Kaineus. We find also that Pandaros and Sarpedon were worshipped in later times in Lycia [e], and the memory of the latter was cherished in Cilicia—a land closely connected with the former—by the cults of Apollo Sarpedonios [205] and Artemis Sarpedonia [f], the deity taking a title from the favoured hero, as not infrequently happened. Finally the names of Glaukos and Iobates were preserved as eponyms of a Lycian deme and tribe, while 'Sarpedon' survived as a personal Lycian name [g]. This roll of ancestor-heroes then possesses a certain reality, and we may believe that they were brought to Lycia by the

[a] Attica only comes to play a part in the Lycian settlement, because the Attic hero Lykos was well known and was sure to be connected with the name of Lycia. The version in Herodotus, who is our first authority for this connexion, may indicate that the Attic influence in Lycia, to which the later art testifies, was beginning to be strong in his day (1. 173).

[b] Triopas has been regarded as identical with the three-eyed Zeus of Argos, and if we could connect the divinity who appears under three forms on the Harpy-tomb from Xanthos with the Argive god (see A. B. Cook, *Class. Rev.* 1904, p. 75), we should have another clue of connexion between Lycia and Argos; but vide p. 287, n. c.

[c] Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Τρεμίλη (Müller, *F. H. G.* 3, fr. 84).

[d] *Il.* 6. 194; Quint. Smyrn. 10. 158.

[e] Strab. p. 665; *C. I. G.* add. 4269[b]; Schol. Arist. *Nub.* 622.

[f] Artemis, R. 79[m].

[g] Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Γλαύκου δῆμος. *C. I. G.* add. 4269[d].

first wave of Hellenism that reached these shores. For we must connect them with the name of Λύκιοι, which according to our lights we must maintain to be Greek, and intimately with the worship of Apollo; and this on close examination proves to be purely Hellenic in Lycia and not intermixed with barbaric elements, unless we choose gratuitously to regard the divination by the sacred fish at Sura [204] to be an alien trait. In fact the Hellenic element must have been stronger originally than the facts presented by the later period would suggest [a], when it seems to have been almost submerged beneath the aboriginal.

Now the legends, connecting the earliest immigrant settlement ultimately with Argos but immediately with Crete, and the Rhodian tradition, cited by Diodorus from Zeno the historian of Rhodes, that the Telchinian Lykos migrated from Rhodes and founded the temple of Apollo Lykios on the river Xanthos [7n], have a *vraisemblance* of their own, and accord with certain other legends and certain facts [b]. But what we should immediately look for is evidence of the ancient existence of the cult of Apollo Λύκειος in Lycia, in Crete, and Rhodes. And the evidence is only vague and indirect. As regards Lycia and Rhodes, we have merely the statement of the Rhodian historian [7n], and we cannot with certainty conclude from it that a cult of the wolf-god existed in his own day at Xanthos; for it is not discernible on the Lycian coins [c], nor in the records concerning the oracular shrines of the Lycian Apollo. In Crete there is certainly a trace of it preserved by the legend that the Cretan infant Miletos, the child

[a] The evidence from the place-names, especially Xanthos, corroborates this.

[b] Daidala, the name of a mountain in Lycia and on the Rhodian mainland, Strab. p. 664: Xanthos worshipped in the Lycian city from Argos and Crete, *C. I. G.* 4269[c], August. *De Civ. D.* 18, 12, Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Ξάνθος; ancient cult of Apollo, Ἐρυθίβιος or Ἐρεθίμιος in Rhodes and Lycia, R. 23; the Lycian alphabet accords with the Rhodian in the use of the non-Phoenician double letters (vide Kirchhoff, *Studien*, pp. 59–60; since Kirchhoff wrote, the Rhodian alphabet is found also to belong, like the Lycian, to the 'Western' Group).

[c] The inscription Ἀπόλλων Λύκιος on coins of the Imperial period merely designates the God of the country: vide Geogr. Reg. *s. v.* Lycia. One of the late Latin compilers of mythology published by Bode says indeed that Apollo was represented in Lycia as of wolfish form (R. 7[n]); but his treatise is full of absurdities and we cannot trust his authority.

of Apollo, the founder and eponymous hero of the famous Carian-Ionian city, was suckled by wolves which Apollo sent to save him when he was exposed [7m]: and the Lycian Sarpedon was also regarded as one of the founders of Miletos [a]. But neither in Miletos nor in Crete have we definite record of the worship of Apollo Λύκειος. Nevertheless the theory that is here being discussed is not discredited by this lack of the decisive proof: the legendary association of Rhodes and Lycia with Argos is an important fact, for this latter of all places in the Peloponnese was devoted to Apollo Λύκειος, and it is a significant point that the Argive cult also possessed that oracular character which marked all the Apolline cults of Lycia [7f], and that both at Patara and Argos a prophetess was the medium of inspiration. We may finally note that the Cilician city of Tarsos, which according to a strong tradition was an Argive colony, worshipping Perseus as its hero-ancestor, preserved on its coins an archaic type of Apollo with his wolves [7o]. We find too that Lycian influences in Tarsos are independently attested by the worship of Apollo-Sarpedonius at an oracular shrine [205], either in or not far from Tarsos, and the name of this city was associated with the myth of Bellerophon [b].

We may then hold as the most probable hypothesis that the name of Lycia arose from a very early Hellenic migration, starting originally from Argos and moving *via* Crete and Rhodes, of worshippers of Apollo Λύκειος, who themselves may have been called Λύκειοι, or—more probably [c]—may have given the name ἡ Λυκία to the ground which they first occupied on the eastern shore and on which they built the first shrine of their tribal god; and we may further conjecture that this was on the coast near Xanthos and Patara. And if

[a] Strab. p. 634, from Ephoros.

[b] Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Ταρσός, quoting from Dionysius Thrax ἐν τῷ περὶ Ῥόδου. An Argive inscription of the early Imperial period commemorates 'the renewal of the ancient friendship of the Aigiaii of Cilicia with our city,' and speaks of the visit of Perseus to Cilicia, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1904, p. 422.

[c] There is, so far as I am aware, no clear instance of a Greek tribe named directly after a deity or the appellative of a deity: but place-names so derived are very numerous.

the Ruka mentioned in the inscription of Rameses II are really the Lycians—a view accepted by most Egyptologists—then we have proof of the presence of Hellenes in Crete and on the eastern shore before the fourteenth century B.C.: a fact of primary importance for the ethnologic questions raised by Dr. Evans' recent discoveries in Crete.

Continuing now the survey of those forms of worship that belong to a more primitive life, we notice the frequency of the cults in which Apollo appears as the pastoral god, the deity of the flocks and herds, being occasionally worshipped in conjunction with Pan and the Nymphs [21], as in the recently discovered cave-shrine of Vari in Attica [a] and possibly at Gythion [b]. In Epidauros, Arcadia, and probably Corcyra, he enjoyed the title of Νόμιος, which no doubt originally referred to the pasture, though Cicero states that it was interpreted in Arcadia as a designation of the god of law: while Servius informs us that the bucolic song was consecrated to Apollo Νόμιος, descending from the time when he fed the flocks of Admetos [8]. In Dorian and Ionic communities we find the same functions assigned to him by means of similar appellatives [11]; Laconia called him Θοραῖος and Θοράτης, the giver of the seeds of life [c], he became the goat-god in Naxos [12], and in Arcadia, where as a powerful intruder from the north he usurped to some extent the place of the older deities Pan and Hermes, a temple was raised on the banks of the river Karnion to Apollo Κερεάτας, the god of horned cattle, himself perhaps imagined as horned [13]: while at Patrai we hear of a statue representing him as standing with one foot on the cranium of an ox [13]. This pastoral nature must have belonged to him in North Greece, as is evidenced by the legend of Admetos and by the cult-epithet of Γαλάξιος, which, as Plutarch says, the Boeotians gave him believing that abundance of milk in their flocks and herds was a token of the presence of the god in their midst [14].

In this connexion, an important special question arises concerning the relations of Apollo with Aristaios, the hero of the pastures and many of the arts of husbandry. It seems

[a] Vide *Amer. Journ. Arch.* 7, 1903. [b] Vide infra, p. 312. [c] Vide infra, p. 441.

that Hesiod, and in a sense Pindar too, identified the hero with the god, and we have proof that Apollo was called Ἀριστᾶιος in Keos[9]. The question whether the hero was originally a distinct divine personage, or merely emerged from the higher god in consequence of the detachment of an epithet, will be considered elsewhere. It is enough here to note that the connexion or interdependence of the two is not always maintained, and that Ἀριστᾶιος—which must have originally meant the 'son of Ἀρίστη,' probably a synonym of Artemis-Kallisté—is not likely to have been in the first instance an appellative of Apollo. The union of the two probably arose in North Greece, and Pindar, who says that men will 'consider Aristaios as Zeus and holy Apollo,' describes the hero as 'the follower of the flocks,' ὀπάονα μήλων. It has been supposed by Reinach that these words may explain the Cypriote cult of Apollo Ὀπάων Μελάνθιος[10], which he would derive from an old Arcadian cult of Aristaios: the Cypriote dedications, however, do not throw any light on the meaning of the epithets[a].

Like most other Greek divinities, Apollo was worshipped in his turn as a god of vegetation, aiding the growth of trees, flowers, and the harvest. The laurel, the plane-tree, the tamarisk, even the apple-tree, are sacred to him, and some of his appellatives are derived from them [15–17, 43]: of these the most important is δαφνηφόρος[17], which must be considered in connexion with the ritual of the δαφνηφόρια[b]. We find the epithet at Larissa, Chaironeia, Eretria, Thebes, and in the Attic deme of Phlye, and at Thebes and Larissa it was applied both to the god and to his human representative who walked in the festal procession carrying the sacred laurel-branch. The term and the ritual acquired a mythic allusion to the Hyperborean journey of Apollo who proceeded from Tempe to Delphi, bearing the sacred branch of purification after the death of Python. But probably the service was originally not mimetic, but purely ritualistic, like the carrying

[a] Concerning Μελάνθιος there seems no better explanation to offer than that of Mr. Hogarth's *Devia Cypria*, p. 25, that it was derived from some Cypriote village or district named Μέλανθα.

[b] Vide pp. 284–286.

of the εἰρεσιώνη, a piece of old-world vegetation-magic, the evergreen laurel-bough being borne as a fructifying charm. The geography of the cult shows clearly its North Greek origin, and we may believe that the district near Tempe was probably its original home; it may have reached Phlye from Boeotia or Eretria [a].

Among the vegetation-cults, our attention is specially engaged by the Amyclaean Apollo, the divinity to whom in part at least the great Laconian festival of the Hyakinthia was consecrated [19, 246]. The latter will be examined in detail among the other festivals of Apollo towards the close of this chapter. As regards the god himself, we are told by Pausanias that the statue of Apollo at Amyklai was of a very ancient type, aniconic except for the head, hands, and feet, the head bearing a helmet and the hands a bow and spear; that this stood above a base which had the shape of an altar, and which was regarded as the grave of Hyakinthos, a bronze door having been let into one of the sides, through which offerings were poured to the departed hero before the sacrifice to the god.

We are all familiar with the legend of Hyakinthos, part of which is probably late, and which is not relevant to the cult except at the one cardinal point—the death of the hero. Now at Amyclai the god was clearly enough distinguished from the buried Hyakinthos, and the distinction was marked in the ritual of the Hyakinthia. But at Tarentum [19] the tomb of Hyakinthos was sometimes called the tomb of Apollo Hyakinthos [b]. A similar question then must arise here as that which the Aristaios-cult presented: is the original deity of the Amyclaean worship an Apollo Ὑάκινθος, from whom, as the appellative becomes detached, a hero Hyakinthos arises as an emanation? or is Hyakinthos the name of an older aboriginal deity or divine personage, whose cult was invaded by Apollo, with the effect that the older was partly absorbed by the younger god? The question is of much more importance than

[a] It is a coincidence worth noting that the name and legend of Lykos occurs both at Phlye and Thebes; Paus. 4. 1, 7.

[b] There is not the slightest reason for tampering with the text of Polybius, as some would do.

the former one for the true understanding of the old Apolline cult; and it is partly an etymological problem.

To say no more than that the god and the hero were simply named after the flower is a trivial explanation that contents no one. The Greek ὑάκινθος was a species of iris, and it appears as a religious symbol, probably as a badge of the Earth-goddess, in Mycenaean religious art[a]. But if Apollo had taken an appellative from a favourite flower, we should not have heard of Apollo Ὑάκινθος, but Ὑακίνθιος, or Ὑακινθεύς, or Ὑακινθοτρόφος as Artemis was called. The flower of course could be personified directly by the quick imagination of the people, and we should expect to hear a story of a beautiful youth, just as we have a Greek love-story about Daphne or Laurel. But there was no serious worship of Daphne. The Greeks could create these airy half-palpable forms, and quicken them with myth and art: but they were not trivial enough to make the personification of a flower the object of a national and earnest, even gloomy, worship, so imperious in its demands that warriors must suspend the course of a campaign, in order that they might return and bewail the death of a deified iris.

At least the student who has worked on the old veins of religious thought will be slow to believe this; and he will feel justified in his unbelief when he discovers that the particular flower does not appear at all in the record of the Hyakinthia or in the Amyclaean ritual of Apollo.

The more scientific view of modern etymology is no doubt the true one, that the name of the flower and the name of the god or hero are derivatives from the same root, which appears in Sanskrit, Latin, Irish, and English, and in form and meaning corresponds to our word 'young': so that Hyakinthos was probably one of the many vegetation deities of the Greek soil, who dies and becomes a nether power, but being always 'young' may have been regarded as the male counterpart of Kore.

Now Hyakinthos, so interpreted, might certainly have been nothing more originally than an epithet of Apollo, who was

[a] Vide A. J. Evans, *Hell. Journ.* 1901, p. 148.

undoubtedly a pre-Dorian deity of Amyklai [a], and who at an early period was regarded as *par excellence*, a youthful divinity. An interesting gloss of Hesychius [45] informs us that the Laconians called Apollo the 'boy-god,' Κουρίδιος—we may compare the worship of him as Κούρεος at Teos—and it goes on to state, if we accept a probable and slight emendation, that this Apollo Κουρίδιος was also called τετράχειρ. A 'four-handed' Apollo seems at first sight a monstrous type, but its authenticity is confirmed by the trustworthy authority of the Laconian Sosibios, who wrote on the religious antiquities of Laconia in the third century B. C., and who associates it with Amyclai [45]; and the title could easily have arisen from some double herme-representation, in which Apollo was grouped back to back with some other personage, whom Wide plausibly conjectures to have been Hyakinthos [b]. Therefore, on this theory, Κουρίδιος would be a later synonym or translation for the original divine epithet Ὑάκινθος.

Yet most writers agree with Rohde's view that Hyakinthos belongs to an older stratum of religion than the Apolline. We should be almost compelled to admit this and to separate the two personages, if the word itself in respect of its suffix betrayed a non-Aryan formation; and many modern philologists maintainth at Greek words ending in *νθος* (Perinthos, Korinthos, &c.) are formed with a suffix that does not properly belong to the Indo-Germanic system [c], but may have come into Greece from Caria; Hyakinthos, therefore, must be relegated to the pre-Hellenic, pre-Apolline, and probably non-Aryan epoch. But this etymological dogma does not appear to be universally accepted, and the argument, which has certain flaws in it, cannot be pressed home. But other reasons than the etymological can be urged in favour of the original independence of Hyakinthos. He was essentially a chthonian power and worshipped with a gloomy ritual, and

[a] Mycenaean remains have been found in the excavation of the Amyclaean site, vide *Eph. Arch.* 1892, p. 18.

[b] *Lakon. Kult.* p. 96: that Apollo τετράχειρ was president of some national ἀγών in Laconia, such as the Hyakinthia, follows from Hesychius' gloss, R. 101.

[c] See Kretschmer's *Einleitung in die Geschichte d. griech. Sprache*, p. 402.

with *ἐναγίσματα*, the offerings consecrated to the dead. Now such a character is wholly alien to Apollo. This god is interested in pastoral work and agriculture, like all deities of early society, and he attracts to himself a certain vegetation-ritual. But he never becomes a subterranean personage, or familiar with the shadowy powers of the lower world: 'Apollo loves the joy of the song and the music: but dirges and wailing are the portion of Hades,' sings Stesichorus [225]; 'He is not one to be present with those that lament,' as the chorus in the *Agamemnon* say to Cassandra; scenes of death and sorrow were as a miasma to him, and therefore the Argives, in fulfilling the ancient ritual of the *ἔγκνισμα*, immediately after their mourning for the death of a kinsman was ended, extinguished their fires as if polluted by the death, and by sacrament and expiation purified themselves to Apollo [273 b]. In fact, no aspect of the Apolline character is so strongly marked as his love of the daylight and of the genial mood. But is this a later development, and had he also once, like so many other Greek divinities—even the sky-god Zeus—a chthonian or darker side? It is hard to attain to certainty in these discussions, and we can only weigh probabilities from the facts that are recorded. We are familiar by this time with the sort of ritual and legend that were likely to attach to the under-world or buried deities; the nightly sacrifice, the mystery, the swine-offering, some story of death, are characteristic of them. Now we have only two doubtful instances of a sacrifice to Apollo by night, namely in the divination-ritual at Argos and Klaros [144, 199 e]; there are only three examples of the offering of the wild boar—perhaps a Dryopian tradition [a]—and the domestic pig was used indeed in the lustral ceremonies owing to the influence of ancient tradition, but was not his ordinary sacrificial animal, and was specially forbidden in the service of Thasos [202]; there are no Apolline mysteries [b], nor any genuine story or ritual

[a] Vide infra, p. 133.

[b] There was, if we may trust Artemidorus, a cult of Apollo *Μύστης* at the Lydian town of Daldis (vide Geogr. Reg. *s.v.*): as far as I know the strange title has never been explained or even noticed: it might possibly be due to Mithraic influences; Apollo-Helios was

suggesting clearly the death of the god. As regards the last point the question may have to be raised again in respect of the Thargelia and Karneia, and the statement just made may appear to conflict with the citations given from Porphyry and Mnaseas[261]; according to the former Pythagoras inscribed an elegy on the grave of Apollo at Delphi, in which he made him out to be the son of Seilenos, slain by Python, and buried in the tripod; while Mnaseas, the historian of Patrai, gravely informed his readers that Apollo had been struck with Zeus' lightning and slain, and carried out to burial 'by a lower class of undertakers.' It is difficult to deal with stuff like this, or to say which is the more worthless, the late Pythagorean forgery, in which Apollo is confused, perhaps deliberately, with Dionysos, or the nonsense of Mnaseas, perhaps the silliest of the euhemeristic writers, who may have been here confusing Apollo with Asklepios. Ideas of death and resurrection, or descent into the lower world and periodic ascent, attached to the cults of Dionysos, Adonis, Aphrodite, Demeter-Kore, Semele, and many heroes and heroines of vegetation. Apollo, though some of his functions belonged to the same domain, seems generally to have escaped the contagion of such ideas. We must say that they did once attach to him, if we believe him to have been identical with Hyakinthos. But we ought not, except under compulsion, to frame a hypothesis that clashes with normal Greek ritual. And there is no compulsion here; for the supposition that Hyakinthos was an independent personage is equally simple, and accords better with the facts of ritual. This is further confirmed by the entire lack of any evidence that the Amyklaean Apollo had any 'vegetative' character at all—his type was that of the war-god and he was worshipped as the god of song[a]; also by the legend of the Hyakinthides, the Attic maidens who have nothing to do with Apollo, but are the daughters of the Laconian Hyakinthos, and who like the

established at Thyatira, and the syncretism Apollo-Helios-Mithras occurs in the inscription of Antiochus of Commagene (vide Cumont, Roscher's *Lexikon*, 2, p. 3031).

[a] Vide ritual of the Hyakinthia, pp. 264–267.

earth-goddess Aglauros sacrifice themselves for their country. There are two other personages of Greek myth and cult who may be interpreted as youthful heroes of vegetation, and who like Hyakinthos come to an untimely death, Linos and Skephros; and it is interesting to note that both these are associated with the cult of Apollo Ἀγυιεύς[a]; the reasons for this association will be considered when we discuss the meaning of this title.

As a deity of the higher agriculture, we find Apollo worshipped with such appellatives as Σιτάλκας, 'the protector of corn' at Delphi [22], as Πορνόπιος [23, 24], the 'averter of locusts' among the Boeotians and probably the Aeolic communities of Asia Minor; as Ἐρυθίβιος, the 'averter of mildew' from the crops, like the Latin Robigus in a cult in Rhodes and Lycia, of which the ethnologic importance has been pointed out [23]. The cult of Apollo Smintheus in the Troad and adjacent communities[b] may have had a partly agricultural character; for according to one explanation 'the mouse-god' got this title because he drove away the mice from the corn, or sent them by way of punishment. But the question concerning its origin is of great interest and difficulty, and it will be better to consider it later in another connexion. Among the worships that aimed at securing his aid for vegetation generally we may rank that of Apollo Ἔρσος on Hymettos [20], a term which we can only explain as a designation of the deity who sends the fertilizing dew, and we find him grouped there with other divinities of fertility; but the form of the word is strange and the meaning hardly to be regarded as certain[c], nor has Apollo any natural connexion with the moisture or the fresh water necessary for vegetation[d].

[a] Vide R. 48[b,c] and Artemis, R. 35.

[b] Vide Geogr. Reg. *s. v.* Tenedos and Aeolis.

[c] It may have some connexion with the Athenian ἑρσηφορία: but it is hard to determine the meaning of this latter word; Miss Harrison would explain it as the carrying of young animals (ἔρσαι).

[d] Pindar (*Pyth.* 4. 523) may call the fountain Kyre, around which Cyrene was built, an Ἀπόλλωνος κράνα; and the temple of Apollo at Tilphossa was built near the Tilphossan water (Geogr. Reg. *s. v.* Boeotia) but this only means that the vicinity of a fountain was the natural place to choose for a shrine. At Mitylene and possibly Olympia the cult of Apollo Thermios was consecrated to the god of the hot springs (R. 41); but his connexion with these was probably accidental or may

From these cult-records and from the wide diffusion of the Hyperborean ritual, we can conclude that the recognition of the god as a deity of fertility, the protector of the pasture and the tilth, was very far extended, and belonged to the earliest epoch of the religion. And this part of the exposition may close with some consideration of Apollo Κάρνειος [27], whose worship presents one of the more difficult problems for the student of Greek religion.

Something may be gained by considering the etymology of the name. An important gloss in Hesychius [27] preserves an old word Κάρνος which he defines as cattle or sheep, and which may have been originally connected with the stem of Κέρας, and therefore meant specially the 'horned' animal. Thus we find the 'horned' god Apollo Κερεάτας worshipped on the banks of the river Karnion by the borders of Messenia and Arcadia [13]; and the sacrificial animals that we hear of as offered to Apollo Κάρνειος are the ram [27 o] and possibly the goat, though the boar was also prescribed at Andania [27 g]. We may not feel sure of the etymology, but we may regard the god so designated as in his earliest days a herdsman-deity, and it is certain that he came to acquire, if he did not originally possess, a certain interest in the higher agriculture; for the Karnean celebration at Sparta, a harvest-festival of the late summer, included a very interesting vegetation-ritual, which aimed at securing the fertility of the land, especially of the vineyard, and which will be more minutely examined in the chapter on the Apolline ritual. And here also, as in the Hyakinthia, the naïve ritual of the peasant grows into or is artificially combined with a stately pageantry dedicated to the god of war and poetry [231]. For Apollo Κάρνειος was associated by the legends that were invented to explain his name and ritual with the story of the conquering march of the Dorians from the north, and he himself at Argos was called Ἡγήτωρ, 'the leader' [27 h], a name that was also attached to his priest who personified him in the Κάρνεια [231 d], and who

have arisen from his function as a deity of health (vide pp. 167–168): hot springs also are mentioned near the temple of Apollo between Klazomenai and Smyrna (R. 41).

may have led an armed procession or chorus of ephebi[a]; for the dance of armed warriors survived in the ritual at Cyrene[233 c]. As regards the ethnology of the cult, it is usually argued, and with justice, from the statements of Thucydides and Pausanias, that it was the common inheritance of all the Dorian communities[27, 27 n]; and it is actually attested of a considerable number. The theory that the Dorian Sparta was its metropolis would certainly not explain its diffusion among all these so naturally as the hypothesis that it belonged to the Dorians in their original home before the migration that changed the face of Central Greece. But the Spartan worship of Κάρνειος Οἰκέτας[27, 27 a] claimed to be pre-Dorian, and we have every reason to believe that an earlier wave of settlement had brought it into the Peloponnese. As has been noticed by Wide[b], it seems to have struck roots in Laconia outside Sparta in those places on the south coast in the neighbourhood of the Taygetus where Dorian influence was least dominant, and he conjectures that it was brought in from the north by an earlier Minyan migration. But there is no trace of Κάρνειος in those regions of North Greece where ancient Minyan settlements are attested; and Minyan influences would not explain the diffusion of the worship in the Argolid, Sikyon, and Phlius.

As we have seen, moreover, this people were specially the votaries of Poseidon, and it would be strange that it should have been they who brought Apollo Κάρνειος into Messenia, and specially to the vicinity of the Arcadian border, and who in the Καρνάσιον ἄλσος introduced him into the mysteries of Andania[c], where no trace of the great Minyan deity Poseidon can be found. It might be conjectured with more probability that the pre-Dorian cult of Κάρνειος in the Peloponnese was Dryopian, if we are to name any special tribe as its earliest carriers. That the Dorians and Dryopians in their

[a] The same name Ἀγήτωρ was applied to the priest who escorted the sacrifices to Aphrodite in Cyprus, and therefore it had not always a military significance: Hesych. *s. v.* Ἀγήτωρ.

[b] *Lakon. Kult.* pp. 86–87: his view that the cult was not really a Dorian tradition at all is contrary to the evidence.

[c] Vide Demeter, R. 246.

original and contiguous homes had possessed certain special cults in common is likely enough; and in the Argolid and Messenia, where the worship was ancient and vigorous, we have clear records of early Dryopian settlements. Even in South Laconia, near Las, we have dubious traces of a place called 'Asine,' a characteristic Dryopian name[a]. The conjecture is supported by the curious sacrificial law at Andania (where the ancient name Οἰχαλία recalls the aboriginal region of the Dryopes in North Greece) which prescribed a boar as an offering to Apollo Κάρνειος: the same oblation occurred in the Apolline worship on Mount Lykaion in Arcadia, where Immerwahr[b] has already conjectured Dryopian influence, and also in Delphic ritual [129, 256 b]. We may here be on the track of an early ritual-tradition of the Dryopes of Mount Parnassos which they retained in some of their southern settlements.

The hypothesis that Apollo Κάρνειος was worshipped already by Dryopes and Dorians in their northern home seems best to explain his later career; and his worship may once have ranged over a wider area in North Greece than is recorded, as we hear of his familiar hero Κάρνος in Acarnania [27], and there is a faint suggestion of the worship in the Aeolic Troad [27]: moreover the Dryopian territory itself seems to have extended westward once so far as to include Ambracia[c].

Recent theory concerning this special cult[d] seems inclined to explain it as arising from a *contaminatio* of the higher god, Apollo, with an old vegetation hero or daimon, Κάρνος, whose human representative, masquerading as a divine animal, was pursued by the peasant-votaries in accordance with a ritual of the widest European prevalence: the same phenomenon having occurred here as in the Hyakinthia, the higher worship having been engrafted on a lower that was the independent product of a more primitive and gradually obliterated religion. If we accept this view the historical facts would still oblige us to maintain that this *contaminatio*

[a] Cf. Polyb. 5. 19; Strab. p. 363. It has been supposed, though for no very good reasons, that Polybius misnamed Las 'Asine' because of Mount Asia in the environs of Las, and that Strabo copied his mistake.

[b] *Kulte u. Mythe Arkad.* p. 137.

[c] Dikaiarch. v. 30, p. 459, Fuhr.

[d] Vide specially Wide, *Lakonische Kulte.*

had happened before either Dryopes or Dorians had left their northern homes. And thus our hypothesis starts from a very nebulous time. We may again and again have to weigh a theory of this kind, wherever there is any evidence, against the rival view that sees in the hero the emanation of the divinity, as the hero Πυθαεύς at Argos was a foolishly transparent emanation of Apollo. And the latter explanation is more in accordance with the facts about Κάρνος. Hyakinthos was a robust personage with an independent and peculiar ritual; but this Κάρνος, as distinct from the adjectival Κάρνειος, has no recorded worship and is a mere dream-figure, a prophetic ἄγγελος or a φάσμα Ἀπόλλωνος, the Acarnanian prophet who assisted the Dorian migration and was killed by a thoughtless Dorian [27]. The figure of Κάρνος (or Κάρνειος) is probably, as will be shown later, a mere derivative from a peculiarly Apolline ritual. It is true that the Κάρνειον at Sparta—a different building from the temple shared by Apollo Κάρνειος, Eitheithyia, and Artemis Hegemone—is described by Pausanias as the shrine of Karneios Oiketas, and again a late Laconian inscription mentions a woman who held the priesthoods of Karneios Οἰκέτας and Karneios Δρομαιεύς [27,27a]; and in neither text is the name Apollo definitely attached to this personage. But is it reasonable to argue from this late evidence that we have here the survival of an aboriginal vegetation-deity of the pre-Apolline period, whose place had been usurped by Apollo more than a thousand years previously? The name Κάρνειος is obviously adjectival, as according to Dr. Usener's theory were most of the names attached to many independent but vaguely conceived divinities in the Mediterranean religion. The validity of this theory may be considered in a later treatise; for the present it may be remarked that if Κάρνειος were really an adjectival term, supported by no personal substantive, it would be against analogy that other adjectival appellatives should be attached to it. In fact the phrase Κάρνειος Οἰκέτας Δρομαιεύς almost compels us to supply the personal name Ἀπόλλων for this and for other reasons. We may understand that a pre-Apolline corn-daimon or herd-daimon might be called Δρομαιεύς, the runner, if he or

his representative was obliged to run in a ritual-race: but we cannot understand, according to the laws of growth traceable in Greek religion, how he would have grown to the rank of Οἰκέτας, the guardian of the household: for this functional title is of higher significance and on a level with 'Apollo Ἀγυιεύς' and 'Apollo Δωματίτης' [34d]. It is hazardous, in dealing with the tangle of ancient polytheism, to pronounce with absolute dogmatism about any not insane hypothesis; but we can say that if Κάρνειος, whom we are asked to imagine as an 'adjectival' field-hero like Eunostos of Tanagra, really developed independently of the 'Olympian' order into a concrete deity of the household and state, this would have to be regarded as a unique and astonishing phenomenon. Meantime we shall be drawn irresistibly to accept the other and far easier interpretation by which Κάρνειος, Δρομαιεύς, and Οἰκέτας are explained as detached appellations of Apollo himself, who, as we know, was actually called Δρομαιεύς in Lacedaemon and Crete [99], either as a hunter-god or because his priest representing him ran in the Karneia, and who had more right to the title of Οἰκέτας than any single divinity of the polytheism. Through the inherent progressiveness of the Apolline cult, Apollo Κάρνειος could spontaneously develop into Οἰκέτας, and all the more easily if his ancient agalma in Lacedaemon was an obelisk or pyramidical stone such as marked his cult at Megara [a]; for by this token Apollo Κάρνειος would be inevitably equated with Apollo Ἀγυιεύς whose cone-shaped sacred stone stood before the house. In fact, we are never able to disentangle Κάρνειος under any form and in any legend from Apollo; even the mysterious Κράνιος Στεμματίας, whom we may interpret as 'Karneios of the garlands,' appears in association with Artemis [27f], and the cult of Oiketas was mythically established in the house of Κρῖος, 'a prophet,' perhaps a prophet-priest of the ram-god. At every point we are led away from the haunts of the vegetation-daimon back to the higher god. And the trend of the ritual evidence is the same, as will be shown later [b].

[a] Vide R. 27h: the name Καρινός sufficiently attests Κάρνειος.

[b] Vide infra, p. 263.

The functional character of Apollo as a pastoral deity and a guardian of crops and vegetation, which we have been hitherto examining, is usually connected with the conception of him as a solar god: and this is conventionally assumed to have been his aboriginal character. This view, which prevailed in antiquity, is still dominant in handbooks and monographs [a], and is accepted by ordinary Greek scholarship as an article of faith. For the solar theory, which ruled so much of the nineteenth century speculation on ancient polytheism, still dazzles many people's eyes; and though we are sceptical now about interpreting every hero and all that he did as solar, yet the ordinary and orthodox theory concerning Apollo still regards him as an Aryan sun-god, who became so vividly personal, developing so marked a moral and spiritual individuality, that he left his element entirely and the original physical idea became gradually blurred and lost. *A priori*, we ought to admit that this is very possible, nor ought a healthy reaction against the foolish extravagances of the solar-myth theory prejudice us against considering its relevance in any given case. The Aryan stocks at certain periods may all have worshipped the sun; and they may have created many sun-gods, and may then have forgotten or disguised them and again created others. But all that the student of Greek religion has to ask, in regard to the bearing of this theory on the Apolline cult, is whether in the historic period this deity was recognized as the sun-god by the ordinary Greek, or, if not, whether the most ancient myths, cult-titles or ritual reveal this as the prehistoric conception. As to the first question, all who look clearly at the facts must agree in a negative answer: the

[a] e.g. Welcker, *Griech. Götterl.* 1, p. 457, &c.; Preller, *Griech. Myth.* 1, p. 230 (Roberts' note, 3 ibid., suggests caution); Roscher, *Ausführl. Lexik.* 'Apollo' (Rapp), and nearly all English scholars and archaeologists. O. Müller's protest and appeal for a critical consideration of the question have almost been fruitless hitherto (*Dorians*, 1, pp. 284–291); but Sehrwald, *der Apollomythus und seine Deutung* in *Berl. Stud. f. class. Philol.* 1895, raises some pertinent objections to the solar theory, but labours to prove his own dogma that Apollo is the 'fresh air'; his treatise is a salient example of the fallacy of the 'physico-deductive' method in religious history. Gruppe in his *Griech. Mythol.* 2, p. 1240, expresses the view that the identification of Apollo with the Sun-god was old but not aboriginal.

ordinary Greek did not identify or associate Apollo and Helios in cult or habitual conception: the earlier literature, the poems of Homer, Hesiod, and the Homeric hymns [a], betray no consciousness of such identity or association. In a rather obscure passage Athenaeus seems to assert that Telesilla, the Argive poetess of the sixth century, wrote a popular ode of the type called the φιλητιάς, an invocation to the sun to come forth from the clouds, sung usually by the children in bad weather; and he speaks as if her ode was dedicated to Apollo; but Pollux, who describes the φιλητιάς more exactly, makes no mention of the latter god but only of Helios [31 n]. The first to attest their affinity is the speculative Euripides [31 a] who refers to it as an esoteric theory of the learned, who were already beginning their career of misnaming and misunderstanding popular religious figures. Another testimony, not much later perhaps, is the fragment of Skythinos, the iambic poet of Teos, in which the plectron of Apollo's lyre is interpreted as the rays of the sun [31 d]. Skythinos is here endeavouring to present in a mythic and personal form a concept of the Heraclitean philosophy [b], which he is reported to have set himself to reproduce in a metrical dress. The same dogma appears, though somewhat obscurely, in the fragment of Timotheus' lyric [c] in which Helios is invoked as an archer and with the invocation Ἰὲ Παιάν. But it was obviously for the most part an esoteric doctrine rather than a popular belief, though the learned Callimachus seems to have been angry with those that doubted it [31 k]. In a passage in Plato's *Laws* [31 b], which has no historical value, we note the association of Apollo and Helios, the author mentioning an imaginary temple of the two gods [d]; and we gather from Plutarch and Macrobius that the assimilation or identification of the two had become a commonplace of stoic exegesis and quasi-philosophic theology; and, though some people continued to be incredulous [e], it imposed itself upon the later classic literature.

[a] In the description of the combat with Python, Apollo is clearly distinguished from Helios, e. g. l. 369.

[b] Bywater, *Heracl. Fr.* p. 68; cf. Bergk, *Frag. Lyr. Gr.* 2, p. 507.

[c] Bergk, *Fr.* 13.

[d] According to Macrobius, Plato held the view of Euripides, *Saturn.* 1. 17, 7.

[e] Vide Plut. *de Pyth. Orac.* 400 C–D; Macr. 1. 17.

Yet this speculative ancient theory is of no more value here than in its identification of Dionysos with the sun, or of Hera with the air. The solar theory was almost as popular with later pagan speculation as it has been in our own time; and it appears as if the sun-god did actually encroach upon some of the old cults in the later period, especially in the eastern parts of the Greek world where the influence of Mithras may have been strong [a].

The facts of Greek cult, the only evidence which is of real importance for us, afford very meagre support to the conventional view.

As regards explicit identification of Apollo with Helios the cults that attest it belong to Asia Minor; and the evidence, drawn from inscriptions or coins of Patara, Thyateira, Smyrna, Tralles [31], and Phrygia [b], is mainly of the late Roman and in no case of the Hellenic period. Dio Chrysostom indeed speaks as if the Rhodians regarded the two gods as one [31 i], but the record of the Helios cult at Rhodes fails to confirm his statement; which is further damaged by his affirming that Dionysos was included in this Rhodian Trinity. Such testimony coming from the latter days of Paganism proves nothing of the earlier period of worship, still less can it reveal the aboriginal character of the deity. We must look then to the cult-epithets and the ritual to see if we can discover in them any hint of this supposed elemental nature of Apollo.

The Chian title Φαναῖος [30], assumed by Welcker to be of clear solar significance, is quite otherwise explained by the simple statement of Strabo that the temple of Apollo, where he was so styled, stood above the harbour of Φάναι in that island: it is then merely a local adjective [c].

[a] It is noticeable that Macrobius bases his faith in the identity of Zeus and Apollo with Helios on the syncretistic symbolism in the cult of the Syrian Heliopolis: in the same passage he quotes the Orphic verses that blend Helios, Zeus, and Dionysos into one personage, I. 23. In certain cults we may have to reckon with Mithraic influences: vide supra, p. 128, note b, and cf. Dieterich, *Eine Mithras-Liturgie*, p. 156.

[b] Geogr. Reg. *s. v.*

[c] In the passage in the Rhesus (Zeus, R. 29[b]) where the hero is spoken of as a possible Zeus Φαναῖος, the epithet may be equivalent to ἐπιφανής, the 'revealed one.'

The appellative Αἰγλήτης belonging to the Apolline cult of Anaphe might seem to imply sun-worship, though Apollodorus interprets it by reference to the lightning flash[a]; but it is valueless as evidence, for it is merely a later corruption of an original Ἀσγελάτας of which no one knows the meaning[29].

The worship of Apollo Ἑῷος[32], the god 'of dawn,' on a small island off the Bithynian coast does not seem, as far as the record shows, to have belonged to an early period, and may have arisen from the eastward position of his statue or temple which caught the first rays of the morning, or from a sacrifice offered to him at dawn[b]: in any case, the solar sense is by no means obvious, and if any really attached to the cult it might be due to Oriental syncretism. The epithets Ὡριμέδων occurring in an inscription of Tenos, and Ὡρίτης in Lykophron[c], are not known as terms of cult, and no more bear a solar meaning of necessity than the titles of Zeus and Hera Ὡρόλυτος: they merely designate the divinities as lords of the hours or seasons, and the art-representations that group Apollo with the Hours were justified by the belief in his protection of fruits and agriculture. Certainly no one should base the solar hypothesis on such a title as Προόψιος, which he enjoyed with Zeus in the cult on Hymettos[28], originally a local epithet referring to the fine view from the temple, but acquiring perhaps an allusion to his prophetic powers.

As the question concerning Λύκειος has been already sufficiently treated, these very few appellatives are the only

[a] If the story he gives us is genuine we might rather infer from it that Apollo was regarded on the island as a thunder-god, but the inference would be probably as unsound as the other. Müller, *Dorians*, 2. 6, § 3, interprets the Thessalian Apollo καταιβάσιος (R. 275) as a thunder-god on the analogy of Zeus καταιβάτης; but the word may refer to the return of Apollo from exile (cf. Pind. *Nem.* 4. 63 καταβαίνειν = to come to land or to return home), and the Paroemiographi understood it as designating the god to whom the returning exile would pray.

[b] We may compare the Cretan epithet Ἔναυρος, if we trust Hesychius (R. 33). It is probable that Apollo Ἀγυιεύς was greeted when men first left the house in the morning, but there is no recorded instance of a sacrifice to Apollo at dawn; though it was a common Hellenic custom to pray to Helios at this time (vide citations in Roscher, op. cit. *Helios*, p. 2024). In spite of Plutarch's statement we do not find that the cock was a common symbol of Apollo (R. 32).

[c] *C. I. G.* 2342; Lykophr. 352.

ones of all those attached to him—and the list is a very long one—that can claim a moment's consideration in behalf of the theory, with the important exception of Φοῖβος. The record of this word is interesting. In Homer it appears as the most frequent synonym and fore-name of Apollo, and thence it passes into the later literature. But it never appears as a hieratic cult-epithet, there is no clearly attested worship of Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων or of Φοῖβος [a], except perhaps one of late record from the Carian Termessos [31 m]. Nevertheless one cannot but suppose that Homer derived the term from some ancient cult or at least from popular phraseology that was consonant with cult. And if Φοῖβος can only be interpreted in a solar sense, it will give the strongest support to the view that at least in pre-Homeric or Mycenaean days the god possessed a widely recognized solar character. Now modern etymology agrees that the word contains the root of φάος, 'light,' and it would therefore be a natural epithet of the sun. But heroes or deities need not have been solar because they were called 'bright,' nor would those who interpret the Sanskrit 'Devas' as 'the bright ones' maintain that they were all sun-gods. In fact we cannot be sure that Φοῖβος was not a poetical expression for the radiant beauty of the 'golden-haired son of Zeus,' or for his unstained purity which is O. Müller's view [b]; and this last explanation is strongly supported by Plutarch's interesting statement that in his own day the Thessalians habitually spoke of the priests who carefully kept themselves in seclusion (or taboo) on the *dies nefasti* as φοιβονομούμενοι, and he seems therefore to have had some ground for his statement that 'the ancients used the word in the sense of "pure" and "holy"' [31 m]. We may then know the root-meaning of Φοῖβος, but we cannot say we know the exact original significance of the word in its application to Apollo, and it gives no real support to the solar or to any other theory concerning him. It is to be noted meantime, that the word is never applied to the personal Helios, and

[a] The inscription Ἀμφιδεκατίᾳ Φοι. (Prott-Ziehen, *Leg. Graec. Sacr.* 14) is restored by von Prott as Φοίβῳ; the word was more probably Φοίβῃ.

[b] *Dorier*, 2. 6, § 7. Hesiod applied the epithet to water, *Frag.* 78.

only once in ancient literature is it used as an epithet of the sun's heat[a].

Nor can we base the solar hypothesis on the name of Φοίβη, which designated a dimly-remembered pre-Homeric goddess, whom Hesiod includes in the Titan dynasty: a vestige of her cult survived near Amyklai, where the Ephebi offered sacrifices to the war-god in the Φοίβαιον, and a lake was named after her in the neighbourhood of Troezen. We do not know on what authority Aeschylus places her among the pre-Apolline divinities, who in turn ruled the oracular shrine of Delphi[112]: he supposes that Apollo borrowed his name from her, but following Hesiod[b] he calls her the 'daughter of earth'; and nothing in her legend or genealogy clearly reveals any solar trait.

Apart from evidence derivable from names, we might look to legend and consider whether the Helios-myth and the Apolline touch at many points. Such discussions have become *ennuyant* to most English scholars; and at this point it is perhaps sufficient to say that the stories told about the one god are not—with one possible exception[c]—told of the other: that no sane criticism can find any solar meaning in the legend of Apollo's exile from heaven or his visit to the Hyperboreans or his periodical absences or returns, or even his combat with Python[d].

[a] Aesch. *Prom.* 22 ἡλίου φοίβη φλογί.

[b] Theog. 136. Antimachus also called her Γαιηΐς (Hesych. *s.v.* Γαιηΐδα). The derivative words in Greek such as φοιβάω, φοιβάζω, φοιβήτρια (Hesych. *s. v.* = καθάρτρια), φοιβητής, φοιβήτωρ (λᾶας, vide infra, p. 303), all imply a feminine stem φοίβη, and were probably independent originally of Φοίβος Ἀπόλλων; but they all express the kindred ideas of prophecy and purification, vide p. 92.

[c] Apollo loses his oxen, as Helios does, though the circumstances are different; the stealing of divine cattle may sometimes be a solar story, but need not always be.

[d] If the Python-combat were meteorological symbolism merely, the myth of the conflict between light and darkness, as Schwartz and others have supposed, we should expect to hear of it elsewhere than at Delphi; and Bouché-Leclercq, in his *Histoire de la Divination*, does in fact regard it as an aboriginal Apolline myth having no special local connexion. But there are no proved traces of it anywhere except at Delphi: those that Schwartz, *Ursprr. der Mythologie*, p. 98, tries to find elsewhere are illusory: if the men at Tegyra in Plutarch's time claimed it as their own local myth, they were probably prompted by rivalry to Delphi (R. 183). Rohde in his *Psyche*

Nor are the attributes and emblems of the two divinities such as to suggest any affinity of nature. Apollo has little to do with horses or the chariot, but the Aryan or at least the Hellenic sun-god was pre-eminently the charioteer; while on the other hand Helios was rarely imagined as the archer-god. And it is not justifiable to regard such emblems as the lion or griffin as proofs of a solar symbolism in the Apolline worship; for we are not sure that in the hieratic art of Egypt or Assyria, whence early Greece may have derived one or both of them, these animal-types possessed an exclusively solar significance[a], though in Egypt and Syria they occasionally served as 'supports' of a solar cult, and they seem to have been invested with the same meaning in the Mycenaean pillar-worship of Crete and Cyprus[b]. But the Greeks could not have derived any definite dogma about the griffin from the monuments of Egypt and Assyria; for these could have only familiarized them with it as a heraldic emblem of divinity in general. Nor do we know that its association with Apollo was earlier than the sixth century B.C.; and we find it attached to other divinities that have no solar significance.

As regards the lion, we find this emblem on the fifth-century coins of Leontini[c] beneath a head of Apollo, and the connexion may be not merely decorative but hieratic, though we cannot detect a solar or prove any other significance in it. On the Milesian coins from the fourth century onwards the lion appears looking back at what may be a star or a sun[d]. But even if this was evidence enough that the animal was

enters a protest against the physical interpretation of the Python-myth. This legend in fact bears only a superficial resemblance to the other Aryan or non-Aryan stories concerning gods or heroes who fight with snakes: and comparative mythology does not help us here, for the Delphic snake has a peculiar local history of his own, vide chapter on *Ge*, vol. 3, pp. 9–10.

[a] Vide Furtwängler-Roscher's *Lexikon*, *s.v.* Gryps, 1, p. 1770.

[b] Vide A. J. Evans, *Hell. Journ.* 1901, pp. 149 and 161, Fig. 41.

[c] Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 130.

[d] Op. cit., p. 504: Miletos may have borrowed from Crete, with which she was mythically connected, a Mycenaean art-motive: cf. the gem published by A. J. Evans in *Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult* (*Hell. Journ.* 1901, p. 161), showing two lions looking backward with sun or star above.

a solar (or astral) emblem at Miletos, it would prove nothing about the god on the obverse of these coins, still less about his aboriginal character.

The evidence from ritual is equally slight and inconclusive. It may have been true, though it is attested by very late authority only, that in the Pyanepsia, the Attic autumn festival of Apollo, as at the Thargelia, sacrifice was made to Helios and the Hours[241 b]; but associations of the most diverse divinities are so frequent in Greek ritual that very little can be deduced from them concerning the question of original affinity. It would indeed have been surprising that Apollo, with his marked interest in agriculture and vegetation, should never have allowed some recognition of Helios in his worship. Yet the two Attic festivals, Pyanepsia and the Boeotian Daphnephoria, are the only celebrations where we note it. The latter is a very interesting and important festival, which will be examined in detail in the next chapter[267]: the record exhibits certain features which we may call solar, reflecting, however, sun-magic rather than sun-worship. But they do not force upon us the belief that in the Boeotian Daphnephoria Apollo was recognized as Helios, or that this had at least been his primeval significance. The other cults of Apollo Daphnephoros reveal nothing that points to solar symbolism, but occasionally a reminiscence of the purifying march from Tempe, or a simple vegetation-ritual.

Behind the purely Hellenic period of religion lies the Mycenaean, which may be alien, or more probably—to some extent at least—proto-Hellenic. Rich discoveries have already been made in this domain by the first European authority on the subject, Dr. Arthur Evans; and we are eagerly expecting more from his excavations and pen. He already discerns a strong solar element in Mycenaean worship, and some at least of the indications to which he has been the first to point may be taken as proofs that some form of sun-worship was more in vogue in Mycenaean Greece than in the later period[a]:

[a] Op. cit., p. 108, Fig. 4, sun and moon in the sky, armed deity descending, beneath goddess with flowers and worshippers, cf. p. 161, Fig. 41.

and indeed the historic Helios himself in Greek legend and public worship has somewhat the air of a faded divinity of the past. Now in a spear-bearing male divinity, on a Mycenaean signet-ring from Knossos, descending through the air with rays issuing from his shoulders, Dr. Evans would recognize the prototype of the Amyklaean Apollo[a]. But the mere coincidence of the spear-attribute is an argument of slight weight; we should be more tempted to accept this interesting theory if the seal had been found at Amyklai, or if we could discover anything 'solar' in the record of the Hyakinthia. At present we may be content to conclude, from the Mycenaean material hitherto presented to us, no more than this: that in several ancient centres of Mycenaean civilization sun-worship was sufficiently diffused to make the chances considerable that here and there Apollo or another god of later arrival might step into the place of a Helios or take over his ritual, just as many a Christian saint or other personality of the Christian religion stepped into the place of the dispossessed pagan divinity or hero. Here, as elsewhere, the quest after the original significance of forms is hampered by the frequent contamination of cults: the tracks cross and recross, the writing is written over afresh[b].

From all that has been said the conclusion appears to follow that Apollo-Helios was a late by-product in Greek religion rather than the god of the aboriginal cult.

The discussion is important, apart from the necessity of always examining afresh a conventional belief of scholarship, science, or religion; for the career of a religion which is mainly based on transparent nature-worship may be widely different from that of one whose personalities are concrete, moral, and supra-physical.

[a] Op. cit., p. 170, Fig. 48, cf. descending figure with Mycenaean shield and rays (?) behind his shoulders, p. 174, Fig. 50.

[b] The Cypriote-Laconian Apollo Ἐλείτας (Geogr. Reg. *s.v.* Cyprus) is identified in the bilingual inscription with the Phoenician Raššâf, and Meister, *Die griech. Dialecte*, 2, p. 207, gives to the latter a solar significance: the etymology on which he relies seems uncertain, and in any case the Greek question about Apollo is not likely to be settled by any discussion concerning Raššâf.

We can now follow without much difficulty the broadening and upward-rising path of Apolline cult. As his worshippers transmit his worship to newly-settled coasts and about the islands of the sea, he becomes a sea-faring god, and his titles begin to savour of the sea [34-43]. He is hailed as the 'island' deity (Νασιώτας) by the Locrians [40]; men pray to him on embarking and disembarking [35, 36, 38], and thus he might sometimes be grouped with Poseidon, who once at Tarsos seems to have handed over his trident to him [42 b]. The appellative Ἀκταῖος or Ἄκτιος, which he enjoyed at Parion, Leukas, and at the entrance of the Ambraciote gulf, marks the worship on the cliff of the deity to whom the mariners sailing beneath might pray [37]. Thucydides and various inscriptions attest the importance of the cult at Actium, the temple being a political centre of the Acarnanian confederacy, where no doubt the old Actian games were celebrated. But when this Actian shrine had witnessed the great victory of Augustus, a new city arose in the vicinity as the conqueror's thank-offering, Nikopolis, to which the games and no doubt in great measure the cult were transferred, and a new temple was built on the hill above it. Yet nothing distinctive of a maritime deity is discoverable in the ritual, unless we put this interpretation upon the ancient custom of throwing down human victims from the promontory of Actium: which may perhaps with more probability be explained as a vegetation-rite; while at Parion Apollo Ἀκταῖος seems to have been merely a god of divination. Historically, the most important of this group of worships is that of Apollo Δελφίνιος [34]. Etymology, as well as certain facts of the record, forbid us interpreting the name as derived from Δελφοί, and as meaning simply the 'Delphian[a].' Properly the word should mean the Dolphin-god, and we can rest content with this explanation. When the spring brought the season for navigation, and the mariners set sail under the guidance and protection of Apollo, it would be natural to regard the dolphin that gambolled round the ship as the temporary incarnation of the god. Yet there is nothing that points to any real animal cult

[a] On the other hand it has been held that Delphoi is itself an abbreviation of Δελφίνιος: vide p. 186 n. a.

here, or still less to any prevalent theriomorphic conception of the deity: the dolphin plays no part as a sacrificial animal in the Greek Apolline ritual, though Servius asserts that his body or his effigy was carried solemnly in a Roman ceremony that he associates with the custody of the Sibylline books and regards as Apolline [266]. There is no trace of the sacredness of the dolphin in the Mycenaean period, and the worship of the Dolphin-god was probably one of the later cult-developments. The evidence points strongly to Crete as its cradle. It was in the guise of a dolphin playing before the ship that Apollo led his Cretans to the shores of Delphi, there to organize or rather to reorganize his worship, and he bids them build an altar there on the strand to himself as Δελφίνιος [a], the altar bearing the same name [111]. An independent legend of some value, though of much later authority, is that which Servius preserves concerning Ikadios, whose name betrays the priest of Apollo, 'the god of the twentieth day,' who comes to the Delphian shore on the back of a dolphin from Crete [240]. And in Crete itself we have indubitable ancient traces of the cult, especially at Knossos and the neighbourhood of Mount Dicte [34 h]. From Crete it probably spread past Thera, where it is attested by a very archaic inscription [34 f], and reached Aegina and Athens. We may suppose that it was from the latter district that it spread upwards along the shores of the Euripos [34 b] to Thessaly, where the worship of Artemis Δελφινία is to be explained as a reflex of her brother's [b]. In Athens it is associated with the legends of Aigeus and Theseus, thus belonging to the Ionic stratum of cults, and especially with the latter's Cretan voyage; it is therefore one of the links in that strong chain of half-historic legend which binds together Crete and the Cyclades and Athena [34 c]. It is also a fact of importance that the Delphinion at Athens gave its name to a law-court, where cases of justifiable homicide were tried; we could the better understand this if we supposed that to the Cretan Delphinian cult was attached some cathartic ritual for the purification of

[a] Δελφίνιος should surely replace Δέλφειος in H. *Hymn. Apoll.* l. 495, vide Allen and Sikes, *Homeric Hymns*, p. 123.

[b] Artemis, R. 79 c.

blood[102]. And we have strong reason for believing that at Delphi at least the purification ceremonies were Cretan in origin, and were associated with the coming of Delphinios[a]. And again in Aegina the worship of Aphaia, or Dictynna-Britomartis, preserved some genealogical reminiscence of the Cretan Karmanor who purified Apollo from the blood of Python[b]; and it is most natural to suppose that the Apollo Delphinios of Aegina arrived from Crete as the cult-brother of Aphaia[c]. The worship of the Dolphin-god was especially prominent in Aegina, where a special festival was dedicated to him and a month named after him, falling probably in the middle of the spring and corresponding to the Attic Munychion[34 c–d]. That the Aeginetan Delphinios was associated with the Cretan Aphaia-Dictynna is on general grounds most probable, though direct proof is still wanting, in spite of the recent discoveries concerning the Aeginetan shrine of this interesting goddess. Plutarch vouches for the frequency of this association in the Hellenic world[d], and we can partly corroborate his statement. Apart from Aegina, we find at Athens a certain Artemis Delphinia connected with Apollo Delphinios and the Delphinion law-court[e]; and we may suspect that this sea-goddess was a transformation of the Cretan Dictynna: and as we find the latter at Sparta and Massilia, so in these places also we have clear proof of the worship of the god. His shrine at Massilia, according to Strabo, was 'common to all the Ionians[34 b]'; and it seems that Miletos transported the cult to the Black Sea[34 k–l]. Whence did the Ionians obtain it, from Crete directly, or from the Attic metropolis? Either view is possible, for there is nothing to prevent us believing that it was already implanted in Attica before the days of the Ionic emigration to the eastern shores.

[a] Vide p. 360.

[b] Paus. 2. 30, 3.

[c] The part played by Crete in the early development of the Apolline worship was very important; it is possible that the Paean was of Cretan origin as the Spartans believed, possibly also the *νόμος*, vide R. 225; cf. Hom. *Hymn ad Apoll.* ll. 514–517; the cult of Apollo Smintheus may have been of Cretan origin, vide pp. 165–166; most important are the Cretan associations of the cathartic ritual, cf. R. 111.

[d] Artemis, R. 131[1].

[e] Artemis, R. 79[b].

These few but important maritime cults of Apollo[a] are not to be explained by any natural affinity of the god with this element. They probably arose from his prominence as the deity of colonization, whom the emigrants would bear with them as their patron and the protector of their voyage. Hence the feast of Delphinios naturally fell when the season for navigation opened, and hence it was in their spring-month Delphinios that the Aeginetans offered sacrifice to Apollo Οἰκιστής and Δωματίτης, the 'founder of the colony,' the 'builder of the home[34 d].'

These two latter cults belong to that group which have now to be considered, and which reveal the high significance of the god for the social and political life of the race. From a very early period he was worshipped as the guardian of the family life, and in a sense as κουροτρόφος, not that like Artemis and the θεαὶ κουροτρόφοι he cared for the tender tasks of child-nature, or like Hera and Demeter for the ceremonies of marriage[b], but because it was he who gave strength and comeliness to the growing boy, and to whom the parents might dedicate the male child[44]; and to such a function his appellatives of Κουρίδιος and Κούρεος probably allude[45, 46]. This sympathy with the young male life appears in the Homeric and Hesiodic conception of Apollo.

The pledge of his divine protection for the household was the agalma of Ἀγυιεύς that stood in the open way outside the door of the dwelling, whether private or public[48]. The appellative was therefore functionally equivalent to that of

[a] Among these we may probably include the worship of Apollo Μυρτῶος at Cyrene (R. 43), attested by an inscription of the early Roman Imperial period; this is the opinion of Boeckh in his note on the inscription and of other scholars; the title could be legitimately explained as brought originally from Thera which lay in the 'Mare Myrtoum,' and where we have very ancient proof of the maritime Apollo (R. 34[f]). The form of the word does not suggest any immediate connexion with the name of the promontory Μυρτώσιον or Μυρτούσα in the vicinity of Cyrene (Apoll. Rhod. 2. 507, Callim. *in Apoll.* 91), nor any with the myrtle-tree, which we do not know to have been ever consecrated to Apollo; the appellative of Apollo Μυρτάτης in Cyprus (R. 43), discovered by Mr. Hogarth, is doubtful, for it would not normally arise from the Greek forms μύρτον or μύρτος.

[b] It is possible that the marriage ceremonies at Mykonos included a sacrifice to Apollo (R. 269[b]), but I can find no other instance.

θυραῖος, which designated the god who made propitious men's exits and entrances; and such a cult would naturally arise from a primitive social conception of the 'threshold-covenant,' the importance and prevalence of which has been shown by a recent writer, by which the householder exchanged pledges with the guardian-divinity [a]. Now there are various reasons for believing that this worship of Ἀγυιεύς Apollo belonged to the earliest period of his religion, and that the many different stocks who possessed it brought it with them as they came down from the north in succeeding waves of migration, and did not borrow it from some leading tribe after the settlement of Greece [48 a-g]. In the first place except at Megalopolis [48 b], where the half-human Herme-column of Apollo Ἀγυιεύς marks a later development, the agalma was always aniconic, a cone-shaped pillar among the Dorians, according to the authority quoted by Harpokration, or a more rounded stone of altar-shape as apparently at Athens; the former type must also have been prevalent in Western Greece as the coins of Corcyra [48 d], Ambrakia [48 g], Orikos [b], and Apollonia [48 g] attest [c].

We are thus carried back at once to the age of stone and pillar-cult to which, as Dr. Evans has shown [d], the period of Mycenaean civilization belongs: and in fact, if we may trust the evidence, to the most primitive stage of that cult when pillar and altar and divinity were not clearly distinguished, the same name Ἀγυιεύς being given to the god and the column or the altar-stone [e]. We are confronted with the same interesting phenomenon in the Latin worship of Jupiter Lapis and the

[a] Trumbull, *Threshold-Covenant*, pp. 97 and 134.

[b] Geogr. Reg. *s. v.* Illyria.

[c] It existed also at Halikarnassos and at Megara, as the coins of the Megarian colony, Byzantium, attest (Geogr. Reg. *s. v.* Thrace); and we may believe that it was to be found in Corinth on the same evidence of the coins of her colonies in North-West Greece.

[d] Mycenaean 'Tree and Pillar-cult,' *Hell. Journ.* 1901.

[e] We gather from Harpokration and Photius (R. 48), as well as from Aristoph. *Thesm.* l. 489, that the altar at Athens was called Ἀγυιεύς, and no doubt Harpokration's contention that the phrase found in Demosthenes' *Meidias* and in Aristophanes' κνισᾶν ἀγυιᾶς refers to the altars ἀγυιᾶς, and not to the streets ἀγυιάς, is correct: 'to fill the streets with the reek of sacrifice' is too vague an expression for Greek ritualistic terminology.

Arcadian of Zeus Καππώτας[a]; but I know of no other clear instances drawn from classical religion[b].

We may draw the same inference, that the name Ἀγυιεύς belonged to the earliest stratum of the Apolline religion, from the association of the word with the Hyberborean legend, and from the establishment of the cult along the Hyperborean route through Illyria[c]. And on this view we shall be tempted to reject the supposition that the name originally designated the deity of the city or the city's streets: to explain Ἀγυιεύς, our imagination may turn back to the prehistoric epoch when the god—or the priest bearing his emblem—marched at the head of the immigrant tribe down its perilous path of conquest, just as Apollo Κάρνειος was also 'the Leader' who went before the Dorian host, and whose image at Megara was also an aniconic stone of pyramidical shape[27 h]. And we shall find that this earliest conception of Apollo, as specially protecting the tribe on its migratory journey, explains the later evolution of his character as pre-eminently the deity of colonization. Then when the stocks had conquered and settled their new home, and the village and the city arose, the god 'who had led the way' was gratefully remembered by the erection of the Ἀγυιεύς, the columnar symbol of his presence, on the plots of land which the tribes partitioned—as at Tegea[48 a]—or before the house in the street. Ἀγυιεύς now becomes a title of civic and political significance, becomes in fact identical with Προστατήριος, which was an appellative attached at first to Apollo because in the literal sense he 'stood before' the house, but afterwards marking his higher character as guardian of the community[49], as Προστάτης or Προφύλαξ[50, 51].

[a] Vide vol. 1, pp. 45–46.

[b] The legend and cult of Artemis at Boiai in Laconia shows us the divinity identified with the tree (Artemis, R. 11[a]), and we naturally recall the Chaeronean worship of the sceptre as a divinity (vol. 1, p. 17, R. 6). But in these records there may be some slight inaccuracy or looseness of statement that might materially affect the religious deduction. Certainly the developed Mycenaean ritual had come to distinguish between the sacred pillar and the divinity; vide Evans, op. cit. p. 170, and for Semitic parallels p. 114.

[c] Its antiquity at Delphi, a specially Hyperborean centre, is attested by the name of the Delphic month Ἀγύειος, vide Wescher-Foucart, *Inscr. récentes à Delphes*, 178, 405.

Thus Ἀγυιεύς belongs to public as well as private cult [a], but in ordinary classical literature the term generally denotes the agalma before the house of the private citizen. A lingering reminiscence of the older significance may be detected in the frenzied cry of Cassandra in the *Agamemnon* on Apollo Agyieus, whose symbol may indeed have stood before the palace, but whose name rises to her lips because she thinks of the long journey across the sea by which the god has led her to die.

We may finally note that the aniconic emblem of Ἀγυιεύς, from its resemblance to a sepulchral monument, may easily have come to be misunderstood, and at times accidentally associated with a legend of death or a buried hero. For instance there was a column above the grave of Linos at Argos [48 c], which Pausanias calls Ἀγυιεύς, and we may remind ourselves of the semi-aniconic agalma of the Amyklaean god above the grave of Hyakinthos. Again the story of the death of Skephros at Tegea was celebrated in the festival of Apollo Agyieus there, and the hero was then ceremoniously lamented [48 b]. These three figures may be explained with probability as vegetation-heroes, who come to an untimely end and are annually bewailed: in the ritual of Skephros, we seem to discern with certainty the imitation of an ancient act of human sacrifice. Now if these field and harvest-heroes were supposed to be buried in the land, and it was usual to erect the emblem of Ἀγυιεύς on the tribal or individual allotments, the cult of the latter might often be attracted accidentally into the legends of the former; or at times the hero's grave-monument might be simply mistaken for the pillar-form of the god. It is possible then that part of the many-tissued tradition of Apollo's relations with such personages, may have been suggested by the juxtaposition or the occasional misinterpretation of cult-objects [b].

[a] The Athenian Πυλωροί erected his altar before the steps of the Propylaea (R. 48 [a]).

[b] Something of the same idea has occurred to Dr. Evans in his paper on 'Mycenaean Tree and Pillar-cult,' pp. 120–121: but his suggestion seems to go further than I should be inclined to follow; I cannot regard Hyakinthos any more than Linos as a mere emanation of the pillar-god Apollo.

The Greek worship of Apollo Agyieus is the only one in the many-sided Apolline religion that we may call in some sense a cult of the household. For it is noteworthy and characteristic of the god that he does not cross the threshold of the private house, and that no part of the inner domestic life was consecrated to him, as it was to Hestia and Zeus. Apollo is eminently a social deity, but his functions are public. Nearly all the higher growths of the civic and public organization are reflected in his cults and titles, and the lower also though somewhat more faintly. The worship of Apollo Ἐπικώμαιος among the Ainii, whose laws prescribed that whoever purchased a house should sacrifice to this divinity, carries us back to the days when he was merely the patron of the village-community[52]. And even when the brilliant development of the Polis had left such primitive organizations far behind, an Apollo Κώμαιος might be remembered with reverence in the Prytaneum of such a modern city as Naukratis, in the sacred gathering of the leading functionaries of state and church[52]. No doubt he occasionally exercised some supervision over the *gentes* and the 'gentile' institutions. At Athens, indeed, these were mainly under the sanction of Zeus and Athena who were specially called Φράτριοι, a title never attached to Apollo: still it appears that his festival, the Thargelia, was the occasion or one of the occasions when the adopted son at Athens was presented to the members of the gens[a] and the phratry[241 n], and the temple of Apollo Patroös is specially mentioned as one of those to which the son after such presentation must be taken by his father, as an additional token of his legitimacy[54]; we must therefore suppose that some part of the gentile ritual was associated with the god who was also the ancestor of the Athenian state. And the ceremonies proper at adoption and birth would no doubt be specially consecrated to Apollo, if, according to a local legend, he happened to be regarded as in some sense the ancestor of the particular phratry, a belief of which we have two instances in Attica[54].

[a] This would be more usually done at the Apaturia: see Schol. Arist. *Ach.* 146.

It is therefore all the more remarkable that in the record of the Apaturia, the chief festival of the Ionic phratries, the name of Apollo is not mentioned at all. Of the gentile ceremonies and sacrifices in other states we know little; but a valuable inscription of the fifth century B. C., discovered some years ago at Delphi, and already touched upon, gives us a detailed account of the social organization of the Delphic phratry known by the name of the Labyadai. We find the members offering sacrifice to Apollo in the month of Bukatios, and on the seventh of Busios [238], and he is one of the three divinities in whose name their officials take oath: yet the chief events in the life of the individual, birth, maturity, marriage, were not celebrated by any offerings to him, and Poseidon is named as the Φράτριος θεός of their union, and Zeus is their ancestral god. It has been suggested in a former chapter that this clan was an alien group, the result of some unrecorded immigration from Thessaly; and if so their constitution may have materially differed from that of the other Delphic phratries [a].

But in any case the main interest of the Apolline religion lies more in its intimate and varied relations with the highest social organization, with the internal and external life of the state. And here we must first notice a special class of these public cults, which is perhaps the most important for ethnographic reasons, in which Apollo is revered not merely as one of the leading political divinities, but as the divine ancestor of the community, as Πατρῷος [54]. It was specially, perhaps solely, at Athens that he enjoyed this position [b]. We have Plato's emphatic statement that no Ionic community called Zeus their Θεὸς Πατρῷος: 'but Apollo is our father-god, on account of the birth of Ion;' [54] and so in Plutarch's *Life of Alcibiades* the Athenian distinguishes his Apollo Πατρῷος from Athena Ἀρχηγέτις, the foundress who gave her name

[a] Vide Poseidon-chapter, vol. 3, p. 28.

[b] We find a mixed cult of Θεὸς Ἥλιος Πύθιος Ἀπόλλων Τυριμναῖος at Thyateira, and this divinity is called ὁ προπάτωρ (R. 31): but whether this ancestral character belonged to Helios or Apollo here, and how it arose, we do not know.

to his city[a]. We gather from Pausanias[b] that his temple stood in the Kerameikos, and before it was erected a statue of Apollo Ἀλεξίκακος[54]. That the political importance of this worship was of the very highest is attested by much indubitable testimony, showing that participation in it was a test of Attic legitimacy and the higher rights of citizenship. There is the interesting statement in the Aristotelian *Politeia* that at the anacrisis of the archons, the question was asked of the archon-elect—whether he possessed the worship of Zeus Ἑρκεῖος and Apollo Patroös, and where the shrines of these deities were, to which he had special access. And no doubt the drift of this question was to discover whether he was a legitimate member of one of the Attic gentes and had been legally admitted into the phratries[c]: for in a fragment of one of Deinarchos' speeches, an individual—probably the defendant—is asked whether he has 'phratores' and the altars of Zeus Herkeios and Apollo Patroös; and that these two separate worships were common to all the gentes appears from Demosthenes' speech against Euboulides, where the plaintiff declares that the 'phratores' and the members of his gens—γεννῆται Ἀπόλλωνος Πατρῴου καὶ Διὸς Ἑρκείου—can witness in his favour. In this there is no real parallel to the dogmatic tests which modern states have often imposed upon the claimants of full franchise or office: it only means that in the ancient Polis the gentile and civic status was *suo iure* a religious status, the admission to certain ἱερά constituting political legitimacy. It is a further proof also that the state-religion of Greece, as it is presented to us in the later period, is to a great extent a development of an earlier system of purely tribal or gentile cult. The ancestor-god becomes the god of the law-courts and the government in whose name the jurymen took oath, and to whom the archons dedicated the votive offerings commemorative of their office.

But the special questions that now arise concerning the

[a] Vide Athena, R. 35[1].

[b] The passage in Pausanias is decidedly vague, but I cannot see any other probable interpretation. There was no other temple in Athens which was ever officially called the shrine of Apollo Πατρῷος.

[c] Cf. supra, p. 152.

meaning and origin of this cult of Apollo are among the most perplexing and at the same time the most important for the student of Attic ethnography and religion. Kinship with the deity has acquired in more modern religious belief a purely metaphysical and mystic meaning, and this was understood also by the more advanced thinkers and writers of Hellenism. But in the earlier days, and in popular religion and mythology, the idea was physical, and, where it did not arise from some act of sacramental communion through eating the same food, it rested on some myth concerning ancestral procreation. We must then understand Apollo Patroös as the ancestor in the flesh and blood sense: and to explain the origin of the cult and the title we can only look to Attica and to Attic myth. Euripides has made familiar the story of Apollo's and Creusa's love, the begetting of Ion in the cave on the north of the Acropolis, and his adoption by Xouthos. We have no earlier authority for the divine paternity of Ion, although the younger tragic poet is probably following the outlines of the story presented in Sophocles' 'Creusa': and as Herodotus does not appear to be aware of it, but twice speaks of Ion merely as the son of Xouthos, we cannot regard it as a pan-Ionic tradition[a]. Nor again can we say that 'Ion' was anything more than a mere eponymous fiction for the other Ionic communities. But in Attica his figure possessed a certain actuality; for his grave was shown in the neighbourhood of Thorikos not far from Prasiai on the east coast, and a fifth-century Attic inscription found on the Acropolis speaks unmistakably of a 'temple of Ion[b].' Nor is it likely that Sophocles or Euripides invented the motive of his affiliation to Apollo; had this been so, it is improbable that in Plato's time it would have been accepted without question as an universal Attic tradition, and as the canonical explanation of the title Apollo Patroös. Furthermore we can say that there is no other Attic myth recorded save the legend of Ion that could explain that title, and that it is very unlikely that the loquacious Attic mythographers, if they were aware of another more authentic explanation,

[a] 5. 56: 8. 44.

[b] Paus. 1. 31, 3: *C. I. A.* 1, 210.

should have been able to conceal it[a]. As the traditional view then of the cult is the only one that we can deal with, we are driven to conclude that the worship of Apollo Patroös is in some immediate and intimate way connected with the question of the Ionization of Attica, a question on which modern opinion is divided, and upon which the study of cult throws perhaps a clearer light than any other method of discovery. The evidence from Poseidon-worship has already been discussed; and it remains to consider the Attic Apollo from his ethnographic side.

The latter god even more clearly than the former had no place in that oldest stratum of the religion which we can discover on the Acropolis rock, the religion of Zeus, Athena, Hephaistos, and Erechtheus. He never succeeded in scaling that sacred height[b], but at the best had to content himself with the narrow cave-dwelling at the foot of the northern side of the rock, which did not front towards the oldest quarter of the city. Nor have we the right to say that this spot was his earliest dwelling-place in the vicinity of Athens, and that he came first to this region in the guise of a savage cave-dwelling god. This grotto was associated with the story of Ion and with Pythian cult, and later with the political life of Athens; and the Pythian god, by the time when he started on his travels, belonged already to the higher civilization. The proofs of actual cult attaching to the Acropolis cave come merely from the Roman period, and the only votive tablets found there are those of the Thesmothetai and the Polemarch, who tender their thanks to Apollo *ὑποακραῖος*, or *ὑπ' Ἄκραις*, or *ὑπὸ Μακραῖς*, on the completion of their year of office. We can discover then nothing here but a political cult of which the testimony is late, and which sanctified the spot because of its associations with the myth of Ion and with the Ionic constitution of the state;

[a] The legend of Apollo and Creusa is the only real Attic legend of Apollo: the traditional Apolline myths do not touch on Attica: the slight stories concerning the birth of the twins attaching to the cult at Zoster and to that of *Ἀπόλλων Κύννειος* are transparent fictions of the popular etymology, vide Geogr. Reg. *s. v.* Attica.

[b] The statue by Pheidias before the Parthenon of Apollo *Παρνόπιος* does not belong to cult (R. 24).

and not far below lay the Town Hall and the Bouleuterion. The cave was, indeed, a very unlikely spot to choose for a worship of this advanced political type, unless there was some strong reason prompted by myth; but it was a natural place in which to locate such a love-legend as that of Apollo's and Creusa. In this case then it seems better to believe that myth preceded and suggested cult, though in most cases the relation between the two is the reverse. Apollo the Ancestor is certainly also Πύθιος, styled so in Attic official vocabulary, and connected with Delphi by strong legendary and other ties [a], and Apollo Πατρῷος Πύθιος is also Δαφνηφόρος [17], a title which at once suggests Delphi and the procession from Tempe. But Apollo Πύθιος comes no nearer to the Acropolis than that Pythian temple on the Ilissus [b], and very near lay the district of Agrai, a gathering-place for immigrant cults, where the worship of Poseidon Helikonios and of also Aphrodite betray the presence of the Ionic settler. And what most clearly reveals the Ionic character of the Pythian cult is its prominence in the Marathonian Tetrapolis, attested by a fragment of Philochoros' treatise on the Tetrapolis, from which we learn that the prophet of the Pythiai or Pythiastai, the officials who had some ancestral right of supervision over the cult, waited at Oinoe and consulted the omens in the Pythion there [c], before the Pythian procession started from Athens for Delphi [156 f]. And some evidence of the prevalence of Apollo-cult in this region is afforded by the local inscriptions [d].

But the very name of this district as well as the legends concerning Aigeus and Theseus constrain us to believe that it

[a] It is to be noted that the Θεσμοθέται swore over the stone in the agora that if they transgressed any part of the constitution they would offer an expiatory statue at Delphi (R. 54).

[b] I have discussed the topographical question of the Athenian Πύθιον, arguing against Dr. Dörpfeld's view that there were several Pythia, in *Class. Rev.* 1900, pp. 371–372.

[c] Müller, *Dorier*, 2. 2, 2, § 14, supposes that Philochoros is speaking of the Oinoe on the Attic Boeotian border, north of Eleusis: but as the Scholiast who quotes him refers explicitly to the altar of the Pythian god at Marathon, and is quoting from the treatise on the Tetrapolis, the statement in his authority must have referred to the Marathonian Oinoe.

[d] Vide Geogr. Reg. *s. v.* Attica.

was the early home of an Ionic settlement; and further we have noted that the grave of Ion was not far from Prasiai, which was one of the halting-places on the pilgrim-way, down which the Hyperborean offerings journeyed uniting Delos and Delphi with the North. Another Pythion is discoverable on the sacred way between Athens and Eleusis, probably at the site of the modern Daphni, which the foundation-legend connects with Delphi and the Kephalidai gens, two of their immigrant ancestors having sacrificed at the bidding of the oracle to Apollo on this spot, and soon after gaining Athenian citizenship [a].

Another cult that seems to have been the ancestral heritage of an Ionic gens was that of Apollo Κυνήειος or Κύννειος, the eponymous deity of the Κυννίδαι, a gens whose home we have reason to conclude was at Halai [b]. The legend about them is mostly worthless, but we gather this fact about them that they had the tunny-fishing at Halai, and devoted part of the proceeds to the service of the god. But a maritime Apollo at Halai is in all probability of Ionic connexion.

Other Apolline cults in Attica that we can trace back to an alien source are such as that of Apollo Delphinios, of which the meaning and probable origin has already been examined: Apollo Γεφυραῖος near Athens [c], apparently an importation by the Boeotian Gephyraioi; Apollo Διονυσόδοτος at Phlye, a very mysterious and hitherto unexplained title, which however may suggest a connexion of the worship with Delphi, where the Dionysiac and the Apolline cults were so closely related; and it is to Delphi also and to Delos that the Phlyasian cult of Apollo Daphnephoros points, which we may therefore assume to have been Ionic [241 m]. We can say little of Apollo Lykeios, though we have some evidence suggesting that he came from Megara; and we know less still of the local Attic cults of Apollo Agyieus at Acharnai, whose worship was administered by παράσιτοι [54], of Apollo Κερκυονεύς at

[a] Vide Geogr. Reg. *s. v.* Attica.

[b] Ibid. We have traces of the same cult-name at Corinth and in Aeolis, but nothing is clear about it, vide Geogr. Reg. *s. v.* Aeolis (Temnos) and Corinth.

[c] Vide Geogr. Reg. *s. v.* Attica and Demeter-cults, p. 70.

Eleusis [a], of Apollo Ἐρισαθεύς or Ἐριθάσεος, and cannot determine their antiquity or their gentile and other significance [b].

We may maintain that all these stood entirely outside the proto-Athenian religious system, but it would be rash to assert that all are of Ionic origin or affinity, or that some other very early Hellenic migration into Attica may not have brought in an Apollo among other tribal deities. We have before noted the evidence that already in the Mycenaean period there was a pilgrimage route bringing the Hyperborean offerings to Delos down the Euripos, ignoring Athens but touching at Prasiai, and we may with reasonable colour thus explain the origin of the Apolline worships at Delion and at Oropos with its Delphinion. Now this Hyperborean ritual may also have been connected with the earliest Ionic migration into Attica, which may have come by sea down the Euripos or followed the easy land-route from Boeotia by Oropos, which would have led them to occupy the Tetrapolis [c]. And this country must be regarded as their earliest Attic home, whence we may believe they spread down the east coast to the south of Prasiai where we find the grave of Ion. In this Ionic settlement of the Tetrapolis, which may have happened in the early Mycenaean period and may have been distinct from a later Troezenian migration associated with the legend and name of Theseus, was rooted the worship of Apollo Pythios Patroös and no doubt the legend of the paternity of Ion. And when—probably at a much later date—Ionic influence begins to penetrate Athens itself, the Athenian constitution had to reckon with a new divine ancestor.

Having weighed the facts of Attic cult that have been presented, we are in a position to estimate the extent and the force of that influence. We find clear evidence from the gentile

[a] The epithet seems to show Apollo associated with or supplanting some tribal or family cult of the Eleusinian hero Kerkyon.

[b] Vide Geogr. Reg. *s. v.* Attic.

[c] It is interesting to note the close cult-connexions between Brauron and Aulis (vide vol. 2, p. 440). If the Ionic route led from Oropos over the slopes of Parnes into the Tetrapolis, we should be inclined to connect Apollo Παρνήσσιος with this early migration, vide Geogr. Reg. *s. v.* Attica.

and state-cults that Athens was not wholly absorbed by the Ionic wave, and that part of the social system that survived till the latest period was non-Ionic. A few Ionic gentes, with Apollo as their ancestor and political deity, make their way into the Athenian state and absorb the higher offices, and Ion is the first Polemarch; then by a legal fiction all the Attic γένη take over Apollo Πατρῷος, and thus pretend to Ionic Apolline descent, a pretence at open variance with many of their own genealogical myths[a]. That the fiction was necessary as a proof of political rights shows how strong must have been the ascendancy of the genuine Ionic γένη who really possessed the cult. Therefore it is all the more singular that the Attic phratry-system remained on the whole proof against the inroads of the Ionic deities. The Ionians may have given the name Ἀπατούρια to the festival; but the institution of the φρατρίαι and the φράτερες is not distinctively Ionic, but is found in non-Ionic communities such as Delphi and Kos, and it probably existed in Crete[b], so that we may regard it as aboriginal Hellenic. And the divinities of the Apaturia and the phratric ritual remain those of the proto-Athenian circle, Zeus Athena and Hephaistos; and, while Dionysos gains a slight recognition, neither Apollo nor Poseidon play any real part herein, nor is Apollo ever mentioned in the account of the Apaturia in other Ionic communities. It is strange that the religious history of the γένη and the φρατρίαι should have been so distinct, if they really were concentric social systems.

The study of the Attic Apollo Πατρῷος leads to another conclusion of some ethnographic value, the same indeed as that which we have seen reason for deducing from the worship of Poseidon-Helikonios. As far as our record goes, the cult of Apollo Πατρῷος existed in no other Ionic community[c],

[a] The affiliation of Apollo to Athena and Hephaistos, designed to put him on the same footing as the ancestor Erechtheus, was merely a product of learned mythographers and deceived no one. Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* 3. § 37, 59.

[b] Vide Zeus, R. 102[b]. The name of the month Φράτριος, implying the existence of the phratric system and the cult of a phratric deity is found in an inscription of the Aeolic Kyme; Collitz, *Dialect. Inschr.* 311.

[c] Servius' vague statement concerning the worships of Apollo Πάτριος[53] cannot be taken into account, as we cannot corroborate it. The title, if it existed, could not have been derived, as Servius suggests, from the city of Patrai, and need

and nowhere else save in Attica was Ion a real figure and regarded as the son of the god. We hear indeed of Apollo Γενέτωρ in Delos [55]; his altar upon which no blood could be shed was reputed to be most ancient, and there are reasons for connecting it with the earliest Attic-Ionic settlement of the island. But in Ionia, on the other side of the Aegean, Apollo Πατρῷος is nowhere found [a], and Poseidon Helikonios is the chief Pan-Ionic divinity. If there was no other evidence, the facts of cult would suffice to suggest the inference that the Ionization of the Asia Minor shore was not the achievement of the Attic-Ionians alone.

But whether the supposed ancestor of the community or not, Apollo was for most of the Greek states pre-eminently a patron-deity of the Polis, ranking in this respect by the side of Zeus and Athena. And this political character of his was no later development, but belonged to a very early period of his religion. Even the wild wolf-god had entered the civic life before the Dorians had conquered the Argolid: in his temple at Argos the sacred fire was always burning, the ancient Aryan symbol of the permanence of the state. When Callimachus sings of Apollo 'Phoebus rejoices in the founding of cities, and he himself welds together the foundations,' he speaks with full knowledge of Greek cult [60]. Homer regarded him as a master-builder, and Theognis hails him as the deity who 'strengthened Megara with her towers, as a grace to the son of Pelops' [64]. Or it is Apollo who leads the emigrants to their new home; and either as the city-builder or the leader of the colony he becomes Ἀρχηγός as at Ilium [63], or

not have signified the ancestor-god, but merely the hereditary deity of the land.

[a] The legend of Miletos, the eponymous hero of the great Ionic city, might have been expected to have planted the cult there; for he was the son of Apollo, but his myth is Cretan or Carian, and left no trace in Ionic cult. Why the Galatian tetrarch, a pure Celt, should have addressed the Didymean Apollo as Πατρῷος is hard to say (vide Haussoullier, *Histoire de Milet.* p. 210). A supposed Apollo Πρόγονος in Thrace is a very doubtful figure (R. 56). The only other state that we know to have possessed the cult was Tarsos (R. 54); the evidence is late, and the title may have been attached to him in order to substantiate the myth of their Argive descent, or it may represent a genuine tradition attaching to an ancestral Apollo Lykeios, vide p. 122: cf. p. 153, n. b.

Ἀρχηγέτης as at Megara [64], Halikarnassos [68], at Erythrai and Attaleia [65], in Caria and Phrygia [66, 67], and in Sicily [69], or Προηγέτης in Lycia [71], Προκαθηγέμων in Kalymna [70], Μεταφρήτωρ at the Pisidian Antioch [57], whither the phratries had migrated from Magnesia on the Maeander under the leadership of the god who 'transplants the phratries' to their new home[a]; while the Hellenic adventurers who penetrated to the furthest shores of the Euxine have left a record of their divine guidance in a newly discovered dedication to Apollo Ἡγεμών [72], 'the Leader.' Such names are the impress left on cult of the great and varied movement that Hellenized the Mediterranean and Asia Minor, in which work the Pythian oracle was a prime agent. Its part in this policy of development will be considered later; for the present it may be remarked that where Apollo was honoured by the title of Κτίστης, 'the Founder,' as at Apollonia in Epirus, Thurii, and Cyrene [74], the colony was probably indebted for its settlement to Delphic guidance; and that most of the numerous cities called Apollonia—Stephanus counts twenty-five and his list is not complete—were probably founded at the suggestion of the oracle, and therefore were called after the name of the colonizing god of Delphi or Didyma [79].

But Apollo was probably a leader of migrations before he himself settled at Pytho, or at least before the Delphic shrine became famous. The significance and the great antiquity of the Agyieus cult points to this; and some of the earliest Hellenic tribes that reached Lycia, Crete, and Cyprus were escorted by other forms of Apollo, such as Lykeios and Amyklaios[b]. Among the most famous settlements of which Apollo was the protecting deity were those of the Aeolians and Dorians on the Asia Minor coast and neighbouring islands.

Of the prevalence of his worship in the Aeolic colonies in Lesbos, Tenedos, and the Troad we have ample testimony from ancient texts, coins, and inscriptions[c]. 'Along the whole

[a] This is the probable interpretation offered by Kern who publishes the inscription.

[b] Vide Geogr. Reg. *s. v.* Crete and Cyprus.

[c] Vide Geogr. Reg. *s. v.* Tenedos, Aeolis.

of this coast as far as Tenedos,' Strabo says, 'Apollo was specially honoured, under such titles as Smintheus, Killaios, or Gryneus': and he adds that the temple of Apollo Κιλλαῖος was first founded by the Aeolic colonists in the Adramyttene territory near Chrysa. And the whole country of the Troad must have been ardently devoted to the Apolline religion before our *Iliad* was composed. Homer not only knows of Chrysa and the Sminthean Apollo of Tenedos, but he even regards Troy itself as a favourite cult-seat of the god's, and thus he is led to the curious and embarrassing conception that Apollo is throughout the sworn enemy of the Achaeans. It does not immediately seem that we can draw any conclusions for the history of early Greek religion from this Homeric paradox. But there are reasons, as will soon be shown, for supposing that some very early form of Apolline cult had reached the Troad, possibly from Crete, before the 'Trojan war,' that is to say, before the Aeolian-Achaean migration, which the new comers may have adopted. Nevertheless we only can understand the remarkable prevalence of these worships in the Aeolid territory if we believe that the Aeolians and Achaeans brought their own native god, and not merely found him there on their arrival. And this belief seems inevitable when we reflect that they came mainly from the 'Hyperborean' lands of Thessaly, where such a cult as that of Apollo of Pagasai was of immemorial antiquity and high prestige. Only it must be observed that the traces of cult-affinity between the Aeolic colonies and their original home are very faint, so far as we can discern from the record, far fainter than is the case with Ionia. Most of Apollo's Aeolic titles are purely local, derived from place-names on the Asia Minor coast and adjacent islands, Μαλόεις, Κιλλαῖος, Θυμβραῖος, Γρυνεύς[a]: none of them reflect the higher common religion of Hellas, and no cult seems to have served as a rallying-point for Aeolic unity. The strangest and most difficult to explain is the worship of the Sminthian god[b]. His chief shrine was at

[a] Vide Lesbos and Aeolis, Geogr. Reg.

[b] Geogr. Reg. *s. v.* Aeolis: vide paper by De Witte, *Revue Numism.* 1858 (vol. 3), 1–51.

Chrysa on the coast near Hamaxitos, itself perhaps an affiliation of an earlier shrine that was founded at another Chrysa on the Adramyttene Gulf. The more recent temple contained the famous statue by Scopas representing the deity with a mouse beneath his foot: in a later period the temple and worship were administered by Alexandria Troas, whose coins are memorials of the cult-statue and cult-title. But there were, according to Strabo, many other 'Sminthia,' both on the adjacent coast-line and even in some remote and non-Aeolic communities, such as Rhodes, Lindos, and Keos [a]. The earliest Hellenic home of the cult may well have been Tenedos, where Homer places it, and where its temple is mentioned by Strabo: and this island may have been one of the earliest Aeolic conquests across the sea [b].

Now the name of Smintheus is a perplexity for the ethnographer, and suggests an interesting problem for anthropology. There is no reason to doubt the traditional Greek interpretation that derived the name from *σμίνθος*, a word meaning 'mouse' in the Cretan and Aeolic dialect [c]. Therefore we may venture to speak of Apollo Smintheus as the mouse-god, reserving for the future discussion on ritual the question why he was so called. For the present it may be noted that one of the popular legends that explained the title represents the deity as the protector of agriculture who relieves the husbandman from the plague of field-mice [d]: and we may observe, by way of comparison, that the few other appellatives found in

[a] Vide Geogr. Reg. *s.v.* Keos, Rhodes, Aiolis. Coins of Rhodes show the rat as emblem; vide De Witte, op. cit. pp. 30, 38.

[b] We note Strabo's observation (p. 604) that according to some authorities not Apollo but Kyknos 'the Thracian' was the father of Tennes: in this story of Kyknos, who whether in Tenedos or the Troad is derivable from Thessaly, we see the earliest imprint of Aeolic occupation in the Eastern waters (vide infra, p. 273); we find too the Thessalian Leukothea in the genealogical legends of Tenedos.

[c] There is no place-name known which could have given rise to *Σμινθεύς*: Stephanus indeed gives us *Σμίνθη* as a *πόλις Τροίας*, but this seems merely a fictitious name arising from the worship: the Scholiast on *Iliad*, 1. 39, vaguely refers to 'Sminthos, a place in the Troad,' but does not seem to believe that the place-name explains 'Smintheus' Apollo.

[d] The mouse on the coins of Metapontum—associated perhaps with the locust—seems to allude to the corn-trade; vide Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 66, cf. p. 31 (Cyme).

Aeolic cult that mean anything certain, Ναπαῖος [11], Λύκειος [71] in Lesbos, Πορνοπίων [23], have a merely physical or natural connotation, and belong therefore functionally to the older stratum of Apolline cult.

But the question that arises now is of some historic importance. Did the Aeolian immigrants, who were undoubtedly an Apolline tribe, bring with them this 'Sminthian' cult, or did they find it already powerful in their new home and adopted it as their chief worship? Perhaps nothing solid can be extracted from the thin and misty evidence: but certain facts may be useful to bear in mind. There is no trace whatever of the cult of Smintheus on the mainland of Greece [a], nor of any kind of reverence paid to the mouse [b], nor even of the popular use of the word σμίνθος to denote this animal [c]. We must, indeed, always recognize how very fragmentary our record often is: it is quite possible that the word and the cult were old Aeolic, and were brought originally from the mainland, where they did not happen to survive. But we have Polemon's authority for the fact that σμίνθος was in popular use in the Troad, and fairly strong testimony also that the word belonged to the Eteo-Cretan language. Now this, combined with certain other facts, suggests the hypothesis that the cult of Smintheus in the Troad and its vicinity was pre-Aeolic, having been brought there by a very early Hellenic or quasi-Hellenic colonization from Crete [d]. For one prevalent explanation of the title con-

[a] It is found no nearer than the island of Keos (vide Geogr. Reg. *s.v.*). Was it accidentally seeded there, or did it travel here from the Euripos when Keos was under Eretrian rule (Strab. p. 448)? De Witte, op. cit. p. 4, supposes Strabo to assert its existence at Tenea near Corinth, but Strabo only says that the Teneates came from Tenedos, and 'both Tenea and Tenedos worshipped Apollo equally' (Geogr. Reg. *s.v.* Tenea).

[b] Pollux in his section on numismatics—*Onom.* 9, 6, § 84—mentions that the Argives stamped the mouse on their coins; Mr. Lang, *Custom and Myth*, p. 110, refers to this statement with proper caution: it is not corroborated by our coin-record, and in any case would prove nothing, vide supra, p. 164, n. d. Is μῦν in Pollux's text a palaeographical error for βοῦν?

[c] Aeschylus uses the word in a curious line of his drama 'Sisyphos,' Fr. 226; Lykophron, 1306, in connexion with the legend of the Cretan settlement in the Troad; Alexandrine erudition familiarized the learned with the word, cf. *Anth. Pal.* 9. 410.

[d] Conway in *Annual of British School at Athens*, 1901–1902, pp. 144–145, calls attention to the connexion between the Chryse in the Troad where

nects it with the arrival in the Troad of the Cretan Teukri, a tradition attested first by Kallinos, and accepted, though with some dissent, by later writers[a]. The myth is not without its ethnographic value. The possibility of very early Cretan relations with Tenedos and the adjacent coast is a point of inquiry that might be more fruitfully pursued than it has been yet[b]. For the present it is enough to say that the cult of Smintheus certainly existed in Crete and Rhodes, and if Crete had been its original home, whence it travelled to Rhodes and to the pre-Aeolic Troad, we should best understand its prevalence in the latter island, and also the very strong 'Trojan' proclivities of the Homeric Apollo.

Leaving then the question whether the Sminthian worship, which became the chief political cult of Aeolis, was originally Aeolic as one at least open to doubt, in other parts of their Apolline religion we may trace some connexion between the eastern Aeolians and their original home. At Korope in Thessaly was a prophetic shrine of Apollo, apparently of great antiquity and fame, where a peculiar mode of divination was practised with the tamarisk: no doubt a reminiscence of this ritual was preserved by the Lesbian cult of Apollo Μυρικαῖος, of which the temple-statue represented him with a branch of the tamarisk in his hand[182]. A passing reference has already been made to the cult of Apollo Θέρμιος in Lesbos: it is perhaps more than a mere coincidence that the same worship occurred at Olympia in Elis[41], a country which contained

Apollo Σμινθεύς lived and the island of Chrysa off Crete: he accepts Kretschmer's view that these words with the ending νθος are pre-Hellenic.

[a] Vide Strab. 604: Lykophron and Aelian adopt it, *Cass.* 1303–1308, *Nat. An.* 12. 5.

[b] Dr. Evans has called attention to the significance of the double-headed axe on the coins of Tenedos, and we may note the curious part played by the axe in the legend of Tennes, the mythical founder, and its later sacral character in the judgement-court of Tenedos (Suidas, *s. v.* Τενέδιος ἄνθρωπος; for other references see Roscher's *Lexikon*, 2, p. 1698). And the appearance of Hemithea in the island-legend is reason for suspecting a Cretan-Carian strain. The Apollo-Lykeios cult in Lesbos may possibly be derived from very early Cretan or Lycian influences. The town north of the Scamander called Gergis that claimed to be founded by the remnant of the Teukri had its own Apollo and native Sibyl (vide Geogr. Reg. *s. v.* Troad).

originally an Aeolic population[a]. There is no doubt that in Lesbos the appellative came to refer to the warm springs, for the inscription that contains it was found in a Lesbian bath, which was consecrated to Artemis Θερμία. But we may be allowed to doubt whether this was the original meaning of the title as applied to Apollo: for we hear of no hot springs in the Olympian Altis where the altar of Apollo Θέρμιος stood; had there been any in the vicinity, they might have suggested an easier explanation of the word than that which Pausanias adopts: misled by what he knew of Elean dialect, he suggests that Θέρμιος was a local variant for the Attic Θέσμιος, and designated the god of law and order. But the etymology is quite unsound[b]. There are only two possible explanations of Θέρμιος: either it means the god of the hot springs, a meaning which will apply to the Lesbian, but is not known to be relevant to the Elean worship; or it marks the deity of the Aetolian Thermon or Thermos, where recently the ancient temple has been discovered which Polybius mentions[c]. Its situation was impressive and central, and its name might well be borne across the seas by any migration that went forth from Aetolia. We are specially told by Strabo, quoting Ephoros, that the shrine at Thermos was a national meeting-place for political purposes, and that it contained an inscription commemorating the ancestral connexion between Elis and Aetolia: also that in Elis there was an inscription of like significance on the statue of Oxylus, who came over from Aetolia[d]. This being so, we are surely justified in regarding

[a] Strab. p. 333.

[b] Pausanias' mistake was natural enough; but it is surprising that so careful a writer as Dr. Frazer in his commentary on Pausanias should have so misunderstood the law of 'rhotacism' in the Elean dialect as to endorse the latter's crude etymology: a glance at the inscriptions which he quotes would have revealed his error, for all the dialect inscriptions of Elis show that the 'rhotacism,' when it existed, was only in the 'auslautende' sigma (vide Meister, *Griech. Dial.* 2, p. 49), affecting only the terminations; the dialect form of θεσμός in Elis would have been θεθμός (or τεθμός). Meister follows O. Müller (*Dorians*, 2. 3, § 2) in deriving θέρμιος from the supposed Elean word θέρμα (cf. Hesych. *s. v.* Θέρμα· ἄδεια, ἐκεχειρία); but this would have given rise to an epithet θέρμαιος, and the Hesychian gloss is very vague, and has no clear local reference.

[c] Geogr. Reg. *s. v.* Aetolia.

[d] pp. 463–464.

the Elean cult of Apollo Thermios as derived from the name of the place in Aetolia, and as a very interesting corroboration of an ethnic tradition[a]. Now the Lesbian worship is only attested by a single inscription of the Roman period; but records of ritual or custom that really descend from primaeval days are often preserved by late and isolated texts. And this Lesbian Apollo was apparently connected with the hot baths[b]; so that it might be by pure coincidence that an appellative was selected for him here that happened to be the same in form as the Elean, though differing in meaning. Such coincidences, however, are very rare in Hellenic religious nomenclature: and it is conceivable that Apollo Θέρμιος of Lesbos was originally the same as the Aetolian and Elean, and that his cult had been brought across the sea by some Aeolic immigrants who had lived in the vicinity of the Aetolian shrine[c].

It seems, then, that the special religious ties that connect the Asiatic Aeolians with their original home are faint and few; but such peculiar and insignificant cults as those of the tamarisk—Apollo and Thermios, are often more important for the question of ethnography than those more impressive worships, like the Pythian and the Delian, that range freely over a wide area regardless of special tribal affinity.

The Aeolic Apolline worship was certainly powerful, and no other in this region appears to have competed with it; yet so far as it is presented to us it seems somewhat backward and local and lacking in the higher interest of the Attic, Delphic, and Delian: although Lykeios and Smintheus acquired the

[a] The suggestion that we must connect the Apollo Θέρμιος of Olympia with the Aetolian Thermos has, I find, been made by M. Soteriades in the *Eph. Arch.* 1900, p. 167, n. 1, in his account of the excavations; but the writer curiously perverts the true relation of the facts, not daring to reject Pausanias' statement about θέρμιος = θέσμιος; he thinks that Θέρμιος is the parent-word and Θέρμος the derivative (!), and that Apollo Θέρμιος went from Elis to Aetolia.

[b] The inscription is said to have been found in the baths, and one of those that mention Artemis Θερμία refers specially to 'the fountain' (vide Artemis, R. 79[q]); but others, published in Collitz, *Dialect. Inschr.* 238, 241–243, mention the temple of Artemis Θερμία and the Bouleuterion before it, and the θερμιάκα πανάγυρις: this worship of Artemis seems then to have had the dignity of a state political cult, and Apollo may have had his part in the panegyris.

[c] For Aeolic population in Aetolia vide Ephoros in Strabo, pp. 423 and 464.

usual political character that marks this divinity. What is perhaps most significant is the lack of any recorded connexion between Aeolis and the Pythian shrine: in this family of Greek states, and almost in this alone, there is no mention of Apollo Pythios or the games called Pythia [a]: the Aeolian god prophesies to his own people in his shrine at Napai [192] or Gryneion [197] or in his Sminthia [b]; or if they wished to hear him at his best they sometimes went to Branchidai [200].

The conclusion we might draw from these facts accords with other historical indications: namely, that the Aeolic colonization was a very early event, and, though not so early as that which Hellenized Lycia, was prior to the migrations which established the Dorian and Ionian colonies in Asia Minor: and that it went forth from Greece before the great Pythian cult had ripened into the maturity of its strength.

In Ionia the Apolline worship appears more varied and more extended than in Aeolis, and more closely related to the central Hellenic shrine. For we find the Pythian cult in a large number of Ionic states [175], and the political and religious influence of Delphi in Ionia is proved by more than one example [c]. We have indeed no legend concerning Delphic suggestion of Ionic expansion eastward [d]; but if we regard the settlement of Delos as one of the earliest results of this movement, we must consider the Delian cult as a proof of that predominance of Apollo among certain branches of the Ionic stock of which we have already noted the evidence from Attica, and as an indication of the very early relations of Ionians with Delphi: for, as has been shown, the ties between the sacred island and the northern shrine were strong from the beginning. The Homeric hymn to Apollo is eloquent concerning the glory of Delos and the splendour of the Ionic

[a] At Zeleia in the Troad we find Pythia mentioned, but we have no reason to regard this as an Aeolic state (R. 173).

[b] Vide Geogr. Reg. *s. v.* Lesbos.

[c] The Phokaeans consult the Delphic oracle concerning the acquisition of Leuke (R. 272): the twelve cities concerning the removal of the Panionion (Poseidon, R. 87[c]).

[d] Maximus Tyrius may have believed that the Athenians consulted the god concerning the Ionic migration; cf. 41. 1 Δωριεῖς περὶ Πελοποννήσου μαντευόμενοι ἢ Ἀθηναῖοι περὶ Ἰωνίας πυνθανόμενοι, but we cannot say that he is referring to any definite tradition.

panegyris there; the glowing lines would lead us to believe that here rather than at Mykale was the true Panionion, and so great was the prestige of the worship that at comparatively early times it had penetrated even the non-Ionic communities [a], and the oracle of Branchidai appears to have interested itself in its propagation [b]. But it was specially the Ionians and the neighbouring island-states that formed a religious confederacy to administer and protect the Delian temple [263 b], and the shadow of this amphictyony survived even after Athens had acquired supreme control [c]. The choice of this island as the centre of the great Athenian confederacy in the fifth century may have been suggested partly by geographical reasons; but was dictated no doubt by the recollection of the political importance once attaching to the cult that had served as the rallying-point for the Ionic states of the islands if not the mainland, and that had attracted the reverence of many Dorian states [d]. The later history of the Delian temple forms for a time a special chapter in the record of Attic religious economy. Apollo of Delos loses his political significance, and his external activity becomes rather that of the financier: he owns lands, houses, and potteries, and lends considerable sums to states and individuals [e]. Later, when Athens had lost her control, Delos

[a] Apollo *Δήλιος* at Erythrai, R. 7, Paros, Amorgos, Chios (Geogr. Reg.): in non-Ionic states, Kalymna, Kos, Nisyros (?), Syme (Geogr. Reg. South Aegean), Boeotia (Orchomenos, Tanagra, Geogr. Reg.), Laconia (Geogr. Reg.). Messenia sends chorus to Delos, circ. 700 B. C. (R. 263[h]); month *Δάλιος* in Rhodes, Paton and Hicks, *Inscr. of Cos*, p. 24. The temple in Laconia called *τὸ Δήλιον* by Strabo appears to be the same as that called *τὸ Ἐπιδήλιον* by Pausanias; and Wide, *Lakon. Kult.* p. 93, would interpret the latter word as the temple of *Ἀπ. Ἐπιδήλιος* (= *Προόψιος, φαναῖος*): but the word could better signify 'looking towards Delos'; and the local legend told of a xoanon being washed up there from Delos after the Mithridatic sack.

[b] Vide Geogr. Reg. *s. v.* Kalymna.

[c] In the fourth-century inscription on the 'Sandwich' stone the Athenian commissioners who had supreme control are called by the deceptive name *Ἀθηναίων Ἀμφικτύονες* (vide Geogr. Reg. *s. v.* Delos): the latter word points back to an earlier amphictyony in the real sense, and in the same stone there is mention of the *Ἀμφικτύονες Ἀνδρίων*, though it is not clear to what privileges the island-states were admitted. Mr. Hicks' commentary (*Manual*, pp. 142–143) is silent on this point.

[d] Vide Paton and Hicks, op. cit. p. xxiv.

[e] Vide Geogr. Reg. *s. v.* Delos.

reaped the benefit in the third century of a revival of religious piety quickened by political ambition, when Rhodes gained her maritime ascendancy and the islanders that followed her lead imitated her example of sending rich offerings to the temple: and early in the third century we find a *κοινὸν τῶν νησιωτῶν* with a *νησίαρχος* at their head interesting themselves in the administration[a]. The lustre of her ancient sanctity still clung to the island, and her religious prestige scarcely diminished in the Hellenistic period.

As Apollo was the chief god of the Ionian Delos[b] and of paramount political ascendancy in the Ionic constitution of Athens, we might have expected to find him the chief deity of the Ionic confederacy in Asia Minor. As we have seen, this was not the case. The twelve Ionic cities were held together by the cult of Poseidon Helikonios, and we do not know that Apollo had any part in the Apaturia, which was the other test of Ionic membership. Officially, then, Apollo does not represent Ionia in the hierarchy of cult: nor is he ever called *Πανιόνιος* except in a late and doubtful Athenian dedication[48]. Yet the social and public significance of his cult in some of the cities was very high, probably higher indirectly than Poseidon's; and it is likely that the solemn meeting at the Panionion near Mykale never rivalled the splendour of the Delia. It is clear that at Miletos, owing mainly to the powerful influence of the Branchidai shrine, Apollo was the divine counsellor of the state, though Artemis had a place at his side as *βουλαία* and *βουληφόρος*[c]. The functionary called the *στεφανηφόρος* of Apollo was the eponymus of the Milesian official year[200 l]; and a fourth-century inscription shows us the people of Miletos meeting in their assembly to carry out the advice of their prophet-god concerning a proposed change in their religious service[200 k]. As regards Milesian colonization, it is probable that some of the expeditions went forth under his direct tutelage: as the

[a] *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1891, p. 120; Homolle, *Les archives de l'Intendance sacrée à Délos*, p. 44.

[b] He shared his cult with Artemis and Leto, but remained always the chief divinity, vide Geogr. Reg. *s. v.* Delos, Artemis, R. 79[a].

[c] R. 200[o]; cf. Artemis, R. 81[b], 82.

clearest testimony of this we have the great temple of Apollo Milesios at Naukratis[a], founded probably in the seventh century B. C., and the cult of Apollo Προστάτης at Olbia[51] whose temple appears to have been the depository of state-documents. And the archaic type on the coins of Sinope with the emblem of the tripod might be a reminiscence of the Branchidai cult[b]. An interesting appellative of the god in the worship of Branchidai is Φιλήσιος or Φίλιος[58, 200 f], marking him as the guardian of friendship and social intercourse[c], but popularly explained by the story of his love of Branchos: it may be merely a curious coincidence that Arrian[d] found near the Sinopian colony of Trapezus the worship of a mysterious personage called Philesios, who was locally associated with Hermes; or it may be that again in these regions, where Milesian influence was so strong, we come upon a local cult-figure that descends from Branchidai.

We gather then that Apollo's was the leading political worship of the leading state of Ionia. Yet he was not worshipped as its founder, the Ionic settlement being here as elsewhere associated with Poseidon Helikonios[e]. The Apolline descent of the hero Miletos is not an Ionic legend, and the foundation of Branchidai itself was in all probability pre-Ionic. It is possible that Erythrai, alone of the Ionic cities, honoured him with the title of Ἀρχηγέτης[f]: there is no ascertained fact concerning the origin of this city that might serve as explanation, but the existence of this cult of Apollo the Founder, if clearly proved, would be some corroboration of the legend that speaks of a pre-Ionic settlement of Cretans with Lycians and Carians[g], that might have brought Apollo Lykeios to Erythrai[71].

[a] Geogr. Reg. *s. v.* Egypt.

[b] Ibid. *s. v.* Euxine.

[c] Cf. Apollo Ξένιος at Chios (R. 59).

[d] *Peripl.* 2.

[e] The altar of Neleus, the 'Ionic' founder of Miletos, stood in the Poseidion, vide Poseidon, R. 66[b] and 88.

[f] The inscription (R. 65) gives us only the word Ἀρχηγέτευ: the writer who published it assumed that we must supply Ἀπόλλωνος; but we find the title Ἀρχηγέτης applied elsewhere to the Tyrian Heracles, whose temple in Erythrai was famous. The same inscription mentions another shrine, ναὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ.

[g] We note that Apollo was Ἀρχηγέτης of the Carian Telmessos (R. 67).

There were other influences on this coast, besides the establishment of Poseidon in the Panionion, that worked against the hegemony of Apollo. It has already been noted on the chapter on Artemis how deeply rooted in Asia was the pre-Hellenic religion of the goddess of fertility, who under different titles sometimes took on the form of Artemis or Aphrodite in the eastern borders of the Greek world. One of her incarnations was no doubt the Ephesian Artemis; and it seems that the Apolline cult in Ephesos paled before the lustre of this worship of the goddess, who is here his rival and superior rather than his twin-sister. The records about the Ephesian Artemis are no doubt incomplete: but so far as they present us with a true image of her, we gather that in her temple and ritual Apollo was ignored. This subordination of the god to the goddess may be detected, in a lesser degree, at Magnesia on the Maeander, where Artemis *Λευκοφρυήνη* was the *Ἀρχηγέτις*, the chief state-goddess, whose idol stood in the hand of Zeus Sosipolis[a]. No doubt the Apolline cult was also in high honour with the Magnesians, who did not forget that they were originally colonists sent out by the god of Delphi and who offered sacrifice to Apollo Pythios on the altar of Artemis[75, 175]. But the inscription found at Magnesia and referring to its colony of Antiocheia 'ad Pisidiam' speaks of the god himself who is called *Μεταφρήτωρ* as the Stephanephoros of the goddess[57]. It is very strange to find here the function and title attached to Apollo that was usually borne by the high-priest of the goddess. The Carian city of Iasos offers an exact parallel; here also Artemis was the supreme city divinity, and here too we find Apollo in the subordinate position of the divine minister[b].

But in the Dorian Hexapolis the political status of Apollo was higher, as he occupied the same position in this confederacy as Poseidon Helikonios in the Ionian.

The temple of Apollo Triopios by Knidos was the religious centre of the cities Knidos, Kos, Ialysos, Lindos, Kameiros[c]:

[a] *Arch. Anzeig.* 1894, p. 80.

[b] For Artemis *Ἀστιάς* of Iasos, the *προκαθηγέμων τῆς πόλεως*, vide Artemis, R. 91; for Apollo as her *στεφανηφόρος* vide Geogr. Reg. *s. v.* Caria.

[c] Geogr. Reg. *s. v.* Doris.

Halikarnassos had once been included in this religious communion, but had lost the privilege—not for the frivolous reason that Herodotus gives—but no doubt on account of the increasing strength of the Ionic element in this city [a]. Probably the Halikarnassians from the beginning were not of pure Dorian blood; for, coming from Troezen, the colony might easily contain an Ionic admixture, and thus we find that Poseidon, the Ionic-Troezenian deity, is their leader as well as Apollo [b]. Such exclusion on the ground of impurity of blood would be a serious step, affecting political relations; and it is a salient example of the tenacity with which the tribal idea was maintained in the state-religion. Similarly in Kos, where the Apolline worship was very powerful, we find the state taking special pains to exclude from the tribal worship of Apollo and Heracles those members of the tribes whose legitimacy was doubtful [c].

To return to the Peloponnese before concluding this survey of the political cults, we find little that is worthy of remark as concerns Elis and Achaea: the significance of Apollo Θέρμιος has already been discussed; the Elean worship of Apollo Ἀκέσιος the 'Healer,' whose temple is mentioned as one of the most striking objects in the Elean agora, appears to have possessed a civic importance [210].

In Achaea the only impressive cult appears to have been that of Apollo Θεοξένιος at Pellene, who took his name from the annual festival at which he was supposed to give hospitable entertainment to the other deities [265] [d]. Perhaps the record is at fault, but the evidence from the Achaean coins conveys the same impression [d], that in the polity of the Achaean states the god had by no means as high a place as Zeus, Athena, and

[a] Vide Paton and Hicks, *Inscriptions of Cos*, p. 17.

[b] The interesting inscription cited, 'Poseidon,' R. 91, speaks of an ancient list of those who by right of descent had held the priesthood of Poseidon from the foundation of the city, and of the cult of Poseidon founded by 'those who led the colony' from Troezen in honour of Poseidon and Apollo. Anthes, the mythic founder, belonged to the pre-Dorian stratum of Troezenian legend. The Ἀρχηγέσια at Halikarnassos may have been the foundation-festival of the two deities (R. 68).

[c] Vide Geogr. Reg. *s. v.* Kos.

[d] Vide infra, p. 319.

Demeter, or as was assigned him by the Lacedaemonian and Argive communities.

A prominent political deity in the society of the old world must be supposed to assist the arms of his people and to be interested in legal administration. And Apollo is sometimes, but not prominently, a war-god. His martial character was expressed by the Homeric epithet χρυσάορος, 'armed with sword of gold,' and was recognized in some fiery lines of Sophocles [88] and by a few cult-appellatives such as Βοηδρόμιος in Attica and at Thebes, 'the god who charges with the battle-shout'; with which we may compare Ἐλελεύς, a name attested by Macrobius [91, 92]: Στρατάγιος in Rhodes, perhaps Θούριος in Boeotia [92, 95]. Even Ἀλεξίκακος the 'averter of ill' was a word that could allude to battle as well as disease [98]. It was natural and not uncommon to offer prayers to him before the fight and thanksgiving after victory [98]: the Paean hymn, a *Te Deum Laudamus*, which the Achaeans sing after the death of Hector, is not said by Homer to have been consecrated to Apollo, but it probably was; and the Paean-shout, which in historic times was the usual signal for battle, seems to have been explained in the Athenian legend as an invocation of the god [98]. Nevertheless the later Greeks when they raised the paean before closing do not appear to have been conscious that they were crying on Apollo; it was rather Ἐνυάλιος [a], the god who inspired the battle-rage, whose name was on their lips [98]. And Plutarch even blames the Megarians for commemorating their victory over the Athenians by a dedication to Apollo of his statue bearing a spear [97]. The Megarian monument merely reproduced a type which was of very ancient descent in the Peloponnese, being found at Amyklai and the Laconian Thornax, and traceable perhaps to a Mycenaean original [b]. In fact, though every Greek divinity, like every mediaeval saint, might occasionally be called upon to give help in fight, and though Greek myth and art might represent Apollo waging battle with the powers of disorder, the Giants

[a] Xen. *Anab.* 5. 2, 14.

[b] Vide pp. 125, 144. Note the mysterious cult of Apollo Ἀμαζόνιος in South Laconia associated with Artemis Ἀστρατεία (? = Astarte), vide Artemis, R. 79[n].

or the Amazons, yet not even in Homer and still less in the more civilized periods was he technically and functionally a war-god. And Servius is on the whole in accordance with the Greek religious feeling when in his appreciation of Apollo he maintains that he is specially devoted to the arts of peace, and is only distantly concerned with war[1]. Being interested in the nurture of the young and in any art that has beauty for its aim, we find him occasionally worshipped as a deity of the palaestra, at Athens, Delphi, in Crete and Laconia for instance[99-101]. But here again he is no departmental god: the special charge of the gymnasia belonged to Hermes and Heracles.

On the other hand, Apollo has a deep concern with law and law-abidingness. Perhaps his worship as Ὅριος at Hermione[25] had some reference to the sacredness of property, like that of Jupiter Terminus and Zeus Ὅριος. A third-century inscription, probably referring to the Carian city of Alabanda, attests an interesting local cult of Apollo Ἰσότιμος which seems to denote the 'god of equal civic rights[a],' a counterpart perhaps to another that existed at Alabanda of Apollo Ἐλευθέριος, 'the god of political freedom'[93], a title that may have had a special reference to some deliverance from the peril of war or from some foreign yoke.

The name and the history of the court at Athens called τὸ ἐπὶ Δελφινίῳ throws the most interesting light on the legal aspect of the Apolline religion[102]. It stood as the name tells us 'by the Delphinion,' the temple of the dolphin-god whose origin we have traced to Crete. Both temple and law-court were associated with the arrival of Theseus from Troezen[b], and the former with his Cretan voyage, for he visited it as a suppliant on the day before he started. The Athenian law-courts that dealt with homicide had usually a foundation-legend attaching to them: and the story was told about the court ἐπὶ Δελφινίῳ that it was here that Theseus pleaded on the charge of slaying the Pallantids, and his plea was that he had slain them lawfully in self-defence: therefore the court retained a

[a] Vide Geogr. Reg. *s. v.* Caria.

[b] Paus. 1. 19, 1; Plut. *Vit. Thes.* 12, 18.

special jurisdiction in cases where homicide was confessed but justification was maintained. This advance in criminal jurisprudence marks always a new era in civilization, and perhaps no step in the evolution of law is comparable to this in importance: so long as the theory of the blood-feud shapes men's ideas concerning manslaying, the society remains barbaric: it is only civilized law that weighs motives, and in such a serious matter as homicide allows the plea of justification. Much in the Attic code dealing with murder or manslaughter shows the survival of barbarism: but at some time before the period of Solon, Athens had made this momentous advance, and we find it associated with the legend of Apollo Delphinios and the Ionic Theseus, just as the sister-court τὸ ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ, where cases of accidental homicide were tried, attracted to itself the legend and name of Pallas Athena. In this civilizing of the older barbaric code, were the effective causes secular and utilitarian only, and the religious associations merely accidental? or was the religion itself stimulative of moral and social progress as in certain other lines of human evolution it may be proved to have been? The latter hypothesis will commend itself to those students of social anthropology who are aware of the enormous difficulties that beset every advance in early social thought. The question will be considered again in relation to the cathartic ritual, with which the Cretan god and the law-court of which he was president were probably connected [a].

Another department of ancient Hellenic law which intimately concerned social progress was the regulation of slavery and the system of enfranchisement. As regards the former, we find that in the more humane Greek states religion served in certain ways to ameliorate the lot of the slave, while enfranchisement like most other formalities affecting status was often made a quasi-religious act, being performed before an altar with the deity as witness. An inscription from Thespiai gives us an instance of this, recording that 'Saon sets free Ateas in the presence of Asklepios and Apollo' [103]; and this may have been the usual method of enfranchisement.

[a] Vide infra, p. 305; my *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 139–152.

Here the god appears as a witness and a guarantor of good faith, and might sometimes have the legal right to exact a fine if the status of the freed person was afterwards attacked[a]. At Delphi such a form of manumission might be called an ἀνάθεσις, and the person thus manumitted became ἱερὸς καὶ ἀνέφαπτος, sacrosanct, that is to say, as touching his liberty[b]. But a very large number of inscriptions, discovered many years ago at Delphi, belonging to the second century B. C., represent Apollo in a different light, as one of the principals in the transaction, as himself purchasing the slave, not in order to retain him in his temple as a ἱερόδουλος, as might happen in other circumstances, but to set him free[c]. The two documents cited [103] are typical of the group: 'On these conditions Nikias the son of Kallon sold to Apollo Pythios a male slave whose name was Sosandros, a Gaul by race, at the price of four minae of silver, according as Sosandros entrusted the god with the transaction of the sale, on condition that he should be free and immune from seizure all his life, doing what he likes and running away to whomsoever he likes. But if any one lays hands on Sosandros with a view to enslave him, let the seller Nikias and the guarantor Xenocrates maintain for the god the terms of the original sale. . . . Witnesses: priests of Apollo (two names) . . . (archons . . . private individuals).'

There is nothing fictitious in the main transaction: real money passes, the god pays the full market-price which varies in each case, the owner certifies that payment has been made in full, and the slave goes free, though the freedom may be conditioned by certain duties that might devolve upon the ἀπελεύθεροι. But where did the money come from? The god of Delphi was no abolitionist, but a slave-owner like the average Greek: nor were his funds available for charitable purposes. The survey of all the inscriptions shows clearly—

[a] Vide Dittenb. *Syll.*[3] 843.

[b] Collitz, *Dialect. Inschr.* 2097.

[c] Vide Foucart, *Mémoire sur l'affranchissement des esclaves par forme de vente à une divinité*, Paris, 1867, a fairly sufficient statement of the religious and legal questions involved: but he does not explain why the slave could not deal with the master directly.

what is not often clearly realized—that in these cases it was the slave who bought his own freedom out of his own savings or earnings; and we may make a fairly certain guess as to the reason for the employment of this religious machinery. A slave who had saved up his own price might go straight to his master and offer this sum for his freedom; and in the case[103] recorded in one inscription, this seems to have actually happened[a]. But it was a hazardous proceeding, for of course there was legally nothing to prevent the owner gratefully accepting the money and keeping the slave. As the latter had no rights of property at all, there appeared only one way open: he went to the temple and 'entrusted the god' with the purchase money, and with the transaction of the sale. It was open to the priests to defraud the slave, and he would then have no redress; but they would be committing sacrilege if they did, for the money was a sacred deposit; and they would be spoiling a good business, for doubtless the slave paid them for their services, and it is evident that such applications were exceedingly numerous. The owner might of course refuse to let the slave go at that price or at any price; but in any case he could not get at that money unless he freed the slave, or in technical language 'sold the slave to the god.' It is a skilful application of religion to the purpose of solving a perplexing legal knot. We find isolated instances of the same interesting procedure in other cults[b]; but no deity was so much in request as the mediator between the slave and his master as the Pythian Apollo.

It is impossible to fully appreciate the political significance or any of the higher aspects of the Apolline cult in Hellas, without a special study of the Delphian. And it remains now to give some account of the latter, although a complete discussion of all the questions that arise in near

[a] Collitz, *op. cit.* no. 2071. Dittenberger's note on this inscription, *Syll.*[2] 848, is unsatisfactory: he thinks that in this case the slave who has been manumitted *gratis* is commended to the protection of the god; but he leaves out of sight the fact that the slave had 'put down 200 Alexandrine drachmae,' a fair market-price.

[b] In the cult of Apollo Νασιώτας in Boeotia, R. 40: of Dionysos at Naupaktos, *C. I. G.* 1756–1757: of Asklepios at Amphissa, Dittenb. *Syll.*[2] 844.

or remote connexion with it would require a separate treatise.

The Hyperborean legend discussed above reveals to us, if it has been interpreted rightly, the great antiquity of the Apolline settlement at Delphi, or Pytho, as the place was called in the pre-Homeric and Homeric days. Yet the oracle was not founded by the god but inherited by him from a still older cult. The sacred history of the shrine has been faithfully handed down ; we may accept the unanimous testimony of antiquity that Gaia, the Earth-goddess, was the original possessor, and the significance of the tradition of Ge-Themis and the snake has already been considered. We cannot yet apply accurate chronology to the 'Mycenaean' era, and we can only affirm that at some very early epoch in the Hellenic period, before the movement of the tribes across the seas, probably before the Peloponnese was fully Hellenized, Apollo came to Pytho and won possession and the name of Πύθιος [a]. The constitution of the Amphictyonic league itself, as we have seen, carries us back to very ancient days, and the wealth of the Pythian temple had become proverbial for the Homeric world.

It may seem difficult at first sight to explain how the temple in the gorge above Crissa became the Panhellenic centre of divination. The traveller, indeed, who visits it at the right time and in the right mind, by sunset or by moonlight, will probably believe that no other spot in Europe has been framed by nature to work so strongly as the hollow ravine of Delphi upon the religious temperament. Even now the place seems haunted, and can evoke under certain conditions feelings of enthusiasm and thrill to which the ancient spirit of prophecy was somewhat akin. If the modern man can feel this, no doubt the ancient could, though it was his fashion to be more reticent about such matters. But we should not suppose that originally Delphi was chosen out as an oracular seat, merely because the impressiveness of its natural sur-

[a] Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de Divination*, 3, pp. 58–59, supposes that the Dorians brought Apollo Pythios to Delphi as the Cretans brought Delphinios ; but the name Pythios had no existence or meaning apart from Pytho.

roundings might have lifted men's hearts to commune with God. There must have been some special physical features that marked out the spot for mantic purposes; but it is hard to decide with certainty what these were. The current local story appears to have been that certain shepherds happened to discover a cavern there, and were overpowered and thrown into an ecstasy by the fumes that arose from it [118]. Earthquakes may have long ago obliterated many of the ancient landmarks; but the only cavern we know to have existed there is that of Castalia, and that poisonous exhalations, such as carbonic acid gas, ascended from a cleft in the ground producing certain disordered mental and physical effects, is a tradition which only late authorities attest, and which raises certain geological difficulties [a]. At any rate such a spot was destined to become oracular; the cavern would have been originally consecrated as the shrine of Gaia or Ge-Themis, with Poseidon possibly for her husband and the snake as her embodiment [b]; then, attracted perhaps by the growing importance of the oracle, an Apolline tribe seized and trans-

[a] Since writing my whole account of the Delphic oracle, I have had the advantage of reading Mr. Oppé's interesting article on 'The Chasm at Delphi,' in *Hell. Journ.* 1904, p. 214, in which he disposes of the stories about the mephitic gas, and endeavours to prove that there never was a 'stomion' or cave in the temple itself. I agree with much in his article, but not wholly with his handling of the literary evidence: for instance, Aesch. *Choeph.* 806 *ὦ μέγα ναίων στόμιον* refers in my opinion to Apollo more naturally than to Hades to whom the prayer would be quite inappropriate and impossible for a Greek; nor can I admit his view that Plutarch's discussion of the Pythian oracle, and of the theory of vapour-inspiration is inconsistent with the existence of a chasm in the temple. What is really inconsistent with it, as he rightly insists, are the recent French excavations which have laid bare the foundations and floor of the fourth-century temple; it is clear that there was no inner cave or large subterranean chamber; but neither the excavations nor the geological considerations that Mr. Oppé urges exclude the possibility that there was a small crack in the earth and floor through which a slight draught of air might sometimes be felt. This would explain the exaggerations of later authors, which Mr. Oppé has not satisfactorily explained; and it would account for that passage in Plutarch to which he does not allude, *de defect. Orac.* 43 *Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ Γῇ κοινῶς ἀνέθεσαν τὸ χρηστήριον οἰόμενοι τὴν διάθεσιν καὶ κρᾶσιν ἐμποιεῖν τῇ γῇ τὸν ἥλιον ἀφ' ἧς ἐκφέρεσθαι τὰς μαντικὰς ἀναθυμιάσεις*: this certainly appears to show that Plutarch, who was so well acquainted with the facts of Delphi, believed that the inspiration in the temple was due to vapours from the earth.

[b] Vide vol. 3, pp. 9–10; vol. 4, pp. 27–28.

formed it. Its subsequent remarkable development may be ascribed no doubt partly to the skill and vigour of its internal administration, but also largely to two other causes: to its association with the Hyperborean offerings, if the hypothesis put forward above is correct, and to the geographical advantages of its position. For secluded as Delphi may appear, it was the most convenient centre for all the leading Greek communities, since it was easily approached by two paths from the north and the east, and from the Peloponnesian states and the cities of the Isthmus by the easy passage across the Gulf of Corinth.

The Delphic cult of Apollo was probably in its first stage the possession of a single tribe; its importance must have rapidly developed, for at a very early time, before the Dorian settlement of the Peloponnese[a], its administration passed into the hands of that famous Amphictyony of tribes, which was originally organized for the worship of Demeter at Thermopylae, and which has been partly discussed in a previous chapter. Its predominant members were of Aeolian, Dorian, and Ionian stock[120–123], and it preserved to the end its character as an association of North Greeks, as well as its tribal organization which was never obliterated by the rise of the great cities[b]. This confederacy, which was

[a] In Strabo's account (R. 120) the Amphictyonic organization was ascribed to Acrisios of Argos.

[b] Vide Grote, *Hist. Greece*, vol. 2, p. 30, &c. In the sixth and fifth centuries Sparta must have dominated the Dorian vote; yet Sparta's name is never mentioned in any Amphictyonic document earlier than the Aetolian supremacy, Collitz, *Dialect. Inschr.* 2513: in the fourth-century inscription concerning Phokis (R. 122), the Dorian ἱερομνήμονες are from the Dorians ἐκ μητροπόλεως and from Argos, not from Sparta; and in the days of Pausanias, the ancient Doris still contributes one, but so little did the Peloponnese count that Argos, Sikyon, and Corinth unite together to elect one representative, and the name of Sparta does not occur in his list: according to his authority the Spartans had lost their vote on account of their alliance with the Phokians, and Athens, Delphi, and Nikopolis were the only cities that sent annual representatives: the cities of the other ἔθνη chose them by rotation. Strabo's account is of less value: like Herodotus he calls the representatives Πυλαγόροι (or Πυλαγόραι), and speaks only of πόλεις, not of ἔθνη. The normal constitution of the earlier period is best shown by Aeschines (R. 121), and the Delphic inscription of the fourth century B.C. (R. 122): the voting unit is the ἔθνος, not the πόλις, and each ἔθνος has two votes; no cities of the ἔθνη are mentioned except Histiaia and Athens as representing the Ionians,

perhaps the first instance of its type in Greek history[a], was at first instituted for a religious purpose, but political results of importance were likely to follow from its institution. The part that it played in the external political history of Greece —by no means a happy part—is not our present concern. But the question concerning the contribution of Greek religion to the development of political morality arises of necessity when we study this Apolline organization. It is very important to note that all Greek, probably all ancient international law was associated with religion in its origin. The herald was sacred because he represented Hermes: a city might secure itself from attack by winning recognition as sacrosanct: free intercourse at border-markets was made possible by the choice of a specially sacred spot for the purpose: and the perpetual feuds of the different tribes were suspended by the ἐκεχειρία or the holy truce which prevailed when they met for common worship or festival. Now the Delphic Amphictyony developed this ἐκεχειρία into a higher international obligation.

According to the version of the Amphictyonic oath preserved by Aeschines[121] the members bound themselves 'not to destroy any city of the league, nor to cut any one of them off from spring-water, neither in war nor peace, and to war against any who violated these rules.' How ancient this formula may have been we cannot determine[b]. If it was in vogue in the time of Solon, the intertribal pledge was not

Argos the Dorians of the Peloponnese, and Delphi. Much of this system, modified greatly during the Aetolian supremacy, survives in the time of Pausanias, though the voting power has somewhat changed: the Ionians are still represented by Athens and Euboea. There is no sign that the Asiatic Greeks were often represented: we may believe that the Amphictyony was instituted before the colonial expansion ('Αμφικτίονες, the original form of the word, cf. Paus. 10. 8, 1, preserved in the fourth-century Delphic inscriptions, = 'the dwellers around'). The only Ionic community other than the Attic and Euboean that occurs in the list of ἱερομνήμονες is Chios, to which the Aetolians gave a distinguished position at Delphi in the latter part of the third century: vide *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1896, p. 624, &c. But Aeschines' words, *De Fals. Leg.* § 116, suggest that Eretria or Priene might in their turn send one of the Ionian ἱερομνήμονες. For the Amphictyonic inscriptions, vide Collitz, *Dialect. Inschr.* 2501–2536.

[a] Poseidon's Amphictyony at Kalaureia might perhaps claim an equal antiquity.

[b] Grote believes in its great antiquity, thinking that the reference to the water indicates a very primitive society: vol. 2, p. 32.

strong enough to save Kyrrha; and it was shamefully broken in later times. Nevertheless here is an ideal of Hellenic unity, germinating from the religion, that under favourable conditions might have built up the fabric of a larger society than the free Greek states ever developed. In ordinary circumstances, the league was politically weak; it appears inspired by some spirit of Panhellenic patriotism, in its condemnation of the traitor Ephialtes[125]; but in order to legalize their cognizance of such a case, they must have been able to represent his treachery as sacrilege against the god. There is nothing in the history of Greece to justify the exaggerated statement of Tacitus[124] that in the earlier days of Greek expansion, the Amphictyonic assembly possessed a supreme and far-reaching jurisdiction. Their primary and natural function was to protect the temple and the temple-lands; and it is to this more special task rather than to the duty attributed to them by Aeschines of maintaining international law, that the Delphic formula refers, which is preserved in a fragmentary inscription of the year 380 B. C.[126]: the hieromnemon[a] swears in the name of Apollo Pythios, Artemis and Leto that he will righteously decide the law-suits[b] that come under his cognizance, that he will faithfully guard the common funds, will protect the sacred lands, will see to the repairs of 'temple of Apollo Pythios and Artemis, of the race-course and the fountain in the plain.' Finally, as an organization representing many communities and a great religious trust,

[a] In the lexicographers the *ἱερομνήμονες* are not clearly distinguished from the *πυλαγόροι*. Herodotus only mentions the latter name, which seems vaguely to describe all those who met at the *Πυλαία*. But the Delphic official name for the representatives of the *ἔθνη* was *ἱερομνήμονες*, and *πυλαγόροι* is not found in any Delphic inscriptions. But when Delphi was in the hands of the Aetolians, it seems that the *ἱερομνήμονες* were sometimes coupled in the decrees with the *ἀγορατροί* (R. 126), whom we may regard as identical with the *πυλαγόροι*. We learn from Aeschines that there were three *πυλαγόροι* at Athens who served as assessors to the *ἱερομνήμων*, but we must suppose that these four officials only represented one vote. The *Δόγμα Ἀμφικτυόνων* preserved in the *De Corona* is probably spurious (R. 123).

[b] These *δίκαι* must be understood of suits directly or indirectly concerning the sanctity of the temple, such as the famous case of Aeschines in behalf of Athens against the Locrians of Amphissa, Aesch. *κ. Κτησιφ.* § 116; and we must understand Strabo's vague phrase *δίκαι ὅσαι πόλεσι πρὸς πόλεις εἰσίν* in this sense (R. 120).

the Amphictyons might be consulted concerning the rights and claims of other temples; thus they decreed the inviolability of the temple of the Samian Hera[124], and of Zeus and Apollo at Alabanda[a].

Limited, however, as their functions and power may have been, and contemptuously as Demosthenes might speak of the 'Delphic shadow,' this Amphictyony remained the only institution in Greece that represented the highest politico-religious idea, the idea of Hellenic brotherhood; and it is hence that we may explain Philip's action in regard to it, and the carefulness of Augustus to secure for his new city Nikopolis a prominent position in this effete confederacy.

Their functions never touched the actual administration of the oracle itself. This was left to the Delphians or those who lived nearest to the temple. If we give literal credence to the author of the Homeric hymn, we shall have to maintain that in the seventh century or earlier the immediate ministers of Apollo, those who reported and interpreted his utterances, 'whatsoever he might speak with prophetic voice from the laurel beneath the hollows of Parnassos,' were a guild of specially trained priests from Crete[111]. Now there is no other literary testimony that directly confirms this assertion of a Cretan religious settlement at or near Delphi[b]; the Ὅσιοι, the 'holy ones' of Delphi, whose functions were identical with those which the hymn-writer claims for the Cretans, boasted their aboriginal descent. But the recent excavations have proved that as early as the 'Minoan' period Crete had relations with Pytho; and we must suppose that the Homeric narrative refers to something genuine, nor was prompted solely by the superficial resemblance in sound

[a] Geogr. Reg. *s. v.* Caria.

[b] The lion's head in porcelain found at Delphi is proof sufficient: a cast of it is in the Ashmolean Museum and shows absolute agreement in style and technique with the lions' heads found by Dr. Evans at Knossos. The French excavations, when their full record is published, may throw further light on the question, if the sieve has been employed as well as the spade. The allusion in Pindar to an ancient Cretan *ξόανον* at Delphi, of Daedalid style, does not necessarily bear on the point (*Pyth.* 5. 55); but the story that made Pteras, who was said to be the eponymous hero of the Cretan Aptera, the builder of the second temple at Delphi, may be associated with a genuine Creto-Delphic tradition.

between Crissa and Crete; and there is good reason, as has been shown, for believing that the cult of Delphinios was introduced into Delphi from Crete[a], and with this and from the same source may have arrived a cathartic ritual, which was to play a prominent part in the history of the Apolline religion. We shall have to note more particularly below certain questions concerning the system of Apolline purification.

We can now gather the facts together that bear directly on that which was the central mystery of the Pythian church, the delivery and interpretation of the oracle. The preliminary ritual itself was very seriously enforced, and is instructive to notice. It appears from Plutarch that the oracle could only be consulted once in the month [128 n]; at least we are sure that certain days were in themselves ἀποφράδες or tabooed [128 o]. And Plutarch believes that originally it was only once a year that the god deigned to speak to his worshippers, namely, on the seventh of the Delphic month Busios, which they regarded as his birthday, and as the day when the oracle was founded. This limitation of the seasons when the deity was willing to give counsel had obviously nothing to do with his ἀποδημίαι and ἐπιδημίαι, his periodical departure from Delphi and his return: we must merely understand that on certain days he was especially favourable, and his most sacred day at Delphi as elsewhere was the seventh, which we may suppose to have been the day of the monthly divination.

Moreover, the preliminary sacrifice, necessary before every consultation[b], was used as an augury by which the propitiousness of the god was tested. The animal was drenched with libations, so that his whole body might quiver and tremble [129 b];

[a] On Kretschmer's view, *Geschichte der griech. Sprache*, p. 420, that the name Delphi itself is derived from Delphinios by a normal process of shortening, we should ascribe the introduction of this cult to the post-Homeric period, for the name of Delphi itself is comparatively late. Other philologists refuse to recognize in Δελφοί a normally shortened form of Δελφίνιον, but we may believe in a connexion between the change of the name to Delphi and the introduction of the Delphinios-cult.

[b] We gather from the passages in the *Ion* (R. 129[a]) that a public victim was offered for the whole crowd of applicants in general, and that each individual must also offer on his own behalf a sacrificial cake as well as a blood-offering, vide article by Legrand, *Questions Oraculaires*: *Rev. d. Ét. Grecq.* 14, p. 47.

'it was not enough,' as Plutarch tells us, 'that it should only shake its head as in other sacrifices.' Until this sign was secured, the authorities would not fetch the Pythoness. Here is an interesting example of the idea that was fairly prevalent in Greek ritual that the divinity revealed his presence and acceptance of the rite by entering into the sacrificial victim and inspiring its movements; the quivering naturally due to the cold water was put down to the divine afflatus. This was the bodily sign: the mental aptitude of the beast was tested—as was elsewhere a not infrequent custom—by his willingness to eat certain kinds of food [129b]. Heedlessness in this prior ceremony might lead to disastrous results, as we see from Plutarch's narrative of an incident that happened in his own time: envoys from a foreign state had arrived to consult the oracle, but the premonitory omens were unpropitious, and the Pythoness went to the seat of divination with reluctance: the afflatus of the divinity, being thus untowardly inhaled, produced madness and subsequent death [128i].

As regards the immediate organ of divine inspiration this was always a woman [128], a rule maintained throughout the whole period of the Apolline and probably in the Ge-Themis period: and in these matters the rule about sex is of some importance, as has been shown [a]. The Pythoness must be a free-born Delphian, but otherwise there was no rule as to

[a] Vide Demeter chapter, vol. 3, pp. 110–111; cf. my paper on the sociological hypotheses concerning the position of women in ancient religion, *Archiv f. Religionswissensch.* 1904. That a woman under very special conditions should be allowed to exercise the sacred function of the oracular medium is consistent with the rule attested by Plutarch that women were forbidden 'to approach the *χρηστήριον*' (R. 132[a]). The difficulty is to reconcile this with the express statement of Ion in the play of Euripides, that the women might enter the *μυχός*, the inner shrine, after a sacrifice of sheep (R. 129). Did a rigid rule excluding women establish itself in the later period? Legrand, op. cit. p. 67, tries to explain the contradiction of the texts by merely suggesting that women were kept at a slightly farther distance from the actual tripod than the men. The sacred fire at Delphi was tended by elderly married women (R. 128[p]); but in what part of the temple this was kept is not clear. At any rate it is difficult to believe that women were ever excluded from the whole temple; Legrand, *Rev. d. Ét. Gr.* 13, p. 284, quotes from Collitz two instances of grants to women of the *προμαντεία*; so that for all essential purposes of consultation they enjoyed the same privileges as the men.

birth, or rank, or culture; and it is clear from Plato and Plutarch that whatever she might be in her moments of inspiration she was ordinarily by no means a striking personage [128 e]; all that was required of her was general respectability and a life ritualistically pure. There is reason for believing that at one time virginity was a condition of the office; for it was consonant with Greek ideas to imagine that for certain purposes the virgin was better suited as a vehicle for divine communication; but later, as youthful maidenhood was found to involve danger, the austere rule was changed for the milder ordinance, that the Pythoness should be a married woman above fifty years, but that she should always be attired as a maiden. In ritual, fiction is frequently as good as fact. What was really essential was that the vessel of divine revelation should during the period of ministration be preserved from defilement, for the association between ritualistic purity and the power of prophecy is world-old [128 d, i].

Further, before exercising her sacred but dangerous functions, the Pythoness must carefully prepare herself by certain acts of ritualistic significance. It seems that she chewed some leaves of the sacred laurel, and then in the adyton drank water possessing a mantic influence from a fount which Pausanias calls Kassotis and which flowed underground [128 g, h]. The chewing the laurel may be regarded as a simple act of sacrament, whereby through contact with a sacred object she established communion between herself and the deity [a]. She would thus be the better prepared for the crisis of inspiration. But the water-drinking, which also might be thought a mere preliminary act, tending to purification, was evidently more than this, and must have been once regarded as an immediate source of inspiration at Delphi, as it

[a] In the curious local legend of Chalkedon the laurel had an ecstatic and maddening power over those that came into contact with it (vide *Eph. Arch.* 1889, pp. 89–91); only this was not connected with any Apolline worship or legend. But at Delphi the laurel may once have been a prophetic tree, as the oak was at Dodona, and this might have been vaguely remembered by the poet of the Homeric hymn who speaks of Apollo 'prophesying from the laurel beneath the hollows of Parnassos' (R. 111).

was well known to be at Klaros. The original idea must have been that the divine spirit moved in the water and that thus the minister who drank from it became divinely possessed. We may define such a ritual as a mantic sacrament. But all this came to be considered merely as accessory, leading up to the great moment when the Pythoness ascended into the tripod, and, filled with the divine afflatus which at least the later ages believed to ascend in vapour from a fissure in the ground, burst forth into wild utterance, which was probably some kind of articulate speech, and which the Ὅσιοι, the 'holy ones,' who with the prophet sat around the tripod, knew well how to interpret. In all this we need suspect no charlatanism. When the Shaman knows what he is expected to say or do, it is very difficult to suppose that his madness is wholly unfeigned and uncontrolled; but there is no proof that the Pythoness was herself aware of the questions concerning which the consultants desired enlightenment; these were probably for the most part delivered in writing [132] and taken charge of by 'the holy ones,' who themselves were sane enough. The ecstasy of the Pythoness was no doubt perfectly genuine, often exhausting and sometimes dangerous; the belief in the divine afflatus, by whatever means it was instilled, could produce a very powerful neurotic effect upon a susceptible temperament, excited beforehand by a course of mantic stimulants [a]. And, as usually the female is more responsive than the male, and the uncultured than the cultured intellect, to certain influences of religious mesmerism, the rulers of the oracle were well advised in generally selecting for the prophetic seat a virtuous woman of the lower classes [128 k]. What was essential to Delphic divination, then, was the frenzy of the Pythoness and the sounds which she uttered in this state which were interpreted by the Ὅσιοι and the 'prophet' according to some conventional code of their own [b].

[a] When the prestige of the oracle was at its height, we hear of two Pythonesses: the strain was more than one could endure (R. 128 [b]).

[b] This theory of the relations between the Ὅσιοι and the Πυθία rests on no direct authority, but on general probabilities and a combination of evidence. It is not really contradicted by such common phrases as ἡ Πυθία χρᾷ (equivalent to

Now there were various modes of divination in vogue in early Greece, and Plato in the Phaedrus[a] well distinguishes two main kinds; one he defines as *μαντικὴ ἔνθεος*, a divine madness, an ecstasy in which the human soul is possessed by the deity; the other a sane and rational procedure, the interpretation of birds' cries and flights, and other signs, *ἡ τῶν ἐμφρόνων ζήτησις τοῦ μέλλοντος διά τε ὀρνίθων ποιουμένα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σημείων*, being merely a science or art based on a false hypothesis[b]. To these we may add a third, the process of divination through dreams or incubation, which was once in common vogue in Greece, especially in the *μαντεῖα* consecrated to the chthonian powers. This is, indeed, somewhat akin to the first species, because the dream was regarded as an emanation of the earth-spirit who dwells below, and who thus takes possession of the soul of the sleeper: only, the enthusiasm and ecstasy is lacking which marked the first. Now, as Rohde has pointed out, it is the second or rational method with which the Homeric world appears to have been familiar, and which is in Homer associated with Apollo. The Homeric prophet, such as Teiresias or Calchas, is quicker than his fellows at discerning certain signs, he is not at all prone to ecstasy or demoniac possession, of which there is not one word in either poem. And it has been maintained by the above-mentioned scholar that the Apolline divination at Delphi was also once of this soberer style, and that the wilder half-orgiastic element in it—whence arose the conception of the Φοιβάς and the Φοιβόλαμπτος—was the deposit of a later age, when Dionysos had come to share Apollo's Pythian shrine on almost equal terms, and the Pythia assumed

ἔχρησεν ὁ θεός) in Herodotus and others, nor by stories of the Pythoness being bribed (e.g. Thuc. 5. 16): for according to the theory adopted in the text it would be the cue of the Ὅσιοι to maintain officially that the utterances came directly and spontaneously through the Pythoness from the god. If the latter had really a free hand and could say what she liked and could accept bribes, she would scarcely have been the commonplace character that Plato and Plutarch were familiar with (R. 128[e]), and we must then reject the stories about the enthusiasm and frenzy, or regard her as a deliberate impostor.

[a] p. 244.

[b] Cf. pseudo-Plut. *Vit. Hom.* ccxii *τὸ δὲ ἄτεχνον καὶ ἀδίδακτον, ἐνύπνια καὶ ἐνθουσιασμούς.*

something of the character of the Maenad[a]. No doubt there are strong points in this theory: at Delphi itself there were other modes of divination besides the ecstatic, and these might be supposed to represent the genuine Apolline tradition: we hear of the fictitious eponymous heroes, Delphos and Amphictyon, as the inventors of the arts of soothsaying through the inspection of entrails, the interpretation of signs and of dreams. It has long ago been noticed that the use of the word *ἀναιρεῖν* for oracular utterance, probably also the words *χρᾶσθαι* and *χρησμός*, seem to point to a system of prophecy or forecast much simpler and perhaps older than the artificial paroxysms of the Pythoness: to the fashion, namely, which we may believe to be old-Aryan[b], of cutting notches, or making significant scratches on pieces of wood, or stalks, or beans, and drawing them at haphazard either for oneself or for the consultant. Such, no doubt, were the *μαντικαὶ ψῆφοι* which, according to Suidas[128 b], lay in some receptacle over the tripod, and which were supposed to leap automatically in response to the questions of the consultants; and the functions of the Pythoness would seem to be entirely dispensed with in this process[c]. The story of the Thessalians sending beans to Delphi, inscribed with the names of different people, from among whom the deity was requested to choose their king, illustrates the use of *ἡ διὰ ψήφων μαντική* and the original sense of *ἀναιρεῖν*; for the destined candidate is he whose bean the Pythoness 'takes up'[128 b].

We may admit then that divination by drawing lots was an Apolline method[d]; but there are, as we shall see, many other different methods practised in the various oracle-seats of this god; and the dogmatism that affirms that demoniac possession was entirely alien to his proper style is over-confident. In all stages of religion, early as well as late, enthusiastic communion with the godhead, where the inspired mortal becomes the

[a] *Psyche*, 2, pp. 56–61: in all essentials his theory had been long ago anticipated by Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la Divination*, 3, p. 88.

[b] Cf. Tac. *Germ.* 10.

[c] Suidas, in his citation, seems to contaminate two quite distinct methods.

[d] Apollodorus gives what may be a genuine legend that Hermes learned *ἡ διὰ ψήφων μαντική* from Apollo: *Bibl.* 3. 10, 2; cf. Zenob. 5. 75.

mouthpiece of the divine power, is one of the most popular as it is certainly the most impressive means of prophecy, though sceptics might mock at the afflatus of the ventriloquist [a]. No doubt the usual procedure in Apollo's oracles was sane and sober; but besides the disputed instance of the Pythoness at Delphi, we find a record of the enthusiastic style of μαντική as in vogue at Argos, where the prophetess of the Pythian Apollo was obliged to drink the blood of a lamb sacrificed by night [b], and became 'possessed of the god' through this blood-communion [141], and Plutarch gives us a story of the Argive priestess of Apollo Lykeios breaking out into a frenzy of ominous *clairvoyance* [7 f]. It has been suggested on a former page that the wild orgiastic ceremonies of Apollo's priests at Magnesia on the Maeander may have been a survival of an early Thessalian ritual marked by savage ecstasy of self-abandonment. The cultivated Hellas of history tended to sober and refine the older worship, but some slight taint of primitive wildness clung still to most of their divinities, and to Apollo among the rest. And his worshippers who brought him to Delphi may have brought with them the frenzied prophetess; or—for all we can say—they may have found her there drawing inspiration from Ge-Themis. But in no case do we need Dionysos as a *deus ex machina* to solve the question.

[a] Note the satire in Plutarch on the ἐγγαστρίμυθοι who pretended to have the god within them (R. 128[f]).

[b] Cf. the mantic ritual of drinking bull's blood at the prophetic shrine of Ge at Aigeira, vide Ge, Geogr. Reg. *s. v.* Aigai (Achaia), vol. 3, p. 11. The record of the Argive custom would lose its value as evidence of ancient ritual if we believed it to be a late innovation; and it has been held to be so, because an inscription belonging to the 'Pythian' temple has recently been discovered at Argos (R. 141), which speaks of the προφῆται and the προμάντιες, but makes no mention of the prophetess; the inscription appears to be of the third century B. C., and the conclusion has been drawn that the office of the prophetess was only instituted at some later period before the time of Pausanias in imitation of Delphi. The argument is fallacious, for silence does not prove a negative, and the prophetess at Argos could have coexisted with the prophets and the 'expounders,' as she coexisted at Delphi with the 'prophet' and the 'holy ones'; it is also in itself improbable, for at a late period there would have been no motive for instituting so singular and primitive a ritual as the drinking the blood of the bull; neither this nor the nightly sacrifice could have been inspired by Delphic example.

What strikes us as most alien to Apollo in the Delphic ritual is the idea that the source of the inspiration is in the subterranean world, for he of all Greek deities has no part or lot in this. In fact, according to the interesting story given by Euripides, he protests strongly before his father against the Earth-goddess being allowed to continue her oracular practice, in rivalry to his own, of sending up prophetic dreams into the brain of his sleeping consultants [113]. This was 'chthonian' divination; but so also was the inspiration which at least the later ages of Greek paganism accredited to the Delphian Apollo. We may believe then that this last trait in the ritual had been inherited by the Pythian Apollo from the older system [a].

If a full history of the oracle could be written, it would be mainly the history of the generations of those 'holy ones,' in whose hands the Pythoness was merely a tool; and it would record their varying attitude towards the national politics, ethics, and religion. The oracles they dictated, if a full list of them had been preserved [b], would reflect with singular clearness the average mind of Hellas; for these priests must be regarded as representing the better average character of the nation, not as inspired teachers with any advanced dogma or a definite mission. The attitude of scholars such as Curtius, who set up the Delphic worship on a pinnacle apart from other Hellenic cults, and who regarded Delphi as a missionary centre and its ministers as enthusiastic propagandists, has now been abandoned by most. There were undoubtedly tendencies in the Apolline cult, as in others of Hellas, making for higher civilization, for social order, for a conception of ritualistic purity that had moral potentialities, and especially for a genial development of the intellectual life. But it would be wrong

[a] We may also raise the question whether the name Μέλισσαι for the Delphian priestesses descends from the older cult of Gaia; for it seems to have been specially in vogue for the priestesses of Demeter. It might really have become a generic name for the ministrants of a prophetic or mystic cult: Professor Robertson Smith suggested that the humming sound made by the priestess in her frenzy explained the word (*Journ. Philol.* xiv, p. 120; cf. Demeter, vol. 3, p. 93; Artemis, R. 133; Cook in *Hell. Journ.* 1895, 1–24).

[b] We know that collections of oracles were made in ancient times for historical purposes, vide Plut. *de Pyth. Orac.* p. 403 F.

to regard these influences as always radiating directly from Delphi; in many other communities they were at work, and Apollo was not the sole source of them.

But it is also true, as we have seen, that in the very early period Delphi was an important religious centre; and as colonization pushed the outposts of Hellenism to the far ends of the Mediterranean world and beyond, a movement in which the oracle played a most important part, cult-relations were naturally established between distant communities and the Pythian temple-state. That she cherished these vigorously is sufficiently explained by obvious utilitarian motives, and we need not impute to her a specially lofty purpose or a disinterested devotion to an ideal beyond the range of the ordinary Greek priesthood.

Doubtless, in her zenith, she had very great influence; and if Greek international relations and Greek temperament had been other than they were, it is conceivable that Delphi might have exercised an almost papal power in the sphere of politics and in the realm of conscience.

The institution and recognition of an oracular centre brings religion into immediate and continual relation with politics. And the practice of consulting the various oracles on matters of public as well as private import, was certainly in vogue during the Homeric period. In the *Odyssey*[a] it is naïvely suggested that the suitors should be guided by the Διὸς θέμιστες, which in that context mean the utterances of Dodonaean Zeus, as touching the question whether they should slay Telemachos; and though a political consultation of the Delphic shrine is only once mentioned by Homer, and that in a comparatively late passage, yet its wealth which had become proverbial in his time must be supposed to have arisen from the services it rendered to the Homeric or pre-Homeric communities [110].

Now the habitual consultation of an oracle by the state puts a very powerful weapon into the hands of the priesthood: and it is found that in primitive societies the priest by a dangerous use of divination can defy the king and can sometimes hold

[a] 16. 403–405; cf. 14. 326.

the individual's life at his mercy[a]. Perhaps in prehistoric Greece the germs of a conflict between church and state may have existed in the occasional variance between an oracular priesthood and the royalty; there seems, for instance, an ominous hint of this in the question put by Nestor to Telemachos—'Art thou dispossessed of thy own free will or do the people hate thee in the town, in obedience to the voice of God?[b]' for the θεοῦ ὀμφή certainly alludes to an oracle, which might command or tempt the people to fall away from their allegiance. According to an anecdote in Plutarch[c], the Ainianes, when they lived in the Cyrrhaean plain, were ordered by an oracle, probably the Delphic, to stone their king, apparently as a piacular offering in time of drought[77]. But we might regard a case of this kind, not so much as a sacerdotal persecution of a dynasty, but as a time-honoured ritual of human sacrifice ordained or sanctioned by the shrine, a principle of religious policy of which Delphi furnishes us only too many examples[d]. At all events in the ordinary Homeric society, as depicted in the great poems, there is little sign of sacerdotal aggression; the king, being himself half-divine, is greater than the professional priest; the latter might only protest when backed up by some powerful chief, who might, for instance, tamper with an oracle in order to supplant a Telemachos.

Greek history is not stained with the sins of priestcraft at least; nor is there any proof that the 'holy ones' of the Delphic oracle ever used their power and their opportunity for political aggrandizement, for the oppression of states, or for the persecution of individuals: though we can detect occasional partiality in their deliverances, usually for Sparta which was devoted to them, at times even for Athens or the Alkmaeonidai. In the

[a] According to Diodorus (3. 6) the priests of the oracle at Meroë informed the Aethiopian king when it was time for him to commit suicide: their message was never disobeyed till the time of the Ptolemies, when a king, who had had the advantages of Hellenic education, replied to the message by destroying the shrine and massacring the priests: at the Arabian Saba the kings, if they were seen outside the palace, were stoned by the people 'in accordance with an oracle' (3. 47).

[b] *Od.* 3. 215.

[c] *Quaest. Graec.* 26.

[d] Vide infra, p. 208.

well-known oracle quoted by Herodotus[a] concerning the Spartan attack on Arcadia, Delphi appears at first sight to be claiming a power to dispose of territory, and we are reminded for the moment of the mediaeval Papacy; but really it is the Spartans who are aggressive, not the god or his ministers; their voice is on the side of righteousness, and Spartan ambition is rebuked. In fact, the Delphian state, from whose oldest families, except during the short period of Phokian usurpation, the Ὅσιοι were derived, was too insignificant to be tempted into dangerous schemes for the increase of their temporal power. The prophet and the 'holy ones' were secure and affluent, as long as the prestige of the temple was maintained. The oracle might be used for political purposes by leading members of the Amphictyonic council; but so far as the Delphic ministry is concerned, who alone interest us here, we cannot discover in the oracles that are recorded, whether genuine or fictitious, any definite political idea of which they were the propagandists. As a conservative and aristocratic caste, they would probably conceive a genuine dislike of tyranny, though time-serving motives might induce them to supply a somewhat favourable χρησμός to a powerful dynasty like the Kypselidai[b]. The crusade they imposed upon Sparta against the Peisistratidai does not appear to have been disinterested. On the other hand, according to Herodotus they administered a strong and manly rebuke to the tyrant Kleisthenes [133 g], and it was believed in later times that the god had looked with an evil eye on the great Sicilian tyrants of the fifth century[c]. We may regard as merely fictitious the oracular verses ascribed to the Pythian oracle by Diodorus, praising the ways that lead 'to the honoured house of freedom' [138 c], as well as the very constitutional Pythian speech preserved by the same compiler in which the oracle contrasts the tyranny of Arkesilaos at Cyrene with the milder and freer

[a] 1. 66.

[b] Herod. 5. 92: we may believe too that the tyrants were careful to stand well with the oracle, and were lavish in contributions which would have their effect (R. 138[d]): cf. the story in Athenaeus of a favourable oracle on behalf of the life of Phalaris, 602 B.

[c] Plut. p. 403 D (*de Pyth. Orac.* 19), cf. his story of the indignation of the Pythian oracle against Procles, the blood-stained tyrant of Epidauros.

rule of Battos [a]. We need not believe that the 'holy ones' were really responsible for more than a very small portion of the sayings imputed to them. Nevertheless these fictions are of value as showing the kind of political character and temper that Greek antiquity early and late associated with the Delphic god. It may well have been a result of the prehistoric traditions of the Amphictyones that the average Greek regarded the Pythian Apollo as representing, however ineffectually, a certain ideal of political concord and the *ius gentium*: and anything delivered by the Ὅσιοι in flagrant violation of this would be likely to shock the public conscience [b]. But all the evidence available, and especially their cautious attitude on the fence during the Persian invasion, shows the Delphic priesthood as men who were not likely to offer themselves as the champions of any great national cause or ennobling political idea.

It is not hard then to understand why the oracle never achieved and probably never aspired to great secular power. But in certain departments of the public life of Hellas its influence was weighty and fruitful.

In the first place, the Pythian Apollo had a reputation as a legislator, as himself a source of public law. There is no reason to doubt that the shrine was occasionally consulted in the earlier and even later historical period as to the best mode of government; though such consultations were no doubt rare and probably resorted to because of some intestine feud and consequent bloodshed that may have needed purification [c]. In answer to such inquiries we sometimes hear of the oracle itself suggesting a legislator or arbitrator, as Zaleukos was said to have been suggested to the Locrians [d], and Demonax of Man-

[a] 8, *Frag.* 30.

[b] The Ambrakiots worshipped Apollo Pythios the Saviour, and according to the late writer Antoninus Liberalis regarded him as the author of all good law and justice, and the stayer of civic strife (R. 154). It is not improbable that the Athenians consulted Delphi concerning the Sicilian expedition, and that the oracle frowned on the project, though the quaint story about Hesychia may be a late afterthought (R. 138[f]).

[c] We have seen the Corcyraeans consulting Dodona after their civic massacres concerning the means of obtaining political harmony (vol. I, p. 40).

[d] Schol. Pind. *Ol.* II. 17, quoting from Aristotle's Λοκρῶν Πολιτεία.

tinea to the Cyrenaeans [131 e]. And the Delphic priesthood, with their unique opportunities for getting special local information, were well qualified to make such recommendations. They might even at times venture to convey some vague hint as to the lines on which legislation might proceed; at least, one might detect a liberal tendency in the oracle delivered to the Megarians, *μετὰ τῶν πλειόνων βουλεύσασθαι*, 'to take the majority into their counsels,' although the Megarians interpreted it quite differently [138 b]. But it is not to be believed that any political code in whole or part was ever inspired by the interpreters of the Delphic god: they had neither the political experience necessary for such functions, nor any reason for burdening themselves with a task so delicate and difficult.

A self-reforming state or an individual legislator in the seventh or sixth century B.C. might be naturally inclined to ask the oracle to sanction or to bless the suggested code; and such Delphic sanction could easily give rise to a tradition of Delphic inspiration. It is thus that we may most naturally explain the legend concerning the oracular origin of the Spartan constitution [a], a legend for which Tyrtaios was an early authority [138 a]. Plato and later writers speak positively of the Pythoness as the teacher of Lykurgos, and, though Herodotus tells us that the Lacedaemonians themselves believed that he derived his code from Crete, the former became the accepted and traditional view, as we learn from the Paean of Isyllos [b]. Setting aside the Lykurgos-legend, which may be examined in a later treatise on hero-cults, we must assign due weight to the Tyrtaios-fragment preserved by Plutarch, by which we gather that certain early kings who introduced reforms into Sparta, were said to have derived from Delphi 'oracles and words of authority' [138 a]. This was probably no mere fiction of the reformers. The early connexion between Sparta and Pytho was so close that we can well believe that

[a] This is practically Xenophon's view, who merely says that Lykurgos, having framed his code, went to Delphi to ask Apollo's blessing upon it; which the god gave, and in this sense the Spartans could be said to use *νόμοι Πυθόχρηστοι*, R. 138 a.

[b] *Eph. Arch.* 1885, p. 71, l. 69.

any reformer or legislator would assume the air of having a mandate from the oracle, and would bring a χρησμός as his credentials. But this is very far from saying that the Pythoness or the Ὅσιοι were capable of drafting a code[a].

The story of Lykurgos sitting at the feet of Apollo has the same kind of value as the similar legends of Zeus and Minos, Zaleukos and Athena[b]: they are all of interest as indicative of the popular belief concerning the high divinities: and they mark out these as the special deities of a politically gifted people. For the student of religion the literal fact is usually of less importance than the idea.

Was it because of his mantic character that Apollo appears in so many Greek states conspicuous as a god of the political assembly and council-chamber, for instance at Athens when his statue stood by Zeus Βουλαῖος in the Bouleuterion[c]? It is possible that he already entered Greece as a deity of 'the assembly'; and that this character of his developed spontaneously in the various communities. But the evidence which might support this view is after all very slight; and on the other hand we are well assured that the hegemony which he won in the great states of Athens and Sparta rested on his unique position as the god of Delphi[d]. And, further, we may attribute the strong influence exercised by his cults in Thessaly, Boeotia, Argolis, Aeolis, Ionia, and Lycia to the Apolline oracles founded in these regions, of which many

[a] There may still be scholars who like Bergk (*Literaturgesch.* I, p. 336; *Poet. Lyr. Gr.* 2, p. 10, note; cf. Beloch, *Hell. Gesch.* I, p. 336) believe in the Delphic origin of the Spartan code: he argues that ῥήτρα means an oracular utterance, and that the prose ῥήτρα quoted in Plutarch (vide Zeus, R. 156°) shows Delphic not Laconian dialect. The first statement is certainly erroneous: ῥήτρα is a purely secular word, though two passages in Plutarch may seem to interpret it as = μαντεία (R. 138ª, and Zeus, R. 156°: in the *Agis* he uses it correctly); originally perhaps 'the utterance of the king,' it comes very early to denote a contract or treaty: it never occurs in a genuine religious context, nor in any Delphic inscription. As regards his second argument, it is not borne out by the very numerous Delphic inscriptions now published; there is nothing characteristically Delphian in the prose ῥήτρα: note that it uses ἦμεν as infinitive of εἰμί as compared with εἶμεν invariably found in the inscriptions.

[b] Schol. Pind. *Ol.* II. 17; the goddess inspires Zaleukos with his Locrian code.

[c] Zeus, R. 110ª.

[d] In Athens Apollo Patroös was also the Pythian god.

were famous. For though a powerful divinity of the ancient state was not obliged to practise divination, oracular deliverances were obviously the easiest means by which a deity could become the public counsellor.

In matters of ordinary politics, the consultation of Delphi was by no means frequent; the usual occasions for resorting to it would be abnormal events such as drought or plague [138 f]. But one great chapter in Greek history, the chronicle of the colonial expansion that created greater Hellas, is throughout a record of the sagacity of the Pythian shrine. In fact, no modern Colonial Office has ever guided or encouraged emigration with such wisdom and success as the prophet and the 'holy ones' of Apollo. We must, indeed, here as elsewhere, be on our guard against imputing too much to the spiritual power: and we must avoid the delusion of the supposition that Delphi was conscious of a unique mission. Dodona and no doubt Branchidai played a certain part in the same sphere of activity [61]; and though Delphi was far more frequented by the emigrant-leaders, we must not suppose that they always came ignorantly asking for advice: they may often have approached the oracle merely to ask for a blessing on a project already formed. Nevertheless the words of Herodotus are of interest and weight in this matter, who no doubt represents the average sentiment of the fifth century when he attributes the disasters that befell Dorieus to his 'not having consulted the Delphic oracle as to the land where he should go to colonize, nor having done any of the usual things [62].'

It is specially in regard to Libya, Sicily, and Italy that Apollo Pythios appears as the ἀρχηγέτης or director of emigration [69, 74, 81–85]; and according to the familiar stories in Herodotus the happy choice of the site of Cyrene appears to have been due to the persistence of the well-informed oracle.

And it is of interest to note that this function of Apollo's appears to have descended from prehistoric times. The prevalent legend concerning the Dorian invasion being directed or sanctioned by Delphi is not to be thrown aside; it would

certainly help to account for the very strong connexion between the shrine and the chief Doric states. The value of these quasi-historical myths is of course always liable to dispute; at the best they give only nebulous evidence in matters of external history; but they are sometimes direct and clear witnesses in regard to early ideas and practices that may afterwards have died out. Now there is a certain set of legends of a distinct kind that reveal a fact of great interest for religious anthropology. The Dryopians, when they dwelt near Parnassos, were conquered by Heracles, and the whole population was dedicated as temple slaves to Apollo of Delphi; thereupon, through an oracle, he bade Heracles send them forth as a colony to the Peloponnese, where either in the Argive or Messenian settlement of Asine they preserved till late times the closest cult-associations with Delphi and Parnassos[144]. A similar tradition explained the origin of Magnesia on the Maeander: in a passage quoted from Aristotle or Theophrastos by Athenaeus they are called Δελφῶν ἄποικοι, colonists of Delphi: but their original home was the Thessalian Magnesia, where they were conquered by Admetos of Pherai and consecrated to Apollo of Pytho, who sent them forth as his colonial subjects, perhaps imposing on them the duties of hospitality to all Delphians[a]—or, as the text says, to all travellers—who visited them in their new city[75]. Another legend that illustrates the ancient practice of dedicating a portion of the captives taken in war to the Delphian god is that which was told of the foundation of Kolophon, and the famous Klarian oracle: Manto the daughter of Teiresias and other Thebans, taken prisoners at the capture of Thebes by the Epigoni, are consecrated to the Delphic shrine, and sent out by the god to found a colony in Asia Minor[78]. Doubtless the custom in its simplest form was practised in other cults, for it belongs to the widely prevalent rule that a tithe of the spoil should be set apart for the divinity; but it is only in the Delphian worship that we find it connected with a scheme of colonization. A more valuable record still

[a] O. Müller compares a similar obligation on the part of the Delians to the resident Delphians (vide R. 75), *Dorier*, 2. 3, § 4.

is one that descends from the historic period concerning the foundation of Rhegium: the men of Chalkis in a season of dearth dedicated a tithe of their youth to Apollo, and the oracle sends them forth to find a home in the western waters, and we are told that the god was ἀρχηγέτης also of Naxos, the first Chalkidic settlement in Sicily [69, 80, 82]. The story of Rhegium preserves the only instance of a *ver sacrum* in Greek religion, and illustrates the truth of a statement made by Dionysius of Halikarnassos[a] that this was a Hellenic as well as Italic custom. And we have seen reason to believe that in the earliest period Apollo brought to Delphi the character of 'Agyieus,' the traveller-god, who led the people on their migratory path[b].

The direct influence of Delphi in the domain of religious law was even greater than in secular matters. In the construction of his ideal state Plato leaves to 'Apollo of Delphi the greatest and fairest and most essential part of the legislation, namely, the consecration of temples, sacrifices, and other cults of gods, demigods, and heroes; again, questions concerning burial ceremonies, with what service we must propitiate the dead to win their goodwill: for that god is from of old all men's teacher on such matters, as he sits at the centre of the earth on the omphalos and expounds' [134]. And in the *Laws*[c] we find it laid down as an axiom that the legislator will not alter whatever has been established of indigenous or foreign cult, if it has received the sanction of the oracles of Delphi, Dodona, or Zeus Ammon. In regard to the supremacy in matters of religious jurisdiction claimed for Delphi, Plato does not seem to have been exaggerating, as his statement can be illustrated by a large array of instances [133]. In matters of religious difficulty the consultation of the oracle was more natural than in purely secular concerns, in which the Greek intellect was not so likely to be clouded with superstitious fears; but on occasions of great disaster, the fear was always rife in the post-Homeric period that some unseen power had been neglected or insulted, and the oracle alone could disclose

[a] I. 16. [b] Vide supra, pp. 101–105. [c] p. 738 C.

the secrets of the unseen world. Hence the question asked of it took the common form 'to what deity or hero must we sacrifice?' An interesting example is the consultation of the Athenians on the occurrence of some prodigious sign in the heavens, probably a meteor or a comet. The oracle bids them sacrifice to all the Olympian deities, many of whom are mentioned by name, to make public offerings in the streets to Apollo and Dionysos, but specially to remember the dead, carefully observing the ritual proper at the family grave and propitiating the ancestor Erechtheus with national offerings [133 g]. Another curious state-document of Athens is an inscription [a] of the fourth century B.C., which prescribes the very careful measures to be taken to obtain for the city the true opinion of Apollo concerning the cultivation of part of the sacred land of Eleusis; the elaborate precautions reveal no lack of faith in the divinity, but considerable mistrust of the 'theoroi,' or sacred legates, who are supposed capable of tampering with the response. A fact emerges here concerning the machinery of Greek polytheism; Apollo's oracle serves as a mediator between man and other divinities; for the ordinary deity who does not possess an oracle cannot, or does not, communicate his or her will directly to the worshipper, though a preternatural sign might on rare occasions be given. Thus in the case just considered, the question at issue really concerned Demeter and Kore, but the Athenians can only discover their wishes by asking Apollo, to whom the goddesses would naturally confide them.

In the dealings of the Pythian god with the national religion, can we discover any definite programme or propaganda to which the Delphic ministry were devoted? Lacking a political mission, did they discover a religious? Certainly they were under no necessity to propagate the worship of Apollo, for this was broadcast and deeply rooted in the Hellenic world before the dawn of history; and the consultants who sought Delphi were already filled with reverence for the Pythian divinity. Occasionally in the later period the 'holy ones' might find it desirable to impress upon

[a] *Eph. Arch.* 1888, pp. 31 and 115.

a particular state the propriety of offering joint-sacrifice to Apollo Leto and Artemis, a specially Delphic cult-group[156 k]. And no doubt in the beginning of its career, those who administered the Apolline oracle would have to struggle for its supremacy; but there is no record of the means by which they secured it, apart from what we know and have already noted concerning the natural advantages of the place and its prior prestige. It is probable that Apollo was already a leading oracular god before he won his seat at the immemorial Pytho.

The colonies that Delphi either dispatched or encouraged would desire usually of their own accord to maintain cult-relations with the shrine; or if they appeared indifferent the priests would no doubt urge the religious obligation upon them, and would omit no opportunity of inculcating the duty of sending tithes. Except in this very limited sense it is idle to speak of them as preaching the worship of Apollo. And it is important to remember that the proselytizing mission is a late phenomenon in the history of the classical religions, appearing chiefly as an accompaniment of a later wave of Dionysos-cult.

As regards other worships, we hear from Xenophon what was the administrative rule of the Delphic priesthood: they adhere on the whole to the immemorial canon of religious conservatism; the consultants are usually advised to follow in religious matters the ancient rule of their particular state, the *νόμος τῆς πόλεως*[135].

A powerful community such as Athens in the fifth century might win an utterance from the oracle in favour of some cult to which the former was specially devoted, in the hope that the other Hellenes might be induced to subscribe; for instance, a genuine *χρησμός* seems to have been delivered urging the Panhellenes to send *ἀπαρχαί* or the first-fruits of harvest to Eleusis[133 b]. But there is no sign that the oracle was enthusiastic for the spread of Demeter's cult in general[a], or for the Attic mysteries, or for any mystic

[a] When the consulting state was suffering from a bad harvest—a common motive for consultation—it would naturally occur to the oracle to advise them to pay more attention to Demeter or Kore: e.g. Paus. 8. 42, 6 (oracle given

dogma concerning the life after death. A very interesting Amphictyonic decree of the second century B. C. recognizes the proud claim of the Athenian state to have been the earliest home of law and culture, and by the introduction of the mysteries to have led men from savagery to civilization, and to have taught the lesson that fellowship and trust are the greatest of blessings. The inscription is a remarkable panegyric on the past greatness of Athens, but it is not an oracular deliverance[a]; nor except for that χρησμός concerning the first-fruits is there any hint or suggestion that the Panhellenic development of the mysteries was aided by Delphi. Local causes that we can rarely hope to discern would often explain why the oracle would occasionally advise a consulting state to raise a shrine or ordain a sacrifice to a certain deity. We should expect that this would be one whom the community had hitherto neglected or ignored; for consultation usually implied distress, and the natural explanation of public troubles was that they were due to the resentment of some unknown spiritual power, whom the god alone could reveal to them. We could thus understand why the oracle may have ordered the Epidaurians in time of dearth to worship the hitherto unfamiliar or unknown goddesses Damia or Auxesia[133 d]. As in the old religion a cult-name was a talisman, and as the public consultant's question often took the form of asking to what deity or hero he should sacrifice, the 'holy ones' would be tempted to suggest a new cult-name as a new prescription, the old ones having lost their efficacy. And thus at times the oracle may have lent its sanction to the introduction of new worships by way of experiment, though the only indication of this, outside the sphere of mere hero-worship, is the doubtful story preserved by Photius concerning the institution of Cybele-worship at Athens[133 i]. But in the instances that have been preserved of θεοὶ Πυθόχρηστοι, as those were called whose cults were founded in obedience to a Delphic oracle, we do not find that the oracular advice makes

to the Phigaleians); cf. the Κόρη Πυθόχρηστος at Erythrai (Demeter, R. 154[a]).

[a] Demeter, vol. 3, R. 185.

for innovation except in the direction of Dionysiac and hero-cults[a].

In respect of the former the Pythian shrine displays a certain enthusiasm, and used its influence to propagate it among those communities that had hitherto remained indifferent to it, and the 'artists of Dionysos' always received the warmest encouragement and protection from the oracular priesthood [133a]. How far the 'holy ones' were moved by inner conviction in this matter, it is impossible to say. Their devotion is sufficiently explained by the very strong hold that Dionysiac worship had won over Delphi at a very early time: he became here the religious compeer of Apollo, and the latter's ministers are deeply concerned in his cult. Therefore we must attribute much to Delphic influences in explaining his triumphant career throughout the Hellenic world; and both divinities work together for the cause of Greek art and music, of which the Pythian festival was the chief national expression.

The development and history of hero-worship in Greece requires a long and careful study, and will be considered in a later chapter. The supreme control in this important department of the national religion lay with Delphi; for though certain hero-cults may have been immemorial, descending from a period earlier than the establishment of the Apolline oracle, yet it seems that from the seventh century till the period of Alexander no human being would be likely to receive divine or 'heroic' honour after his death without its sanction. If we could be sure that this was an invariable rule, the god of Delphi would have occupied a similar position in this matter as the Papacy has occupied in Christendom in respect of the canonization of saints. And Plato's words quoted above suggest that this was the case [134]. Only, so great was the autonomy of the Greek city, and so comparatively weak, even in religious matters, was the central

[a] For instance we find Κόρη Πυθόχρηστος and Aphrodite Πυθόχρηστος at Erythrai: but we can hardly believe that these divinities were originally introduced there from Delphi; for the same inscription mentions other independent cults of both of them in that city (R. 133[f]).

national authority, that we may doubt whether the rule was rigidly observed that a mandate must come from Delphi before a state could or would grant the title and the position of ἥρως to the defunct citizen or benefactor [a]. Certainly the oracle had little or no direction of the later obsequious worship of the Diadochi and Epigoni; but for the period of Greek independence Plato's account expresses what was the general rule. Cults of epic heroes, of heroes of agriculture, statesmen, oekists, warriors, and athletes—we find examples of the Pythian encouragement or institution of all these [133 b]. Even the family-ritual at the grave is specially enjoined in the Delphic μαντεία delivered to the Athenian state, which has been mentioned above; and it may be that the Aetolian festival of Χοαί (like the Athenian Χόες, a Feast of All Souls) was instituted by the same authority [b].

Various motives may be suggested for this policy of the oracle. The Delphians themselves were touched by the new religious ideas that from the eighth or seventh century onward quickened this religion of the dead; and they themselves possessed local worships of this type. They were also devoted to Dionysos; and certain of the conceptions that were attached to his worship, the doctrine of immortality and of happiness after death, afforded a natural soil on which hero-cult could grow. Further, the superstitious terrors of the shadowy world, from the sixth century onwards, seem to have been appealing more and more strongly to the Greek imagination; on occasions of public disaster or distress, men would be apt to suspect the μῆνις of some angry or neglected ghost: and the form of question mentioned above that was so often put to the oracle by the consulting state seemed to invite the prophet to suggest the name of some important

[a] Note the Bithynian inscription of the Roman Imperial period, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1901, p. 87: the title of ἥρως is conferred by the 'judgment of the supreme Boulé.'

[b] Suid. *s. v.* Χοάς. We have only one doubtful instance of a hero-cult being established by the oracle of Dodona, the Thessalian cult of Achilles, vide Philostr. *Heroik.* p. 741; but the inscription containing the question put by the Corcyraean state (Zeus, R. 13 [w]) shows that Dodona might have contributed something to the spread of these worships.

departed spirit that might be propitiated with a new cult. And the ministers may have genuinely believed that the encouragement of the tomb-ritual of the family made for the stability of the social system, on which the prosperity of the state depended. Finally, it made greatly for Pythian prestige, if the rule became more and more prevalent that the shrine should be consulted before the recently defunct could be canonized. This then must count among the causes that led Delphi to look with favour on this later growth of Greek religion. It may also be true that the oracle endeavoured to keep it somewhat within bounds. At least the oracle concerning the 'heroizing' of Cleomedes, in which this athlete of doubtful reputation was pronounced 'the last of the heroes,' suggests that the ministers of the shrine may have felt that the glorification of athletes—a great evil for Greece—had gone quite far enough[a].

So far as it has here been traced, their religious administration was at least harmless and innocent: and in assisting to propagate Dionysiac worship, they were working, however unconsciously, to bring about a new era in religion. But one heavy charge has been brought against them, that seems true at least of the earlier period of the oracle's history[b]. The savage fashion of human sacrifice, that was deeply rooted in Europe as in other countries, and that under changed forms survived our middle ages, was practised sporadically in Greece till the later days of the Roman Empire. If we may trust a certain number of representative legends, we must admit that it was distinctly encouraged by Delphi: instances from prehistoric times[137] are such as the sacrifice of the Locrian maidens to propitiate Athena of Ilium, of the daughter of Erechtheus at Athens, of Menoikeus at Thebes, the offering of the youth and maiden in the worship of Artemis Triclaria at Patrai, the blood-ritual to obtain water in the territory of Haliartos; at Potniai we hear of an ancient sacrifice of a beautiful boy to Dionysos ordained by the Pythian god, though he afterwards allows the citizens to substitute a goat[c],

[a] Vide Paus. 6, 9, 7.
[b] Vide Dümmler's *Delphika*.
[c] Vol. 5, Dionysos, R. 76°.

a solitary instance of such a merciful commutation under Delphic sanction. The barbarous ritual at Patrai was ended not by any word of Apollo's, but by the coming of Dionysos; and a Laconian tradition parallel in dramatic form and to a certain extent in idea to the story of Jahvé and Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac [a], shows the abhorrence of Zeus for the offering of the human life. But there is no legend of any protest against the evil custom made by Apollo or his prophets. The instances quoted above are myths, it is true: but for the purpose of our investigation into prehistoric thought and practice, myths are facts. And Pausanias gives us an example from the earlier historic period, from the time of the first Messenian war, namely a Delphic χρησμός bidding the Messenians sacrifice a maiden of the stock of Aipytos [137]. There is no reason to doubt its genuineness, though the occasion of its utterance may be a question; being delivered in iambics, it belongs to a comparatively late period [b].

It is true that in this matter, Delphi may have been no worse than the other oracle-centres; for Dionysius of Halikarnassos [c] attests very positively that an ancient Dodonaean oracle was preserved at Dodona, prescribing human victims in the Italian ritual of Jupiter and Saturn; and as most of the legends speak of an oracle as ordaining or sanctioning such practices [d], we may take it that they belonged to the traditional policy of the Greek μαντεῖα. This is not hard to understand. The prophet and soothsayer in Greece were not likely to be as the prophets were among the Hebrews, in advance of the morality of their age: they belonged rather to

[a] Vide vol. I, pp. 93–94.

[b] Bergk, *Literatur-Gesch.* I, p. 336, calls this χρησμός, 'eine handgreifliche Fälschung'; but he does not say why: Pausanias may have found it in the works of Myro of Priene, a writer of whose veracity he had a low opinion (4. 6, 4): even if Myro invented it, which we have no right to say, it shows at least what people of Myro's period thought about the Delphic policy in ritual. The earliest proved iambic oracle, if we put this aside, is the Cnidian, mentioned by Herodotus, I. 174.

[c] *Ant. Rom.* I. 19.

[d] It was an oracle that ordered the human sacrifice in the Athamantid family (Zeus, R. 25): in the worship of Artemis at Brauron (Artemis, R. 32): Pherekydes slain by the Spartans, and his skin preserved by the kings, κατά τι λόγιον, Plut. *Pelop.* c. 13.

the sacerdotal class, and were therefore more prone to cling to an older order of ideas and especially to an older ritual which the better minds of the nation had left far behind. It is certain that to the average Greek by the fifth century B. C. these sacrifices had become abhorrent: but in times of dire peril, the fatal thought might arise that the gods might be angry because the ancient rite had been abandoned; then 'the prophet' would be ready to come forward and demand the enforcement of the ancient code[a]. We need not wonder then that Delphi should have lagged behind the advance of Greek ethics in this respect.

On the other hand we find the name of Delphi associated with one momentous reform in ritual-thought. It has been already noticed[b] that the protest of the Hebrew prophet against the current view that the sacrifice was a bribe to the deity, that the more lavish sacrifice was the more potent bribe, finds a parallel in Greek religious philosophy, which at times insisted that the 'widow's mite' was more acceptable than the costly offering of the rich. And the Pythoness was made responsible both by Theophrastos and Theopompos for this temperate and spiritual conception of acceptable ritual: the god was said to prefer the cakes offered from the wallet of the poor man of Hermione to the oxen with gilded horns in the hekatombs of the Thessalian, the simple cereal gifts of the Arcadian Klearchos to the pompous and luxurious piety of the Magnesian from Asia[136]. One may doubt[c] whether the actual Pythian priesthood were really so willing to sacrifice thus the material interests of the sacerdotal class; but whether these oracles are genuine or not, it is an important fact that the philosophers of the fourth century imputed to Delphi a higher and innovating ideal.

[a] It is the prophet who forces upon Themistocles the sacrifice of the Persian captives to Dionysos Omestes, Plut. *Them.* 13; compare the interesting discussion in Plutarch, *Pelop.* 21, concerning the dream of Pelopidas, which bade him offer a maiden to the Λευκτρίδες κόραι; finding the council divided in their opinions, the prophet here suggests a happy compromise, for which a lucky accident gave the opportunity.

[b] Vol. I, p. 101.

[c] Theopompos at least should have had a critical knowledge of what was genuinely Delphic, as he made a special collection of the historical χρησμοί: Plut. *de Pyth. Or.* p. 403 C.

As regards its influence on private morality and in the sphere of conscience, the work of the oracle appears to have been beneficent and its standard high. Our only test are certain utterances quoted by ancient authorities: and we cannot be sure of the absolute genuineness of these, especially as we have reason to suspect that collections of moral maxims compiled from a variety of sources were often made to pass for deliverances of Delphi[a]. But the question of genuineness would only be of importance if we were writing a history of the actual sayings and doings of the 'holy ones'; it need not arise if we are only concerned, as we are here, with the general ideas that attached to the oracular god, and with the way in which he was supposed to speak to his people. The moral saws inscribed in his temple may have been the aphorisms of certain philosophers and ethical thinkers; but no doubt, being there, they were often ascribed to the inspiration of the deity, and influenced the popular imagination about the oracle. Apollo, then, appropriates to himself many of the higher ethical ideas of the nation, and belief in the oracle may have aided the advance of popular morality in several important directions. Of great interest is the response quoted by Herodotus, in which the Pythoness denounces the contemplated perjury and robbery of Glaukos[b]: the terrified sinner repents and immediately craves forgiveness, but is informed that to tempt God was of equal guilt as to commit the actual crime [139 a]. This saying is a landmark in the history of Greek ethics, for it raises the question of inward sins of the will. Its value is not diminished by the reflection that the temple which served in some sense as a common bank of Greece, was interested in maintaining and proclaiming a high morality in the matter of trusts. Another χρησμός, directed against the murderers from Sybaris, strongly enforces the idea that those whose consciences were stained with blood-guiltiness ought not to approach the god of purity [139 b]. The ritual of purification and its influence

[a] Vide Schulz, *Die Sprüche der Delphischen Säule: Philologus*, 1866, p. 193, and Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 3, p. 155.

[b] The oracle appears to be genuine, and may have been preserved at Sparta; according to Herodotus' account, it was not much later than 600 B.C.

on ethics are part of the general study of Apolline religion and will be considered at the end of this chapter. The concept of ritualistic purity, while it fostered the germ of a moral ideal, was frequently in the spiritual history of the ancient peoples a barrier against moral progress. The oracle of Delphi, once the champion of 'purity' in the old-world Pharisaical sense, the denouncer of the morally innocent Oedipus as utterly unclean, at last advanced with the march of Greek ethical thought, and was believed to speak consoling words to consciences burdened with the tyranny of the old formalism. In the story of Aelian, a Greek, who has accidentally slain his dearest friend while bravely defending him against robbers, hurries heart-broken to Delphi to see if he can cleanse himself from the stain of innocent blood; for by the older code he was altogether *ἄναγνος* or unclean. But better words greeted him than those which denounced Oedipus: 'Thou slewest thy friend, striving to save his life: his blood hath not defiled thee, thou art even purer of hand than thou wert before' [139 c]. The same idea, that holiness is a spiritual fact, independent of ceremonies and lustration, is conveyed by two epigrams preserved in the *Anthology* such as might have been inscribed at the entrance to the temple, but which have been handed down as the *χρησμοὶ τῆς Πυθίας* [139 d]: 'Oh stranger,' the first says, 'if holy of soul, enter the shrine of the holy god, having but touched the lustral water: for lustration is an easy matter for the good, but an evil man the whole of ocean cannot cleanse with its streams.' The other expresses as clearly as Isaiah or the New Testament the uselessness of all 'washing of hands,' all external purification: 'the temples of the gods are open to all good men, nor is there any need of purification: no stain can ever cleave to virtue. But depart whosoever is baneful at heart, for thy soul will never be washed by the cleansing of the body.' Somewhat similar to these is another Pythian epigram or utterance, which breathes the characteristically Hellenic spirit of *ἐπιείκεια* or charitable reasonableness—the consultant was a priest who under great temptation had broken his vow of chastity which his office temporarily imposed upon him; in remorse and terror he asks the oracle by what penance or sacrifice he can

avoid the wrath of the divinity, but the oracle comforts him with the answer, 'God pardons all that man's nature is too weak to resist'[139e]. We may see from such examples how the oracle might do good work by relieving the morbid conscience from the terrors of the older code, and by leading it to freedom and peace. They show us also the influence upon Delphi, or at least upon the tradition about Delphi, of the current ethical philosophy; and the impress of the different schools of morals may be detected here and there in the views of life attributed sometimes to Delphic inspiration: when Cicero, in Plutarch's narrative, approaches Apollo with the question how he might best win fame, he is advised 'to take his own nature as a guide and not the opinions of the crowd'[139f]. We even find the Pythian god accredited occasionally with direct encouragement of the intellectual and philosophic life[139g].

If the record then does not countenance the extravagant ideas about the oracle that Curtius entertained, it allows us to set down to its credit much public benefit, with but little harmfulness on the other side of the account. In the general field of Greek history, its most beneficent achievements were in the sphere of colonization; it may also have aided salutary legislation here and there, and occasionally stimulated a certain public conscience against tyranny and oppression. In religion, it had no special mission, but a measure of enthusiasm for Dionysos, coupled with a conservative instinct. Its morals appear to have been sound, and though complaints of its partiality were sometimes heard, there were no authenticated charges of gross corruption. It was not qualified to play a daring part in the national crises nor to originate great moral reforms, but it seems to have endeavoured to keep pace with such advance in moral idea as was initiated by the leading secular teachers of Greece. Finally, it is probable that at times it gave valuable help to the troubled conscience of the individual; and yet Greece was spared the evils of the confessional; for the consultants came from a distance, and the Delphic priest could gain no permanent hold over them, nor was sacerdotalism a besetting vice of the hierarchy of the old Hellenic religion[a].

[a] In this general sketch of the functions and administration of the Delphic

There are many cults of Apollo Πύθιος and many festivals or Πύθια in his honour found in various parts of the Greek world [140–179]. All these must be regarded as derivatives from Delphi or as arising because of the prestige of Delphic cult; and there is no *vraisemblance* in the theory that regards Πύθιος as an aboriginal name[a], in commemoration of which any locality might establish an independent worship. We may regard as one of the earliest of these offshoots the Dryopian

oracle, it has been necessary to omit minute points of technical discussion. The most perplexing are those connected with the προμαντεία (R. 131), and the position of the stranger consultant. The meaning assigned to 'Promanteia' by Photius, 'the right to consult the oracle before others' has been usually accepted, but M. Homolle who published the inscription containing the rules of the phratry of the Labyadai, and was struck with its peculiar use of the word προμαντευόμενον (R. 131), suggests that προμαντεία = the 'right to consult the oracle in behalf of the stranger': at least he assumes such a meaning in regard to this particular passage. M. Legrand, in a detailed criticism of this suggestion, *Rev. d'Ét. Gr.* 13, p. 281, endeavours to show that προμαντεία more naturally means 'the right of prior consultation' in the decretal inscriptions and in the literary texts. But the two most convincing proofs that the word in these could not signify 'the right of approaching the god in behalf of others' appear to have escaped his notice: one is afforded by the inscription quoted R. 131, *ad fin*, recording that the Thebans are given the right of προμαντεία, 'first after the Delphians'; another by the Delphian decree concerning Sardis and its representative Matrophanes (R. 131), which he discusses without drawing the inevitable conclusion; we find that both Sardis and Matrophanes possess the προμαντεία, yet it was necessary that a Delphian or the Delphic state should perform the preliminary sacrifices for him before he or Sardis could approach the god: the προμαντεία therefore did not confer upon strangers the right to approach the deity without sponsors, still less to act as sponsors for others. The generally accepted meaning of προμαντεία is shown then to be correct. And the decree about the Sardians proves more than M. Legrand seems to recognize: it demonstrates that every stranger consultant needed a Delphian to act as his πρόξενος in introducing him to the god, or at least regarded it as highly desirable to obtain one, and this accounts for the mention of πρόξενοι in the reference to the Delphic ritual in the *Andromache* (R. 131): cf. a similar disability of the stranger in the worship at Miletos, vide R. 279. M. Homolle has done service, however, in calling attention to the peculiar use of προμαντεύεσθαι in the inscription of the Labyadai, but on the whole I prefer M. Legrand's interpretation of the whole phrase as meaning 'him who consults the oracle in behalf of private or public business,' op. cit. p. 392.

[a] This appears to be suggested, though not very clearly, by K. O. Müller, *Dorier*, vol. 1, bk. 2. 1, § 2, who considers Tempe the cradle of the Apolline-cult, and the temple of Πύθιον on the summit of Olympus as 'of the highest antiquity.' Πύθιος is to be explained merely as the local adjective of Πυθώ (= the 'place of inquiry'), vide Pauli-Wissowa, *s. v.* Apollo, p. 5.

worship of Apollo Πύθιος in the Argolic Asine[a], which was established before the Dorian conquest, and on account of its sanctity and extreme antiquity was spared by the Argives when they destroyed the Dryopian city. It is probable that this was the shrine which the Dorians of the Peloponnese elected as the central point of their common worship of the god who had inspired and directed their migration[b]; it would naturally pass under the authority of Argos, but the other Dorian states retained certain duties and privileges in respect of it [142, 144].

At the same time each of these had in all probability their own 'Pythian' establishment, Corinth being the only Dorian community in which we find no record of the worship. It was conspicuous at Argos; the temple on the Larissa was no doubt a Pythion, though Apollo's official name appears here to have been 'Deiradiotes,' the 'god of the hill' [141], for the transparent legend spoke of a certain person called Πυθαεύς who came from Delphi and built it; and the ritual is to some extent

[a] Vide supra, p. 106.

[b] It is usually taken for granted (e.g. by Preller-Robert, *Griech. Myth.* 1, p. 267, n. 2, giving references which do not prove their statement) that the Argive temple to which offerings were due from Epidauros and probably Sparta was that which Pausanias mentions on the Acropolis of Argos (R. 141). But the words of Thucydides are unintelligible if the common shrine were inside the city of Argos: he specially asserts that 'the Argives had the chief control over the temple': there would be no need to tell us this if it stood on the Argive Acropolis; but it would not be a superfluous statement if the temple stood at some distance and in a solitude on the sea-shore; and, apart from the words of Thucydides, it is hard to see why other free Dorian states should have felt bound to send offerings to the local Pythion in Argos; for they all had their own worships of the Pythian god, which could claim to be as old as the Argive. But the cult of Asine was admittedly pre-Dorian, and when the Argives destroyed Asine perhaps in the eighth century, other Dorian states may have wished to make the temple of Asine (which survived till the days of Pausanias) a quasi-Amphictyonic cult-centre. The records seem to show that at least the Epidaurians and Spartans at one time regarded an Argolic worship of Apollo Pythios in this light: it might indeed be supposed that Diodorus, who is our only authority for the Spartans, is writing at random (R. 142), for he has compiled the main part of his narrative in this context from Thucydides, who speaks of Epidaurians only. But whether he is right or wrong, we have evidence from Thucydides himself that the Spartans were specially interested in this temple; for in the treaty that they conclude with the Argives they insert a particular clause regulating the position of the Epidaurians in regard to the worship.

a reflex of the Delphian. For the Argive Pythion, alone of all these branch-establishments, practised divination, but, as has been pointed out already [a], a divination of a peculiar type: it followed the example of Delphi in choosing a woman —who must be living in a state of celibacy—as the organ of prophecy, and in the practice of monthly consultation; on the other hand the Argive mantic ceremony is distinguished by the draught of bull's blood and by the nightly sacrifice, which we find also in the oracular service of Klaros [199 e], and which may be explained merely as arising from the very holy and dangerous character of the sacramental inspiration.

Still more conspicuous was the cult at Sparta [140, 235] where, though Zeus was the head of the ancestral religion represented by the kings and was himself Βουλαῖος and Ἀγοραῖος [b], Apollo Pythios was the chief political deity; and the relations of this state with Delphi were most intimate from the earliest period onwards. The religious legend concerning the Lycurgean constitution has already been discussed. A special body of officials called 'Pythioi' was appointed for the consultation of the Delphic god; the kings themselves had charge of the utterances, and they with the four 'Pythioi,' two of whom were appointed by each king, formed a kind of Board for the supervision of the state-oracles [140]. The Board might no doubt occasionally convey a hint to the 'holy ones' what kind of χρησμός would be opportune, and Delphi was very amenable to Spartan influence. Some of the oracles reveal fairly obvious traces of 'suggestion' [c]: but in some of them which are well attested, there is a certain independence of tone, as in that which forbade the Spartan aggression against Tegea, or that which rebuked them for their sacrilege in their execution of Pausanias [d].

[a] Vide supra, p. 192.

[b] Zeus chapter, vol. 1, p. 58.

[c] e.g. the famous oracle about the 'lame king.' There is no reason to doubt the Delphic origin of the valuable warning against avarice—ἁ φιλοχρηματία Σπάρταν ὀλεῖ, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδέν—which was probably delivered late in the fifth century when the evil was most palpable; Aristotle is our earliest authority for it (Zenob. *Proverb.* 2. 24); it is of little importance that Diodorus should ascribe it to the age of Lycurgos, or Plutarch to the age of the kings Alkamenes and Theopompos, vide Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.* 2, p. 9 (who concludes somewhat hastily that it is a fragment of Tyrtaios).

[d] Diod. Sic. 11. 45.

The devotion of the Dorians in Laconia to Apollo Pythios dates no doubt from the earliest days of the migration; but the semi-aniconic cult-image at Thornax may have descended from pre-Dorian days, and seems to have been cherished by the Spartans as second only in their regard to the Amyklaean [96].

The cult of Apollo Θεάριος at Troezen was no doubt Pythian, for the title must have been connected with the ceremony of dispatching 'theoroi' to Delphi, and we find a Θεάριον in Aegina consecrated to Apollo Πύθιος [145]. The legends of the Troezenian temple associate it with the period before the Dorians, and it may have been founded by an Ionic population, as this race had connexions not less close with Delphi.

At Megara we hear of statues of Apollo Πύθιος and Δεκατηφόρος [64], the god remembering the tithes that were due to Delphi: and the story of Koroibos who slays Poiné and is bidden by the oracle to take away a tripod and raise a temple to the god where the tripod falls to the ground, preserves some ancient cult-connexion between Argos, Megara, and the Pythian shrine, although some part of it may have been suggested by the name of the village Tripodiskoi [148]. It is possible that the legend of the bearing away the tripod alludes to some ritual of purification established at Megara under Delphic influences.

The association of Athens with Delphi [156] was in certain ways no less close than that of Sparta, although there was no Pythian tradition concerning the framing of the Attic constitution, and the consultations seem to have been less a formal part of the state's policy. Yet, as has been shown, the whole Ionic organization of Attica was bound up with Apollo Pythios Patroös [a], and the archons had special ties with him. The Attic law and ritual concerning bloodshed owed much to Pythian influence, as we shall see; Pythian shrines or cults existed not only in Athens on the Ilissos, but in the Marathonian Tetrapolis, probably at Daphne on the Sacred Way, and

[a] Vide pp. 154–160.

perhaps at Harma on the track by Phyle to Thebes[a]. The worship was organized mainly by sacred officials, who formed a priestly clan called after the god, Πυθίαι or Πυθαισταί, who watched from the Acropolis wall for the gleam from Harma that betokened the favour of the god at Delphi, while their diviner inspected the entrails of the victims in the temple at Oinoe in the Tetrapolis. When the signs revealed that Apollo was ready to receive it, the θεωρία started along the Pythian Way, which, according to Aeschylus, the 'sons of Hephaistos wrought for the god'; and Ephoros also speaks of Apollo setting out first on his civilizing mission by this way from Athens to Delphi[156 l]. The procession which was called the Πυθαΐς was accompanied by many of the leading officials of Athens, and occasionally at least by the priestess of Athena[156 h]. It is probable that there was some suspension of relations between the city and the Delphic oracle during the Peloponnesian war, when the oracle avowedly sided with Sparta[b]; and at this period the Athenians may have preferred to consult the more ancient and inaccessible Dodona, from which emanated an important political oracle quoted by Demosthenes[c]. But certainly Delphi fully recovered her ascendancy in the later periods of Attic history; and Delphic or Amphictyonic decrees in warm praise of Athens[d] were not infrequent in the second century B. C. [156 h, 273 f].

The other examples in the long list of Pythian cults in the Greek states need not now be further discussed. They attest the high prestige and wide-spread popularity which the oracle enjoyed almost till the latter days of Paganism. But only in a few cases can their foundation be approximately dated. We may suspect that the Cretan worships[159] descend from the prehistoric era of Hellenic migration.

Doubtless Apollo was established in the religion of many of the early tribes as an oracular god, as χρηστήριος according to

[a] The passage in Sophocles (R. 156[f]) referring to the 'Pythian heights' is doubtful: it perhaps makes best sense if we refer it to Harma, which lay on the route leading from Kolonos past Phyle to Thebes: this and the other route past Eleusis would be the δίστομοι ὁδοί (l. 900), either one of which the Thebans might be supposed to have taken.

[b] Thuc. I. 118.

[c] *Fals. Leg.* § 298.

[d] Vide supra, p. 205.

the cult-epithet of Epidauros and Aigai [107], before he came to Pytho [a]. And there were many of his oracular shrines in the Greek world which were independent of the Pythian, and which, though their fame was lesser, claimed an antiquity as great or greater. Such was the oracle at Korope in Thessaly [182 a], where we have a slight record of a very early system of divination by means of the tamarisk-leaf, and which probably belongs to the period before the Aeolian eastward migration [b]: an inscription found on the site gives us details of its restoration and reorganization in the second century B. C.; the official administration was in the hands of representatives of the confederacy of Magnesia, acting with the scribe and the 'prophet,' and playing much the same part as the Ὅσιοι at Delphi: the consultants wrote their questions on tablets which were then handed in and placed in a casket; next morning the seal of the casket was broken and the answers were found within and distributed to the inquirers, the belief apparently being accepted that the god had written them in the night. The only other oracle-shrine recorded in Thessaly was at Pagasai, and we have nothing more than the vague statement of the Scholiast on Hesiod concerning it, which connects it by legend with the Lebadean oracle of Trophonios [182 b]: it is unfortunate that our information is so scanty, for, as we have seen, Pagasai lay near the very ancient Hyperborean route from Tempe, and it is possible that its oracle was an institution of the earliest days of the Apolline immigration. There is rather more record concerning the Phokian shrine at Abai, of which the oracle claimed to be older than the Delphian [181]; it was patronized by Croesus, enriched by the Phokians, and exalted by Sophocles as one of the leading shrines of Apolline revelation, which an Athenian might consult [c]. But the method of its divination is

[a] Λοξίας was a widely used popular epithet, but apparently not a cult-title (R. 104[b]): the curious epithet Ἀλευρόμαντις is on record as attached to the god, but not in any public worship (R. 105); it refers to some method of divination by wheat-flour.

[b] Vide supra, p. 166.

[c] The legend of its foundation is Argive-Achaean, Paus. 10. 35, 1: the Phokians dedicate part of the spoils taken from the Thessalians to Abai, part to Delphi, Herod. 8. 27. The oracle no longer existed in the time of Pausanias, loc. cit.

unknown, and it disappears from history after the fourth century B. C. [184 b].

Nowhere were the oracular shrines of Apollo so numerous as in Boeotia. We hear of one at Tegyra in the neighbourhood of Orchomenos, which was flourishing in the time of the Persian wars, when its prophet foretold the victories of the Greeks, and which survived almost till Plutarch's period [183]. Its foundation may have belonged to the ancient period of the Minyan supremacy at Orchomenos; and in endeavouring to appropriate some of the leading legends concerning the god [a], it appears in some degree to have posed as the rival of Delphi and Delos [183]. Not far from Tegyra, on the east of Lake Kopais, was Ptoön, where we have record of the mantic cult of Apollo Πτῷος or Πτωιεύς [184]. We may regard the title as purely local and quite independent of the name of the local hero of the mountain who was honoured as ἥρως Πτῷος [b]. If the Apolline had here dispossessed or in any way been developed out of the worship of the buried hero, we might expect to find a trace of chthonian character in the ritual. But the supposition is baseless, and we can discover no such traces. The interesting story told by Herodotus concerning the consultation of Mys suggests that the mode of divination was in some degree ecstatic, the prophet often speaking in unintelligible language, which was then interpreted by the state officials who stood by: in this particular case, the Carian Mys, a tactful agent of Mardonios, found it quite sufficiently articulate for his own purposes [c]. Pausanias speaks as if the oracle became silent after the destruction of Thebes; but we find from the inscriptions that this was not the case [184 f]; only, the administration passed later into the hands of Akraiphiai,

[a] It claimed, for instance, that the birth of Apollo, and his combat with Python and Tityos, took place in its territory, vide Plut. *Pelop.* 16 (R. 183).

[b] The 'Ptoan hero' is no shadowy emanation of Apollo, but a real mythic figure, attested by the Samian epic poet Asius, and by fifth and fourth-century inscriptions (R. 184 c). His cult was supported by the city of Akraiphiai; nor need he have clashed with Apollo or Apollo with him. Being the son of Athamas and Themisto in the oldest genealogy, we may consider him as belonging to the Minyan stratum of Boeotia.

[c] It would be entirely to misunderstand the drift of the story in Herodotus to use it as pointing to a 'Carian' origin of the temple.

and the divination, though still surviving in the second century B. C., became less prominent than the agonistic celebrations. At this period a great effort was made by this city to increase the prestige of the Ptoan festival, and the French excavations on the site of the temple have recovered for us the Delphic decree which contains as it were an Amphictyonic charter, proclaiming under Amphictyonic protection the inviolability of the shrine, and of the holy truce desired by the Akraiphians for the 'agon.' There have also been preserved the favourable answers of Orchomenos, Thisbe, Oropos, and other nameless cities to the invitation sent round by Akraiphiai to recognize and to support the festival [a].

At Thebes we hear of the two oracles of Apollo Ismenios and Apollo Σπόδιος. The shrine of the former stood on the Ismenian hill near one of the gates[185], and the method of divination was that which Teiresias describes in Sophocles' *Antigone,* the inspection of signs in the flesh of the burnt offering, a process which was in vogue at Olympia in the oracle of Zeus [b]. In fact the ways by which the god was believed to reveal the future in Boeotia were very various. The divination of Apollo Σπόδιος [186], a name which he received from his ash-altar [c], was by means of κληδόνες, and we may explain these as the cries of birds in the air, or as the casual utterances of human speech which might be ominous on occasion [d]. For we hear of such soothsaying in the mantic ritual of Zeus at Olympia [186], in the worship of Hermes at Pharai in Arcadia [e], where the consultant whispered his question into the ear of the god, and then having stuffed his ears went away to the agora, and removing the stuffing took the first words that he happened to hear in the crowd

[a] Vide Geogr. Reg. *s. v.* Akraiphiai.

[b] Vide vol. 1, p. 39.

[c] The word is significant, showing the sacredness of those relics of the victims out of which the altar is constructed and from which the deity takes a name: the ash-altar of Ge at Olympia was called ὁ Γαῖος, being regarded as charged with the presence of the divinity (vide vol. 3, p. 11).

[d] The words of Aristides—quoted R. 186—make for the association of κληδόνες with human utterance and εὐφημία. It is interesting to find that a modern game of riddles called ὁ κληδονᾶς, prevalent in Macedonia, appears to descend from the old divination διὰ κληδόνων, vide Abbott, *Macedonian folk-lore,* p. 53.

[e] Vide Hermes, R. 35[d].

around as an omen and a response; and this superstition probably accounts for the worship of Hermes Κλεηδόνιος at Pitana, on the coast of Asia Minor[a], and for the altar of the Κληδόνες near Smyrna[b]. At Hysiai, near Plataea, the 'Hydromanteia,' which Varro mentions[c], was practised once by a fountain sacred to Apollo; those who drank the water became ecstatic and prophesied in the name of the god, a practice and a belief which prevailed also at Klaros, and partly—as we have seen—at Delphi. Of the shrine and oracle of Apollo at Eutresis, a village on the road between Thespiai and Plataea, we know nothing except that according to Stephanos it 'was most famous'[187].

This is all the record that we have of special divination in the Boeotian worship of Apollo; it is too slight for much generalization, but we may note that the soberer method of augury prevails over the ecstatic, and that the male ministrant, and not a woman, is the usual prophetic medium. We may conclude also that certain of these prophetic cults, those especially around Lake Kopais, descend from a Minyan stock.

The only other oracle in North Greece that presents some noticeable features is that mentioned by Aelian as in Epiros[190]: in a grove consecrated to Apollo, where an annual festival was celebrated, certain sacred serpents were kept and fed; if they took their food heartily and in a friendly way from the hand of the priestess, they augured a good year for the crops and the public health, while it was a very bad omen if they showed reluctance or frightened the priestess. There is no value in Aelian's remark that the snakes were considered 'as the god's playthings'; but his story cannot have been entirely fictitious. What we seem to discern is that a very ancient chthonian and mantic cult of Gaia or Demeter has been appropriated by the later god[d]; for the serpent is her embodiment and not Apollo's, and the serpent-feeding reminds us of the ritual on the Acropolis in the Thesmophoria;

[a] Vide Geogr. Reg. Hermes, *s. v.* Asia Minor coast 'Pitana.'

[b] Paus. 9. 11, 7.

[c] *De Cultu Deor.* Fr. 44.

[d] Vide Gaia, vol. 3, p. 10.

the Earth-goddess is naturally ministered to by a woman, and Epiros is an ancient home of her cult [a].

Looking at the islands of the sea, one is struck with the paucity of Apolline oracles and with the absence of any record of divination at Delos throughout its earlier history and its periods of prosperity [108]. In the Homeric hymn the island asks Leto to swear that the god who is about to be born shall first build a 'fair temple in Delos, to be a home of prophecy for all men'; but Leto is careful to promise an altar and a temple only. The poet was probably aware that the public did not flock to Delos for divine consultation; but certain texts and recent discoveries attest the existence of an oracle there at least in the later days of paganism [b]. The oracle of Apollo Ναπαῖος [192], the 'god of the glen,' in Lesbos, may have been a foundation of the early Aeolic immigrants, just as the Gortynian in Crete may have been planted by the earliest Doric settlements [c]. And the Thessalian or North Greek tradition which regarded the prophetic function as essential to Apollo would account for the many mantic shrines in Aeolis and the Troad, and at the 'holy village' near Magnesia on the Maiander [107, 194–198]. The multitude of

[a] Vide vol. 1, p. 39; vol. 3, p. 8.

[b] Vide Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 3, p. 36. The Pythian games at Delos do not of course imply an oracle (R. 158). The very numerous Delian inscriptions make no mention of any χρηστήριον. Semos, in his account of the island, spoke incidentally of οἱ τῶν Δηλίων μάντεις, Athenae. p. 331 F; but every Greek community would probably possess local soothsayers. The passage in Verg. *Aen.* 3. 90–93, does not prove that there was a famous χρηστήριον there in Vergil's time, for the poet might easily regard any fane of Phoebus as prophetic on occasion. Servius' statement (R. 108) perhaps confuses Delos with Delphi, and at any rate does not express the genuine Greek belief even of the later period, for it ignores Delphi altogether. But the passage in Himerius is quite explicit, describing the oracular shrine in Delos as of very simple construction. There is little doubt but that this is to be identified with the little sanctuary discovered by Lebégue on the Cynthian mount, built over a rocky and narrow water-course, where the base for a tripod (of the Roman period) was found on the terrace; the building itself appears to have been of considerable antiquity, and it may have been used for mantic purposes—as Lebégue maintains—in very early times, but there is no reason to suppose that it was ever prominent among the seats of Apolline divination: vide *Rev. Arch.* 1879, p. 233; 1881, p. 168.

[c] The prophetic Apollo Γορτύνιος (R. 193) may have been identical with Apollo Πύθιος whose shrine was famous at Gortys (R. 159).

these establishments on the coast of Asia Minor is striking when we compare it with their comparative paucity in the Peloponnese and in the Hellenic settlements nearer the original home. But in the account of the μαντεῖα in the Aeolis there is nothing of any salient interest, and the only one of any prestige was the Grynaean at Myrina[197]. It was here, according to the tradition, that Kalchas and Mopsos engaged in a contest of divination, and the story suggests that the method in vogue at Myrina was of the sober Homeric kind[a].

Of much greater importance and fame were the two oracles in Ionic territory, the one at Klaros near Kolophon, the other at Branchidai near Miletos. It is significant that the legends of both carry us back to the pre-Ionic period, and of both we can glean some consecutive history from the records. The Kolophonians themselves maintained that their temple was of almost aboriginal foundation[b], having been in existence during the time of the early Carian supremacy, and that the first Hellenic settlers were Cretans, afterwards joined by Cadmeans with Manto from Thebes[199 a–b]. The latter, as we have seen, were said to be 'colonists sent by Delphi'[c]; and in the ritual of the Klarian shrine we may detect a certain Delphic tradition. For the mode of prophecy was ecstatic[199 d, e]; the prophet retired from the world when he felt the enthusiasm beginning, and passed days and nights fasting; his frenzy was stimulated by draughts from a holy fountain that flowed from a subterranean structure, and 'on certain fixed nights, after many sacrifices had been offered, he delivered his oracles, shrouded from the eyes of the con-

[a] The obscure statement quoted by Servius from Varro (R. 197), that the chains were taken off those who entered the temple, and hung on the trees, may refer to the emancipation of the slaves, or it may be a distorted expression for the ritual law that no one was allowed to enter the temple wearing anything in the nature of a bond: cf. similar rule in Roman worship. Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, p. 109, n. 2.

[b] Buresch, *Apollo Klarios*, p. 32, believes the foundation of the oracle to be comparatively late, on the insufficient ground that the first evidence of it is given by the fourth-century coins of Kolophon showing the head of Apollo Κλάριος with the tripod (R. 199[m]); but the evidence of the legends is sufficient to discredit this view, and the negative testimony of the coins proves nothing.

[c] Vide supra, p. 201.

sultants who were present.' This is the account given by Iamblichus [199 e], and as Eusebius, writing at a somewhat earlier date, speaks as if the oracle had fallen into desuetude [199 e], we might suppose that the philosopher was describing something that no longer existed and that therefore we cannot trust his account. But whether the oracle was extinct in his time or not [a], his statement is in the main supported by other and better authorities: Tacitus, Pliny, and the pseudo-Anacreon agree in attributing the prophetic ecstasy to the miraculous influence of water, and Pliny speaks as if it shortened the lives of those who used it; the two Latin authors mention also the underground cavern [199 d, f, g].

Again, Tacitus informs us that the prophet was usually a person 'ignorant of letters or poetry,' but that the oracle was finally delivered in 'well composed verses'; we may assume then that the rough utterances of inspiration were interpreted and regulated by certain official assessors, and in this we trace the influence of Delphic tradition, as we may trace it also in the ecstatic form of divination and in the theory of inspiration from a subterranean spring: although we cannot be certain that these coincidences are not fortuitous, arising from a common instinct. Unlike the Pythian, the Klarian oracle had a prophet, not a woman, as the organ of prophecy [b]; and if we accepted the statement of Tacitus we should have to suppose that the divination included the feat of 'thought-reading,' the prophet giving responses concerning 'those things which the consultant conceived in his mind.' But the testimony of Ovid makes it clear that the administrators of the oracle were not so adventurous, and that the consultant, as at Delphi, was usually obliged to hand in

[a] The MS. of Strabo (R. 199[c]) seems to show that he believed the oracle to have ceased before his time, and the text should not be altered merely because it implies an error of fact. Ovid speaks as if it were still alive, and we have proof of its power and influence in the first and second centuries A.D. (R. 199[i, l, n]): its authority is quoted by Roman inscriptions found in Dalmatia and Britain, and at Corinth there was a statue and possibly a cult of Apollo Klarios (R. 199[o]).

[b] He was chosen, according to Tacitus, from a Milesian family (R. 199[g]), and this shows the preponderance of Branchidai; but we may believe this to have been a late innovation, adopted when the local family had died out at Kolophon.

his question in writing[199 i]. We gather that Klaros was one of the three or four central shrines of consultation in the later Graeco-Roman world; it was the theme of a treatise by Cornelius Labeo[a], Germanicus questioned it concerning his destiny, Lucian's false prophet availed himself of the skill of its soothsayers, and its fame was borne to the extremities of the empire[199 g, l, n].

Yet the shrine of Branchidai near Miletos was of even greater prestige, and second only to Delphi in the Hellenic world; it was honoured and supported by Croesus and Darius and by the Egyptian king Nekos[b]; its second period under the Seleukidai was one of prosperity, and it held its own till the downfall of paganism[180, 200]. The foundation-legend again carries us back to the days before the Ionic migration. Herodotus informs us merely that the temple was very ancient and formerly consulted by the Aeolians as well as the Ionians[200 b], and Pausanias definitely asserts it to have been pre-Ionic[200 c]. Though he does not mention his sources, we may regard this view as expressing the tradition of the locality, and it is significant that Neleus, the reputed founder of the Ionic Miletos, was not buried at Branchidai[c]. The only legend that professes to explain the foundation of the oracle is that which Konon has preserved[d], which derives Branchos, the ancestor of the prophetic family of the Branchidai and himself the first prophet, from Delphi, and this Delphic association seems to have been accepted by Strabo and Varro[e]. But if the oracle really had its source in Delphi, we must assign a later period to its foundation, for we cannot suppose that Delphi was throwing out branches across the sea before the Ionic colonization[f].

[a] It is from this author that Macrobius has quoted the only extant Klarian response dealing with the personality of the mysterious Iao, which shows the later tendency towards *θεοκρασία* or the unification of divinities.

[b] Herod. 2. 159.

[c] Vide supra, p. 172, n. e. It was Artemis, not Apollo, whom Neleus took as the leader of his colony (Artemis, R. 44[a]), and Artemis had a very subordinate place at Branchidai, though powerful at Miletos.

[d] *Narrat.* 33 (cf. R. 200[f]).

[e] Strab. p. 421. Branchos, a descendant of Machaireus, who slew Neoptolemos; cf. R. 200[p].

[f] Müller, *Dor.* 1, p. 224 (1. 2, 2, § 6), followed implicitly by Weizsäcker (Roscher's *Lexikon*, *s.v.* Branchos), ex-

But the genealogical legend about Branchos may well have been a later fiction, illustrating the tendency that became prevalent to connect the leading oracular shrines, if possible, with Delphi. Nor is there anything demonstrably ancient at Branchidai that clearly reveals Pythian influence or origin; and it is only from the Roman period that we have evidence of the cult of Artemis Πυθίη [a] and of the Pythian festival at Miletos [175]; while as regards the ritual of divination at Branchidai, there is no reason for deriving it from Delphi, even if we accepted the suspicious account of it which Iamblichus gives us [200 b]. We have already noted the value of the legends which associated the foundation of Miletos with a Cretan-Carian migration, and there are traces, though somewhat dim, of religious affinities that point to the same prehistoric fact [b]. The name Δίδυμα, from which Apollo took the later title of Διδυμαῖος, seems to have been an ancient designation of the 'double temple' at Branchidai; and it appears that this was consecrated to Apollo and Zeus [c]. Now the Cretan worship of Zeus was very ancient and of great prestige; it possessed also, as we have seen, a peculiar Dionysiac character. May we regard then as a vestige of early Cretan establishment the ritual law quoted by Nikander of Kolophon that bade the worshippers of Zeus Διδυμαῖος crown themselves with ivy [d]? Another ethnic strain in the earliest settlement may have been Cadmean, for we hear of an altar, constructed out of the caked blood of the victims, consecrated to the Theban Herakles at Didyma [200 c], and Miletos was one of the many regions where the legend of Kadmos had struck

plains Branchidai as Cretan-Delphian; but the Cretan settlement at Delphi which brought Apollo Delphinios there appears to have been post-Homeric.

[a] Vide Artemis, vol. 2, p. 446 (R. 79[i], 81[b]).

[b] Apollo Δελφίνιος, the specially Cretan god, appears at Miletos (R. 34[k]), and Apollo Οὔλιος, the health-god worshipped at Miletos, was found on that very ancient route which connected Crete, Delos, and Attica (R. 218): cf. vol. 2, pp. 637-638; vol. 4, p. 114; Strab. p. 634.

[c] R. 200[d]. The scholiast on Clem. Alexandr. *Protrept.* p. 39 P. suggests that Apollo's title Διδυμαῖος refers to his twinship with Artemis, but the word can properly mean nothing but the god of Didyma; nor is there any indication that Artemis had joint ownership of the temple there.

[d] Zeus, R. 62.

root[a]. We must surely assume some actual event of prehistoric migration to explain the striking coincidence in the foundation-legends of Klaros and Miletos, a Cretan and Cadmean settlement being a tradition of both localities.

As regards the method of divination, we know no more than that here, as at Klaros, a sacred spring was the vehicle of divine communication, a draught of its waters or the inhaling of its vapour producing the prophetic enthusiasm, so that we must regard the soothsaying of Branchidai as technically of the ecstatic kind[b]. The administration of the temple, including no doubt the editing of the oracles, was originally in the hands of the priestly family of the Branchidai, the descendants of the original prophet, but this stock must have died out or been discredited by the treachery of its ministers, who put the temple treasures into the hands of Xerxes on his retreat and fled with him. The oracle then fell into abeyance, and when it had revived under Alexander we find no further mention of the Branchidai through the prosperous period under the Seleukidai. We gather from a story told by Konon the name of another family, the Εὐάγγελοι, whose ancestor Εὐάγγελος was reputed to have been the son of a Karystian woman taken captive in war and dedicated to the god[c]: and we can conclude that these served in the later age as the interpreters of the oracle, as their name is a caste-name referring to their religious function as the 'messengers who bring good

[a] See Crusius' article on 'Kadmos,' Roscher's *Lexikon*, vol. 2, p. 873. A valuable indirect evidence of the Boeotian strain at Miletos was the worship of Ino-Leucothea, Konon, *Narrat.* 33. There is no trace of any Carian or non-Hellenic element in the history or ritual of Branchidai; but the names Βράγχος and Κωτάρχης, the title of one of the officials at Didyma (R. 200[1], cf. *C. I. G.* 2881), have a suspicious sound: a late Milesian inscription speaks of a Κωτάρχης of the Kabeiri; the origin of the word is unknown.

[b] Strabo speaks of the fountain as reviving just before Alexander's victory at Arbela, and Porphyry's oracle mentions 'the divine water in the hollows of Didyma'[200d,g]: the dubious account in Iamblichus[200h] describes the prophetess dipping the hem of her garment in the water or inhaling the vapour of it, or using a divining-rod or sitting on an 'ἄξων,' the meaning of which is not clear.

[c] The Milesian story about the Karystian woman and her son has its parallel at Kolophon in the story about Manto the Theban captive: they have their value as showing how a hieratic 'gens' could arise from the custom of consecrating captives to a temple.

tidings' [200f]. The inscriptions from Branchidai of the period of the Seleukidai are usually dated by the names of the 'Stephanephoros,' a Milesian official who seems to have had a general supervision over the whole state-church, and of the 'prophet'; and in the latest pagan revival we find the Emperor Julian deigning to accept the latter office [200 l, q]. From such evidence, as well as from the legends about Branchos and Euangelos, it appears clear that the organ of prophecy, in the Greek and earlier imperial periods at least, was the male ministrant, in accordance with the practice that was universal in Boeotia, where the Apolline divination was very ancient, and almost universal in Asia Minor. But Iamblichus twice mentions the 'prophetess of Branchidai' [199 e, 200 h]; and though we may have reason to suspect the exactness of this author in these matters [a], it is possible that under the later paganism a woman was elected as the immediate communicant with the deity, the function of the prophet being reduced, as at Delphi, to regulating and making articulate her utterances. The point is merely of interest because the suggestion, if correct, would afford additional illustration of the tendency that prevails in the later ages towards a more ecstatic type of mantic inspiration [b].

This survey of the Hellenic centres of Apolline divination may close with a brief notice of the oracles in Lycia [201–204]. The foundation of some of these may be connected with the earliest Hellenization of the country, a religious-historical problem which has already been discussed. Our information is too scanty for a detailed account; but there are reasons for supposing that the oldest establishment is the oracle at Patara [201], where a prophetess officiated and was prepared by certain nightly ceremonies for the prophetic inspiration; and we have noticed already a certain resemblance between this and the prophetic ritual at Argos [c], the city which, according to the hypothesis ventured above, may have been the original home of the Hellenic Λύκειοι. It is clear from

[a] The citation given, R. 200 h, is almost valueless for the purposes of evidence.

[b] The vogue of the various Sibyls in later times is an example of this.

[c] Vide supra, p. 122.

Herodotus and some later writers that the oracle at Patara was intermittent, as the god was supposed to visit Lycia for only a portion of the year, or because the prophetess could only be fitfully worked up into the ecstatic mood.

Elsewhere in Lycia, as was the general rule in Asia Minor, the oracles were administered by prophets, and the method of divination by water appears to have been commonly in vogue: not by drinking or inhaling the vapour of it, as at Delphi, Kolophon, and Branchidai, nor by interpreting the sound of its ripple [a], as at Daphne near Antioch [206], but at Kyaneai, at the mantic shrine of Apollo Θύρξις, by gazing into the face of the sacred pool [b], and seeing there reflected revelations of the future [203]; or again at Sura, a village on the coast, by watching the movements of the sacred fish in a tank [204]. The omen-taking at this latter place was very curious, and somewhat differently described by Plutarch and Aelian: according to the former author, the dartings and flights and pursuits of the fish were interpreted according to a certain principle, but Aelian tells us that portions of the flesh offered in sacrifice to Apollo were thrown to the fish, which was called δαιτύμονες or 'feasters': if they ate heartily the omen was good, and bad if they rejected the food; also those consulting the omens regarded it as a good sign or the reverse according as the fish came or refused to come at the call of the priest. These accounts, which are not really contradictory, reveal a method of Apolline divination which is not found outside Lycia [c]. It would be rash to conclude that it was therefore non-Hellenic, derived from the aboriginal element of the Lycian population. Certainly we hear more of sacred fish in Oriental than Hellenic ritual, but the sanctity with which they were regarded at Sura was attached to them in the Poseidon-cult at Aigiai

[a] The method of divination by the sound and movement of waters was an ancient Teutonic practice, vide Plut. *Vit. Caes.* c. 19.

[b] For the belief that marvellous reflections might be seen in a sacred fountain, cf. the story about the fountain on Tainaron, Paus. 3. 25, 8.

[c] According to Pliny it was found in exactly the same form at another place in Lycia called Limyra, and his statement is supported by the coinage of this place (R. 204). It is possible that Aelian and Plutarch have mistaken Limyra for Myra.

in Laconia, and probably in other worships undoubtedly Greek[a]; at least the scholiast on Pindar records one instance from Magna Graecia[b]. Assuming that they were sacred to the god, the Greek imagination would work exactly as Plutarch and Aelian describe, and the ritual of divination in itself proceeds on characteristically Hellenic lines. In fact the Lycian Apolline cult appears to have preserved itself singularly pure from barbaric admixture. It is a reasonable conjecture that the cult of Apollo Lykeios at Tarsos in Cilicia was oracular and was influenced by the Lycian tradition[c]; it may have been connected with the mantic shrine of Apollo Sarpedonios vaguely mentioned by Diodorus [207], even if we incline to place the latter as far from Tarsos as the vicinity of the promontory Sarpedon.

It is time to sum up the results of this survey. The evidence from Thessaly, Boeotia, and Asia Minor confirms us in the opinion that a large number of the oldest Hellenic stocks had worshipped Apollo from very early times as eminently a god of divination, and that he had won this reputation before he conquered Delphi. The oracular foundations in Aeolis and Lycia, which are the oldest across the seas, were independent of the Pythian, while those in Ionia were more closely associated with it. And we notice that none of these institutions in Asia Minor claimed to be of Ionic origin, and that none such are found in Attica or—at least before the Roman period, as far as we know—in Delos. This fact has been interpreted as though the prophetic ecstasy and belief in divination were alien to the temperament and intellectual creed of the Ionians: scepticism in these matters being a proof of the Ionic sanity which we admire in Homer. This is Bouché-Leclercq's view[d]. But it is not to be taken very seriously. Some Ionic philosophers, like many others, might well be sceptical about prophecy[e], although Herakleitos speaks respectfully of the god

[a] Vide Poseidon, R. 62[5].

[b] Vide Schol. *Nem.* 9. 95.

[c] Vide infra, pp. 309–310.

[d] op. cit. 3, p. 26.

[e] Cic. *De Div.* 1. 3 'Colophonius Xenophanes unus qui deos esse diceret, divinationem funditus sustulit': vide the whole passage for summary of philosophic opinion concerning divination, and cf. Plat. *Timae.* 71 E *μαντικὴν ἀφροσύνῃ θεὸς ἀνθρωπίνῃ δέδωκεν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἔννους ἐφάπτεται μαντικῆς ἐνθέου καὶ*

of Delphi[104 b]. But as regards the Ionic people, they were apparently as much given to oracular consultations as other races; nor is it clear why it should be thought a more insane thing to found an oracle than to consult it when founded. The more probable explanation of the absence of Apolline oracles in Attica and Delos is that when the Ionians occupied these countries they were already in close dependence on the Pythian; later, when they colonized Asia Minor, they found oracles of the god already established in Kolophon and Didyma.

Again, we see that there is no specially Apolline method of divination. As the modes of divination were sufficiently various in the earliest Hellenic, perhaps even in the 'Aryan,' period, Apollo could annex to himself any that happened to be in vogue: ecstatic prophecy—concerning which Homer is silent—is as old and as savage a device as augury and the inspection of entrails. It seems, however, that the god was rather partial to the mild enthusiasm which might come from a draught of sacred water: but in this he was only attracting to his own circle an immemorial superstition[a]; and divination by the sounds and shadows of water may well go back to a period before the emergence of the anthropomorphic deity.

We may finally ask how this prophetic pre-eminence of Apollo was viewed in relation to the supremacy of Zeus. It is clear that a theological difficulty could have arisen with which polytheism might have been too weak to cope; and there is some significance in the anecdote told by Aristotle[b] about Hegesippos, who, having first consulted Zeus at Olympia on a certain matter, proceeded to Delphi and asked Apollo the malicious question 'whether the son was of the same opinion as the father[c].' But the advanced polytheism

ἀληθοῦς, ἀλλ' ἢ καθ' ὕπνον . . . ἢ διὰ νόσον ἢ διά τινα ἐνθουσιασμὸν παραλλάξας.

[a] The Muses and the Nymphs have prophetic power, and both are frequently connected with water: the prophetic gifts of sea-powers like Proteus may arise from the same idea.

[b] *Rhet.* p. 1398[b], 38.

[c] Such testing of the oracle as in this story and in the story of Croesus implies distrust of the priests rather than of the god.

was able to organize the relations of the divinities, so that no difficulty was felt by the popular mind: Zeus is always supreme, and might speak to his people directly as at Dodona or Olympia; far more frequently he delegates the prophetic function to Apollo, in one case—at Didyma—actually sharing the temple with him[a]. Apollo then is his confidant and mouthpiece, but in no wise the dispenser of fate. Zeus remains Μοιραγέτης, and if this title was ever attached to Apollo at Delphi[b], which is doubtful, it implied no dogma but was merely borrowed for him temporarily from his father. The Delphians themselves made no prouder pretension in behalf of their local deity, but merely claimed that his utterances were the decrees of Zeus[c].

The oracle-god was naturally regarded also as a healer, as Ἰατρόμαντις [222h]; for sickness was the commonest motive for consultation, and early medicine passes for a divine revelation, and disease a mark of divine displeasure. In the belief of the Homeric age, and probably long before, it was Apollo who sent the pestilence and who removed it, and to whom thanksgiving for deliverance from the scourge was sung. Hence arose a multitude of titles expressing this beneficent function of the god [208–220]. Of these perhaps the oldest is that of the pre-Doric Apollo Κόρυδος in Messenia [215], and of

[a] Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 3, p. 76, supposes an epoch in the earliest history of Delphi, when Zeus was the oracle-god there: one of his arguments is that ὀμφαλός is derived from ὀμφή (a doubtful derivation but often accepted by modern scholars), and that ὀμφαί mean the utterances of Zeus, never the oracles of Apollo; but he has overlooked a passage in the Homeric hymn to Hermes (vide R. 130). The only positive evidence is the mere legend that Deukalion asked a question of Zeus on Parnassos, and the dedication of two golden eagles by the ὀμφαλός: but the legend belongs merely to the association of Parnassos with the story of the flood, and the dedication of the eagles—a comparatively late incident—was natural after the stone had become attached to the legend of the birth of Zeus.

[b] Vide R. 106: Pausanias merely tells us that there were two statues of the Μοῖραι at Delphi, and that in place of the third Fate there was Zeus Μοιραγέτης, and that Apollo Μοιραγέτης stood by them; we cannot tell whether there was some inscription giving these designations, or whether they are here intended merely as an artistic description of a particular group in which Apollo and Zeus appeared 'at the head of the Fates,' just as Apollo was sometimes Μουσαγέτης and Νυμφαγέτης for similar reasons: at any rate Apollo Μοιραγέτης occurs neither in cult nor elsewhere in literature.

[c] Vide especially Herod. 7. 141.

Οὔλιος[a], in Rhodes, Delos, Miletos, and Athens[218]; the most debatable is Παιών[208], which was a fairly prevalent cult-term, being found at Athens, Oropos (where its medical significance is unmistakable), Selinus, and in Lydia. The usual and perhaps unprofitable question arose in ancient times and has been continued in modern—whether, namely, Παιάν was at the first a mere epithet of Apollo, and became thence by detachment and emanation the name of a distinct deity, or whether it designates an originally independent god belonging to another cycle of cult who was dethroned but not wholly silenced by the later Olympian[b]. It is easy to state the *data*: Homer twice speaks of Paieon as the divine physician among the Olympians, neither identifying him with nor distinguishing him from Apollo[c]: the separation is first explicitly pronounced by Hesiod[208a], and perhaps accepted as an epic tradition by Solon[d]; and in later poetry Paion is sometimes addressed as an independent personage, always a health-power. But there is no proof or indication of any independent cult of Paion as distinct from Apollo[e], and therefore the theory that he was originally a separate deity misses what would be its strongest evidence. And the significance of

[a] Macrobius' citation from Philochorus suggests that the cult-title was in vogue in Attica (Artemis, R. 79[n]), and the Attic, Milesian, and Delian cults might well be related. It belongs probably to the old Ionic vocabulary, and denotes the 'health-giver,' a meaning preserved only in hieratic speech (cf. the Homeric phrase οὖλέ τε καὶ μάλα χαῖρε, *Od.* 24. 402): Suidas follows Strabo in regard to the meaning of the word. The opposite sense 'destructive,' found in Homer, is impossible here; for it is an important fact that Greek cult-names, even of such powers as Ares and the Erinyes, are practically always euphemistic when they are not indifferent, the apparent exceptions — Zeus Τιμωρός, Demeter Ἐρινύς, Apollo Λοίμιος—being really no exceptions; for revenge can seem sweet and desirable, Demeter Ἐρινύς need not originally have meant the 'angry' one, and Apollo Λοίμιος is merely a spell-name to make the prayer efficacious; the god must be master of the plague in order to remove it (R. 217). To suppose that they would worship two of their leading divinities as the 'destructive ones' is to misunderstand the religious imagination of the Hellenes.

[b] This is naturally Usener's view, *Götternam.* p. 153, adopted—with some caution—by Eisele in Roscher, op. cit. vol. 3, pp. 1245–1246.

[c] *Il.* 5. 401, 899; *Od.* 4. 232.

[d] Bergk, *Poet. Lyr.* vol. 2, p. 45.

[e] The 'Paion' whose statue stood at Syracuse in the temple of Asklepios is to be identified, as Eisele points out, with Apollo the healer (R. 221[e]); cf. Roscher, op. cit. 3, p. 1246.

the word παιάν or παιών as 'physician' cannot be separated from its other meaning—which, for all we know, may be the oldest—of 'song'; for in the superstition of early Aryan and non-Aryan society we have sufficient illustration of the association between the singing of spells and the craft of the healer[a]. But in the earliest literature the only deity mentioned in connexion with the paian-song is Apollo; and there is some reason for believing that it was at first consecrated to him alone, although the evidence is too scanty for assurance[b]. If this were so, we must then believe that the name and personality of Paion the healer arose in direct or indirect[c] association with Apollo; and the fact that they should have been regarded as distinct by the time of Hesiod need no more surprise us than the appearance of Pythios as a separate personage in old Sicyonic legend.

The same question arises concerning the cult of Apollo Μαλεάτας, a cult-name which came to connote the healing power of the god[216]. The earliest evidence is afforded by an inscription on a votive offering found near Tegea, a bronze representation of a warrior in Peloponnesian style of the sixth century dedicated 'to Maleatas'; and next in antiquity comes a small bronze figure of a goat found in the vicinity of Prasiai on the east coast of Laconia with the same simple dedication inscribed upon it. So far we discover nothing about the nature or the proper name of the god. But at Sparta Pausanias found a temple of Apollo Μαλεάτας near a shrine of the earth-goddess, and we may suppose that it was from Lacedaemon that this Apolline cult with the same dis-

[a] Cf. the use of the word ἐπῳδή: an old Aryan healing-song is preserved in a legend of Odin and in a mediaeval story of Christ and St. Peter, vide my *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 193.

[b] The direct authorities are late (cf. R. 98, 208[a]): Homer mentions the paeon once in connexion with Apollo, and never where the connexion is impossible, and the refrain ἰὴ Παιάν or ἰὲ Παιάν—which is probably very old—is first found in Hom. *Hymn. Apoll.* 272 associated with this god: in fourth-century literature the refrain is attached to deities such as Dionysos, Helios, Asklepios, who were related to Apollo; and about the same time it degenerates into a meaningless liturgical formula when flattery dictated paeans in honour of mortals, vide Roscher, op. cit. vol. 3, p. 1250.

[c] It is not impossible that the personality grew out of the song: cf. Ioulos, Linos, Ialemos (vide Demeter, vol. 3, p. 36), Iambe.

tinguishing title travelled to Thera. Finally, at Epidauros and Athens, Apollo Μαλεάτας was clearly recognized as belonging to the cycle of health-deities. In the former region he possessed his own temple on Mount Kynortion [216c], but he also shared the temple of Asklepios [a], and on one long inscription that has been preserved [b] the patients ascribe their recovery to both deities alike, and each is hailed as 'the Saviour' [216c]. The earliest authority for this therapeutic function of Apollo Μαλεάτας at Epidauros is the famous dedication and paean of Isyllos, which belongs to the middle of the fourth century B.C.; but doubtless it was recognized earlier in the local cult; for we find Apollo Μαλεάτας imported into Athens as early as 400 B.C. together with the other well-known Epidaurian divinities of health [216a]. The ritual-inscription found in the Peiraeus, showing the usual writing of the fourth century, prescribes a preliminary offering to 'Maleates' as well as to Apollo, Hermes, Iaso, Panakeia and others, preliminary, we must suppose, to the main service of Asklepios, just as Isyllos lays down that no one must enter the shrine of the latter god at Tricca before sacrificing to Apollo Maleatas. The conclusion drawn from this formula by Wilamowitz [c] and generally accepted is that 'Maleatas' was recognized at Athens as a distinct personage from Apollo and that he was aboriginally independent, the fusion of the two being a late incident and perhaps not yet accomplished in the time of the Tegean dedication. The theory may be true, but the inscription of the Peiraeus ought not to be regarded as proving it. The Athenians had evidently learned the dogma of the cult, whatever it was, from Epidauros, and at Epidauros there is no sign of the distinctness of Maleatas: and it would be strange if the Athenians in the middle of the fourth century had discovered an original truth which was evidently not part of the Epidaurian dogma presented to Athens at the time of the importation of the Asklepios-worship; for the

[a] Baunack, *Aus Epidauros*, p. 104.

[b] Cf. Collitz, *Dialect. Inschr.* no. 3339.

[c] *Isyllos*, p. 100; cf. Dittenberg. *Syll.*[2] p. 427; Roscher, op. cit. 3, p. 2303; Wide, *Lakonische Kulte*, p. 91; Usener, *Götternam.* p. 146.

three inscribed stones found in Athens, that bear the names of Asklepios, Machaon, and Apollo Μαλεάτης, cannot be assigned to a later date than 410 B.C.[216a]. It is less far-fetched to suppose that the Eleusinian priest, who, as he himself boasts, 'was the first to conjecture the ritual of the preliminary sacrifice,' 'conjectured' also that Μαλεάτης was a different personage from Apollo; he may often have heard the epithet used alone, or in his religious pedantry he may have reasoned that the ordinary Apollo and such a special cult-form as Apollo Μαλεάτης needed separate offerings. Two sacrifices to the same divinity under different names are not infrequently prescribed in the same ritual code. The question who or what Maleatas originally was depends on our interpretation of the name. We might suppose, looking at the citation from Stephanus[216], that the word is an ethnic epithet derived from the territory around the Malian Gulf, and that we are here dealing with an originally North Greek cult of Apollo that like many others travelled down to the Peloponnese. But as in all the words connected with the 'Malian' Gulf the alpha is long, and the verses of Isyllos[216b] have this value, if no other, that they prove that the first vowel in Μαλεάτας was short, we must abandon this association, as also the supposition that the term could designate the 'god of sheep' or 'the god of the apple-tree.' The right word can only be regarded as a local adjective formed from Μαλέα, as Meister maintains[a]. Besides the well-known promontory of South Laconia there was a Μαλέα in Lesbos, and the Arcadian district that Xenophon calls ἡ Μαλεατίς must have taken its name from a city or town Μαλέα, which appears as Μαλαία in the later record of Pausanias[b]. Now the geographical distribution of the cult of Μαλεάτης pronounces against the possibility of a Lesbian origin, but would well agree with the supposition that it arose either at the place in Arcadia near Leuktra or on the famous promontory of South Laconia. It is true that the historical record preserves no mention of Apollo Μαλεάτης in either of these localities; but neither does it mention Apollo Θέρμιος at Thermon or Poseidon

[a] *Die griechische Dialect.* 1, p. 65. [b] Xen. *Hell.* 6, 5. 24; Paus. 8. 27, 4.

Helikonios at Helikon. We must always be ready to recognize the baffling lacunae in our record and the possibility that many cult-centres were abandoned which once were famous and able to put forth branches. If Leuktra were the original home of the 'god of Malea' we should understand his leaning towards Asklepios who was the chief deity of this locality [a], and the region was, as we have seen, a centre of an ancient worship of Apollo [b]. And the road from Leuktra leads easily to Sparta and Selinus, where we find Μαλεάτας. Or if the promontory of Malea had been his birthplace, he could have travelled northward without difficulty to Selinus and Sparta, and along the east coast to Prasiai, and the prehistoric connexions between this part of the Laconian coast and Epidauros have already been traced [c]. And, again, at places in the vicinity of Malea, at Boiai and Epidauros Limera [d], we find Apollo in association with Asklepios. The Apolline cult in these regions was no doubt pre-Dorian, possibly Minyan; but the name Μαλεάτης is, as far as we can trace it, of Laconian origin. If the supposition we are considering is correct, and if Apollo Μαλεάτης was originally the god of Cape Malea, he may have deserted his ancient home in historical times; for, though the argument from silence is in these cases always unconvincing, we must admit that we have no clear record of the existence here of this or any other Apolline worship [e].

The origin of this special cult-form may remain an open question; we can only record the historic facts and discuss the philological possibilities. Finally, as we see that at one time it possessed a considerable vitality and power of diffusing

[a] Paus. 3. 26, 4.

[b] Vide supra, p. 132.

[c] Vide Poseidon chapter, pp. 40–41.

[d] Vide Geogr. Reg. *s. v.* Laconia. Pausanias calls the spot near Epidauros Limera, where there was an Asklepeion, the Ὑπερτελέατον: the inscriptions found at this place reveal an Apollo Ὑπερτελεάτης and no Asklepios, but to account for Pausanias' statement we must imagine a close *rapprochement* between the two divinities (R. 220).

[e] The citation from Stephanos (Geogr. Reg. *s.v.* Laconia) concerning an Apollo Λιθήσιος — which Wide, *Lakon. Kulte*, p. 92, connects with Malea and the cathartic ritual of stone-worship—is apparently corrupt and too vague to be of service, vide Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* 585, note m.

itself, we may believe that the name in its origin belonged more probably to some powerful and concrete deity like Apollo than to some shadowy half-realized daimon, of the type which Usener finds everywhere, and of which the existence is only adjectival.

Nowhere was the association of Apollo with his son, the divine physician, so intimate as at Epidauros [209, 216c]. It is possible, as Cavvadias maintains [a], that Apollo was the older god of the famous Hieron, and that the Asklepios was the later arrival from the North who was adopted here and flourished through affiliation with the greater deity: and it is noteworthy that in both these Epidaurian worships we have traces of Thessalian origin [b]. In fact the union of father and son at Epidauros seems to have reached to identity of personality [c], if we may interpret in this sense the inscriptions that record dedications to 'Apollo-Asklepios' [209]. At all events a fifth-century Epidaurian inscription found at Hiero, containing perhaps the ritual-statute of the Asklepieia, shows us how closely the service of Asklepios was modelled upon that of Apollo. The two deities are addressed as the 'harmonious ones,' and some of the officials connected with the festival of Hiero were common officers of both [d].

We have seen Apollo regarded in very ancient Hellenic belief as the god who averts sickness; and such cult-phrases as Ἀλεξίκακος Ἐπικούριος, which could allude quite generally to any kind of help or salvation, come to acquire a special signification as applied to the divinity of health at Athens and Phigaleia [211, 213].

Yet we are not able to show that the development of the science of medicine owed anything to these Apolline cults. In the earliest stages of the therapeutic art, 'medicine' is likely

[a] *Eph. Arch.* 1899, p. 5.

[b] e.g. Apollo Ὑπαταῖος at Epidauros and Ἀσκληπιὸς Ὑπαταῖος at Paros (Geogr. Reg. *s. v.* Epidauros), ? descended remotely from the Thessalian Hypata.

[c] We may explain the dedications Ἀπόλλωνι Ἀσκληπιῷ as we should explain those to Ἀθηνᾷ Νίκῃ or Ποσειδῶνι Ἐρεχθεῖ; but we must reckon with the possibility of the omission of the *καί* and with the two words being really proper names of independent persons.

[d] Cf. R. 209 and Geogr. Reg. *s. v.* Epidauros.

to be dominated by religion, and works, by inspiration, the superstition of dreams, mimetic dance or spell; for as disease is usually regarded as something demoniac, so the means chosen to avert it are likely to be spiritual or supernatural rather than physical. And Apolline 'medicine' in Greece belongs to the pre-scientific and—merely in this sense—savage stage. The people of Kleonai consult the Delphic oracle as to a remedy against the plague; and they are bidden to sacrifice a goat at sunrise; the plague was stayed, and henceforth they were in the habit of sending[a] a bronze goat to Apollo[211]. The Spartans, when afflicted with the same trouble, apply to the same oracle, and are advised to invite Thaletas, the musician from Crete, who heals them of their disorder by his music[b]. The story is charming and genial, and marks the high pitch of the artistic temperament of the Hellene; but the attitude which it reveals towards natural laws may still be called primitive. Nor does Apollo appear to have advanced far in medical science through his partnership with Asklepios at Epidauros; the interesting inscription of the fourth century B.C. discovered there and mentioned above shows that the Epidaurian therapeutics of that period—in spite of Asklepios who is evidently the leading partner—were almost as far removed from science as the system which prevails at Loretto and in some faith-healing circles in America. There is the glimmering of a possible science in the treatment of two cases of eye-disease[c], but all the cures imply a miracle, namely the dream-revelation, and in nearly every case it is merely the miraculous power of the god Asklepios that effects the cure. Yet in two respects the quaint record betrays the possibilities of mental advance: in the first place, there was evidently considerable scepticism in the air, and in the second, neither the deity nor the priests appear to have demanded faith as a condition of the miraculous

[a] As Pausanias uses the specially ritualistic word *ἀποπέμπουσι* we may suspect that this consecration of the goat arose from an old practice at Kleonai of 'sending away' the scape-goat, that carries with him the sins and evils of the people.

[b] Plut. 1146 D.

[c] Collitz, *Dialect. Inschr.* 3339, ll. 36 and 76.

cure. Given such negative advantages, medical science was certain to progress. And later Greek medicine undoubtedly owed something to Greek cult, but it was to the cult of Asklepios rather than Apollo; for the latter god appears to have mainly retired from this special function in favour of his adopted son[a]. Pindar indeed was still able to maintain that it was Apollo rather than any other power who had revealed to men and women 'the art of healing fell diseases[255],' but the predominance of Asklepios in this matter had begun at least as early as the period of Arctinos; and Hippokrates, the father of the science, was believed to have derived his experience from the Asklepios-shrine of Kos[b]. Nevertheless, on the whole there was no single deity who was so devotedly the patron of the higher arts, and occasionally even of the science, of Hellas, as Apollo; and the relation between the religion and the intellectual life of the people, a momentous question for all religious history, claims some consideration in this chapter of Greek cults; but it could only be adequately treated in the course of a general comparison between the Hellenic and the leading world-religions.

The great and original idea, which is expressed in the Platonic and Aristotelian philosophy, that the intellectual or philosophic life is acceptable to God and brings men into communion with the divine nature—is there any reflection of this, we may ask, in the popular religion? We should hardly expect to find any, so far as pure science or abstract philosophy is concerned—for the craving for these was not likely to be included among the popular impulses and needs which shaped and determined the public cults of Hellas. Among the vast number of appellatives that are attached to the personages of Greek polytheism there is scarcely one that designates any deity purely as an intellectual power[c].

[a] The recent excavations at Paros show the union of the two worships there and the gradual predominance of that of Asklepios (R. 161).

[b] Strab. 657.

[c] It is probable that the curious title λεσχηνόριος which we recover by means of an obvious emendation of a corrupt passage in Photius (R. 227) was attached to Apollo as president of the intellectual debates in the λέσχαι, these public places being consecrated to him.

It was much indeed—in fact an achievement in the psychology of religion—that the religious imagination of the race should have evolved such personal forms as the Muses. But in popular cult, as the recently discovered inscription from Thespiai shows, these were only worshipped as the divinities of song, dance, and poetry[a]. A Muse of metaphysics or astronomy are figments of Plato's brain or of the Alexandrine *savants*; and in the later consecration of the various branches of investigation and speculation to the various Muses there is probably less of religious reality than in the playful passage of the *Phaedrus*[b], where the friendship of Kalliope and Ourania is held out as an inducement to the study of philosophy and 'divine lore.'

We may say then that Apollo's connexion with the Muses, of which there is some cult-evidence [227–228], but which was not aboriginal nor essential to him or to them, does not at once reveal him as the patron-deity of that life which the leading philosophers of Hellas regarded as most divine. Nevertheless, the influence of Greek philosophy, the prestige of the great men of science and letters, was able to work upon that chief exponent of popular religious thought, the Delphic oracle: and in various legends about the wise men of Greece, in the story of the award of the tripod to Thales, of the verdict adjudging the palm of wisdom to Socrates, the Pythian god appears recognized as the umpire of the intellectual world. The contemplative life of study was said to have been specially enjoined upon Zeno by a Delphic oracle, that bade him 'hold intercourse with the dead'[c]; and Maximus Tyrius[d] speaks of the philosophic life as that 'which Diogenes chose freely, the life which Apollo assigned and Zeus commended.' We find also Ἀλήθεια or Truth embodied as a divine personage not infrequently in Greek literature, and personified as an intellectual as well as a moral power, as an emanation of

[a] Plut. *Quaest. Conv.* 9. 14, 7 (p. 746 F) declares that at Sikyon one of the Muses was called Πολυμάθεια: but we have no means of ascertaining what was the popular interpretation of this name, whether it connoted science or art, and whether it belonged to public worship.

[b] p. 259 D.

[c] Diog. Laert. (Thales), 1. 1, § 29 (cf. R. 34[k]); id. (Zeno), 7. 1, § 3.

[d] 36, 5.

God [a], and—what concerns us specially here—as the foster-nurse of Apollo [b]. The chorus of youths in Plato's state swear to the truth of their words in the name of the god of truth, Paian-Apollo [c], whom Empedocles had called the Φρὴν ἱερή, the divine mental force of the world. It is credible then that the popular imagination was to some extent familiarized, probably through Delphi, with the exalted conception of the philosophers that the pursuit of intellectual truth was a divine function and an act of worship.

Still more clearly recognized and none the less striking was the consecration of the artist-life to Apollo [225]. Already in the Homeric period he is the god of song and music, the god who strikes the lyre in the company of the Olympians, and who shares with the Muse the power of inspiring the poet, 'the divine man [d].' The later literature is broadcast with passages that embody this idea of him, and it is presented freely in ritual and occasionally in cult-appellatives. When we examine closely the details of the great Apolline festivals, we find that the Pythia enjoyed this distinction over the Olympia, that its musical and artistic character predominated over its athletic, and this is also true of the Karneia. And hence we may explain such epithets as ἐναγώνιος, δονάκτας, Μουσαῖος, and Μουσαγέτης [226–230] as arising from this dedication of Hellenic music and song to Apollo. The two latter epithets require a moment's attention. Already in the Homeric poetry, Apollo and the Muses are the peers of song and music, and though often joining company, yet they are independent sources of poetic inspiration. Hesiod maintains the same view, and reveals at the same time that the Heliconian cult was entirely non-Apolline. 'The singers and the harpers on the earth are from the Muses and Apollo the Far-

[a] Pind. *Ol.* 11. 6.

[b] Plut. *Quaest. Conv.* p. 657 E; cf. the citation of Stobaeus from Ἑρμοῦ ἐκ τῶν πρὸς Τάτ. (*Floril.* 11. 8)—man being an imperfect being cannot see or speak the truth, he can only rise to the height of true thought by the will of God. And Plato is capable of regarding scientific ignorance, for instance a false statement in astronomy, as blasphemy against God (*Laws*, p. 821).

[c] *Laws*, 664 C.

[d] *Od.* 8. 488: in *Od.* 22. 347 the inspirer of the poet is simply called Θεός.

darter[a];' but in his invocation of the Heliconian goddesses he ignores the god altogether[a]. This phenomenon is frequent enough in Greek polytheism with its functional and departmental deities: two independent divinities or divine groups in different localities are allotted identical functions, and if they pass beyond their original frontiers, the subordination of the one to the other is probable sooner or later. Therefore Apollo as the stronger power becomes Μουσαγέτης, or Μούσαρχος, the 'leader of the Muses.' A fragment of Terpander is the first literary expression of the idea, which was amplified by Sappho[228–230]: it is possible that it was suggested by a very early art-scheme in which Apollo was presented preceding or escorting the Muses. We are not sure that Μουσαγέτης became an actual cult-title, as Μουσαῖος appears to have been; in all probability it did, for Arrian, in a context which otherwise is a correct record of Greek ritual, declares that 'those who devote themselves to education offer thanksgiving to the Muses, to Apollo Mousagetes, Mnemosyne, and Hermes[228].'

A question of interest, and perhaps answerable, arises now: how did Apollo acquire this predominant patronage of music and song? The unscientific nature of the attempt to deduce each and all the various qualities of a divinity from some single root-idea has long since been exposed; and we should no longer be satisfied with, or spend time in considering, the view that Apollo was fond of music because he was the god of the sun. In tracing the evolution of any divinity, among the determining causes we must often reckon the peculiar character of the worshippers belonging to a certain stock or a certain locality. But no hypothesis framed on these lines will help us here, such for instance as O. Müller's, who tried to explain the character of Apollo almost wholly in the light of the Dorian temperament; for we cannot discover the

[a] Theog. 94–95: Müller, *Die Dorier* (2. 2, 8, § 10), would interpret these lines as meaning that the κιθαρισταί belong to Apollo, the poets to the Muses, for he maintains that Apollo was only the patron of stringed music in the earlier period, never of poetry; the distinction is quite unnatural, and *Od.* 8. 488 refutes him: his dogma also that the Muses and Apollo never met in cult is denied by the record of Megalopolis (R. 230).

special tribe whose home was the cradle of Apolline worship, nor does it appear that one Greek stock was more or less devoted to music than another. Nor does it help us to say that he became pre-eminently a god of music, merely because his earliest festivals were accompanied by musical ritual; for it is probable that this was an invariable accompaniment of all the early Greek worship[a]. And it would probably be an anachronism to argue that Apollo acquired the patronage of this art, because he was from the outset a divinity of the higher culture in general. We may come nearer to the true explanation when we reflect that Dionysos also had a pronounced taste for a certain kind of music, and especially for the dramatic chorus, and that this gift that he gave was undoubtedly associated with the god's other boon of the wine. Dionysos was also a prophet, and prophecy was Apollo's birthright. It is probable, in fact, that the inspiration of the prophet and the afflatus of the poet were regarded at one time as related phenomena arising from the same divine cause: we have seen, for instance, that water was a common source of Apolline divination, and it was occasionally also believed to be the source of the Muses' inspiration, just as in Vedic mythology the intoxicating 'soma' was supposed to open the eyes of the seer and to quicken the song of the poet[b]. Orpheus and Kinyras of Cyprus were prophets as well as singers[c], and Olen, Apollo's oldest and chief singer, was by ancient tradition the 'first prophet of the god and the first framer of epic song,' the original composer of the hexametric verse[2]. Apollo, therefore, who in the very early days of Hellenic religion was pre-eminent in the sphere of prophecy, was the most likely divinity to annex the province of music and song, especially as his divination was free from the gloom that enshrouded many of the chthonian *μαντεῖα*. We must at the same time attribute some weight to the probability that his festivals at Delphi and Delos were already brilliant at a very remote period and

[a] Thus the poet in *Od.* 22. 347 is said 'to sing both to gods and men'.

[b] Vide Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 109.

[c] Tac. *Hist.* 2. 3; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* p. 398 P.

might have attracted the best poetical and musical talent even before the time of Homer. Again, his faculties as a healer, which appear to have been among the earliest of his endowments, would naturally bring him, as we have seen, into close association with music and song, these being so much in vogue for the purpose of incantation and charm-cures [a].

Having won the hegemony in this domain of art, the Apolline worship came to exert a potent and stimulating influence upon the development of Greek music and lyric: and probably nowhere else in the whole range of religious history is the legislative power of religion over the technique of art so clearly marked as here. The full exposition of the subject belongs to a different history [b]; and only the briefest reference to the facts is permissible now, to show how and why a certain type of music and metre possessing certain ethical or psychic quality became appropriated to Apollo. In the earliest record that bears at all on this question we find the *κιθάρα*, or the stringed instrument, which we may call the lyre, his special attribute; and we may be content to suppose with O. Müller that the reason for this lay simply in its use in his earliest ritual and festivals, the lyre being probably the chief national instrument of Hellas in the Homeric and pre-Homeric periods. No doubt it was used as an accompaniment to the Paian, the oldest Apolline hymn, which, as we have seen, was partly a war-song, partly an invocation of the god's help against sickness, and which was always stately and of fair omen. The serious and elevated character which such religious service would give to the lyre-music was further maintained by its association with heroic song. And even for the simple ritual of the harvest-field,

[a] Müller, *Die Dorier* (2. 2, 8, § 10), supposes that music was also associated with the Apolline *κάθαρσις*: this is only proved so far as the cure of disease was regarded as a *κάθαρσις* (cf. R. 273[d] with Plut. 1146 D): it does not appear in the Apolline purifications from madness or guilt, though the Bacchic dance and song were supposed to have this effect on the Maenads, vide Plat. *Laws*, p. 790 E, and Apoll. *Bibl.* 2. 2, 3 (Melampus cures the madness of the Proetides, *μετ' ἀλαλαγμοῦ καί τινος ἐνθέου χορείας*).

[b] Vide, for instance, G. S. Farnell's *Greek Lyric Poetry*, pp. 34–44, 'Musical accompaniment of Greek song.'

for instance, for the singing of the harvest-hymn, which was called the Linos-song, the stringed instrument was used rather than the pipe or flute. The latter was no doubt of immemorial antiquity, and Homer was well acquainted with it, but only mentions it in connexion with the shepherds' melody, or the bridal-procession in the street, or with the festal merriment in the camp of the victorious Trojans. It was in post-Homeric times that it came into vogue in the religious services, mainly in the wilder cult of Dionysos, or in the melancholy and pathetic liturgies of the Cybele-Attis worship of Asia Minor. It has been supposed that the Apolline religion which, by reason of the sanity and brightness now belonging to it, was certainly alien to these, was alien also to the flute-music, which was specially expressive of the later Phrygo-Thracian religious sentiment that penetrated Greece after the eighth or seventh century. No doubt the myth of Marsyas was interpreted as expressing this antagonism, and Plato contrasts the lyre-music of Apollo with the instruments of Marsyas which the philosopher contemns and rejects [a]. But the opposition between the two systems need not have been felt at once, nor did the Apolline ritual everywhere maintain this puritanical attitude. The musical symbolism in the legend of the death of Marsyas, which was probably not the original significance of the story [b], may have been an aftergrowth of the sixth century: we note the same intention in the Attic myth of the fifth century concerning Athena and the flute-loving Satyr. The tradition which associated Apollo with the death of Linos may have been older, but it does not bear at all on the present point, namely, the opposition between an Apolline and an innovating system of music [c]. On the other hand some of the earliest or mythical masters of the flute, such as Olympos and Kinyras, had the closest connexion and

[a] *Rep.* p. 399.

[b] The story of the flaying of Marsyas and his hanging on a pine-tree was probably one of a common type of legends arising from vegetation-ritual; our earliest authority is Herodotus, 7. 26.

[c] O. Müller (op. cit. 2. 2, 8, § 12) wrongly explains the Linos-story: in the Argive version, which is based on old ritual, Apollo is his father and avenger: vide Paus. 2. 19, 8, Konon, 19: he is always a harp-player.

friendship with Apollo[a]. And, after all, the new and fascinating instrument won its way into all the great centres of his worship. It is only at Delphi where we hear of temporary resistance: in the second Pythiad, according to Pausanias, the auletic competitions which had been allowed in the first, were abolished, because the Amphictyons regarded the flute as unsuitable to an Apolline festival on account of its melancholy character and its association with elegiac poetry and funeral rites [256e]. But Pausanias does not seem to have been aware, as Strabo was, that the prohibition was afterwards withdrawn[256e]: the later writers on music describe a *νόμος αὐλητικός* in vogue at Delphi, which was an entirely musical representation of the battle of Apollo and Python, and was attributed by Plutarch to Olympos[256e]; and one of the recently discovered Delphic hymns of the second century B.C. was clearly intended to be sung to the mingled accompaniment of the lyre and the flute[b]. The latter appears at an early period to have gained a place in the musical ritual of the Delphic Stepteria, the festival which dramatized the death of Python, Apollo's flight and return from Tempe[264e]. At Delos we hear of choruses and hyporchemata accompanied by string and wind-music[263g]. Even the Cretans, who were so devoted to the lyre that for a long time they used it alone for their battle-music[c], and who produced early masters of legendary fame for their lyre-playing[d], at last send forth Thaletas, a distinguished flute-player, to Sparta, where he appears to have composed songs with wind-accompaniment for the Gymnopaidia[e]: perhaps it was to him that the Spartans owed the fashion of marching to battle with the sound of the flute. In fact, so popular was the new music from the seventh century onward, that Apollo was actually reputed to be its inventor,

[a] In a late version, which obviously borrowed from the Marsyas story, Apollo kills Kinyras out of musical emulation; Schol. Hom. *Il.* 11. 20.

[b] *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894, p. 393.

[c] Plut. *De Music.* § 26.

[d] The seven-stringed lyre was known in Crete in the 'Minoan' period: on the remarkable sarcophagus recently discovered by the Italians near Phaistos, we find it in the hands of a worshipper clad in a long robe who is one of a procession in the cult of the double Axes.

[e] This appears probable from Plut. *De Mus.* § 10; but vide Bergk, *Literat.-Gesch.* 2, p. 228, n. 94.

possibly deriving from it one or two of his cult-titles[a] and allowing flutes to be dedicated in his temples[225]; nor was its tone regarded as essentially lugubrious[b].

It seems then that the Greek world were larger-minded than Plato in this matter, and that the distinction between Apolline and Dionysiac music did not resolve itself into the difference between string and wind. It was the difference, rather, between a statelier, severer, more ethical system of rhythm and harmony and a laxer and more passionate, really in some sense the difference between the music Plato approved and that which he reprobated; perhaps a modern analogy might explain it as the difference between the styles of Bach and Wagner. It is Pindar who first characterizes the specially Apolline style in the words of the fifth Pythian ode: 'the god has given to whomsoever he will the lyre and the Muse's inspiration, and brings into our hearts the peaceful law-abiding temper[225].' This is the sedate, 'ordered and chastened' music, with its strongly marked ethical qualities, that Plutarch[225] contrasts with the 'dithyrambs of Dionysos, full of passion and change[c].' And it is for this reason that Plato is moved to maintain that the earliest real education is the musical education first given through Apollo and the Muses[d], and to condemn the flute as immoral because of the great variety of its notes, because it was too 'pan-harmonic'[e]. Fortunately, Plato's views about this particular instrument did not affect the development of European wind-music: the

[a] e. g. Δονάκτας (R. 226): Αὐλαιτής—an epithet of Apollo Κιθαρῳδός on coins of Magnesia—etymologically cannot be derived from αὐλός the flute (R. 225); probably from some unknown place-name Αὐλαί (Steph. *s.v.* mentions two places of this name in Lycia and Cilicia). Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, *Gött. Gelehrt. Anz.* 1900, p. 573, suggest that Ὕλαι in Pausanias (vide R. 3) is a mistake for Αὐλαί; but Pausanias' reading is supported by the derivative Ὑλάτης.

[b] In a beautiful passage in the Bacchae (l. 380) Euripides speaks of the 'laughter of the flute': yet Plutarch ventures to assert 'that it is only recently that the flute has dared to raise its voice on glad occasions, in old time it was devoted to the service of sorrow,' p. 394 C.

[c] Plato also, in the *Laws*, takes the Paean and the Dithyramb as two opposing types, p. 700: in the Hyakinthia, where the flute played a prominent part, the paean was sung in anapaestic metre and 'in a high pitch,' vide R. 247.

[d] *Laws*, 654 A.

[e] *Rep.* p. 399.

artist has never been stopped by the philosopher: but as regards the question of ethics involved, Plato seems to have been in agreement with the ancient theory and practice of some leading Greek states; if, indeed, we may trust Plutarch, who tells us that 'in old time the men of Lacedaemon, Mantinea, Pellene, selected one musical mode, or at most very few, such as conduced to the correction of our moral nature[a].' And the passage just quoted from the *Republic* is well illustrated by the story that Athenaeus has preserved[b] concerning Timotheos of Miletos: this versatile Ionian musician came to Sparta and gave a performance—no doubt at Apollo's festival of the Karneia—on a 'magadis,' an oriental harp with many strings; the Spartan magistrates accused him of 'corrupting the ancient music,' and some one proceeded gravely to cut out the superfluous strings from the offensive instrument, but Timotheos defended himself and his magadis by pointing to a small statue of Apollo, that they happened to possess, holding a lyre of the same number of chords[c]. The poetry of Terpander was specially devoted to Sparta and the Karneia festival; and the fragments preserved, with their earnest ethical quality, their high religious exaltation, may be taken as types of Apolline music: they show too the stately march of the spondaic rhythm, also the attractiveness for Apollo of the dactylic and hexametric metres with their old heroic and worshipful associations; and Christodoros speaks of the soothing effect of Terpander's lyric on the hearts of the Spartans who were wearied with the troubles of the Amyclean war[d].

Accepting then the fact, we may conclude with the question how a style with such strongly marked characteristics came in the best ages to be consecrated to this divinity. Shall we believe, as O. Müller seemed to desire us, that Apollo started with a fixed ethical and spiritual character that demanded a certain style of stately, reposeful, and bright music? There may be some degree of truth in such a dogma, so far, for

[a] *De Mus.* c. 32.

[b] p. 636 e (from Artemon).

[c] The newly-discovered papyrus with Timotheos' poem contains his account of the charge and his own defence, ll. 215–45.

[d] *Ecphras.* ll. 115–16.

instance, as we may be justified in believing that his aversion to the things of the lower world and to the ritual of death was an ancient trait in him that would at once make its impress on the forms of art-expression: the glimmer of brightness about him may be part of the aboriginal concept, as also his eminently public and political character, which kept him from any interest in domestic life and female vocations and needs, and would tend to appropriate to him a specially manly or martial style. But the dogma is hazardous on the whole. In the pre-Homeric period we are not sure that the ethical psychology of each divine personality was at all clearly marked: and the Phoebus Apollo of Homer is not such a character as at once to suggest the grave and solemn music of a Terpander or a Handel. And the dogma may to some extent mistake cause for effect; the art-form need not always have been the effect of a certain divine conception, but itself may have often helped to evolve and to modify that conception. And the prior cause may frequently have been ritualistic: ritual, as it produced a certain mythology, produced also a certain type of art in accordance with its own practical aims, and this in its turn helped to make articulate the worshipper's imagination of the divinity: the idea of the divine personality, thus fixed, reacts on the art-form, and fixes and conserves certain types. It is particularly the study of the Apolline cult that suggests these general reflections: for we find in it a special ritual with an appropriate form of art that was evidently of great antiquity, the ritual of the Paean, composed originally in hexameters, and consecrated to Apollo as the healer and the giver of victory, and both from metre and its occasion certain to evolve a stately and euphemistic style.

Again, an early feature of his festivals was the group-dance, accompanied by song, that developed into the composition known as the hyporchema: this was a dance of the young men or warriors representing some action with song accompaniment[a]: the earliest example of this may have been the

[a] In the fifth century the hyporchema was no longer specially Apolline (e.g. Athenae. 617 c): it degenerated into a comic dance (id. 630 e), and women joined in it (631 c).

dance called the 'Crane dance,' invented, it was said, by Theseus, who with his young men danced round the altar at Delos a mimetic representation of the labyrinth and probably the adventure of the Minotaur [263 g]. In Sparta the group-dancing in Apollo's ritual took on a martial character, the 'music' in the Gymnopaidia commemorated an incident of battle [231 g], and the Karneia appears to have admitted a dance of armed men [233]. And the *νόμος*, or solemn religious hymn, sung by the poet with lyre accompaniment, originated in this worship; a stately measure and form were inevitable here, as the singer himself appears at first to have impersonated the god [a]: subsequently its theme became narrative or half-mimetic, the *νόμος πυθικός*, for instance, a musical rendering of the struggle with Python [256 d]. It is early to estimate how such early ritualistic celebrations would tend towards consecrating a distinct ethical style as appropriate to this divinity. And this Apolline music was made articulate and to some extent stereotyped at a period before Hellas was invaded and captured by the wilder worship of Dionysos and the orgiastic passion of the Asiatic religion. Uncontaminated by these, Apollo and his Muse were able to retain to a late period something of their old stateliness and calm.

The application of a moral standard to art is familiar to ourselves. What may appear startling to most moderns is that a question of art-expression should be regarded as essentially a religious question: but such surprise only reveals a vacuum in our religious consciousness, and in this one respect Greek religion may appear richer and deeper than our own. The Apolline cult rendered great service to society, as we have seen and shall see, and by developing the sense of religious purity some service to the individual conscience; but its unique achievement was that through it, more than through any other ancient worship, the intellectual life and the work of the thinker and the artist were consecrated to God.

[a] Vide R. 225: the idea that the performer in a ritual personates the deity descends from the archaic conception of priesthood.

CHAPTER V

APOLLINE RITUAL

THE record of the ritual and festivals consecrated to the Apolline worship has more than a merely antiquarian interest, for no part of the history of the god reveals more clearly the intimacy of his association with the primitive and the advanced stages of Hellenic civilization.

We may observe, in the first place, that the ceremonies as far as they are recorded are open and public, nor is there any indication of an Apolline 'mystery' with secret rites of initiation, though private guilds mainly in the later period were sometimes instituted in his honour. We have only two examples of a nightly and mystic service, namely the special preparation of the Argive priestess and the Klarian prophet[a]; and here the officiating individuals enter into communion with the deity through sacrament. Otherwise the sacrifices are mainly of the usual Hellenic form, being occasionally bloodless oblations, but far more frequently animal-offerings, among which we must reckon with a survival of human sacrifice [274–276]. The former [276] are found in the Delian-Hyperborean ritual of the *ἀπαρχαί*, and belong therefore to the oldest period; and in Delos stood the famous altar of Apollo the Father, known in later times as 'the holy' or 'righteous' altar, because of the ritual law that forbade the shedding of blood upon it[b]. Clemens speaks of it as most ancient, and Porphyry supposes that the vegetarian-ritual with which it was associated descended from

[a] Vide supra, pp. 128, 216, 224. Strab. p. 468 (bk. 10, c. 10), mentions Apollo among those deities who were worshipped with orgiastic rites, choral celebrations and mystic initiation; but the form of the statement is indefinite, and it is quite possible that he intends only *τὸ χορικόν* to apply to Apollo.

[b] Vide p. 161.

the earliest period of human history when man was innocent of blood. But we have no general rule by which we can determine the bloodless to be earlier than the blood-offering; and it is significant that near the 'holy' stood the 'horned' altar, that took its name from the 'horns of consecration,' a type that Dr. Arthur Evans has made known to us as of Mycenaean origin[a], and which arose from some ritual of animal sacrifice. The instances he gives us belong mainly to Cretan worship, and the 'horned altar' of Delos is associated with the legend of Theseus and Crete[55], and may therefore belong to as ancient a period of the Delian cult as the other. No general hypothesis has as yet been put forth that would explain the distinction common in Greek religion between the blood-offering and the bloodless. Servius, quoting vaguely from Varro, assures us that there were many altars of Apollo and 'his son,' probably Asklepios, where the same rule obtained as at the Delian[278]; and we have an example at Athens of cereal offerings to the two divinities in a joint-worship[216]. Stephanus records a quaint child's story that preserves the legend of a similar ritual at Patara[277]. Finally, in the Attic Pyanepsia[259], we have traces of a ritual in which vegetables consecrated to the god were consumed in a sacramental meal. We can scarcely hope to find a hypothesis that will cover every case; but we may explain the bloodlessness of the 'holy' altar in Delos if we may surmise that it had been built to receive the 'Hyperborean' offerings of cereals in the ancient days when the Ionians first settled in Delos and diverted their oblations from Delphi to this new home of their Father-God.

As regards the other type of sacrifice, we find all the usual animals of the pastoral and agricultural society consecrated to Apollo, and no one kind seems specially predominant, in the later period at least. But we have reason to suppose that the goat was of peculiar sanctity and respect in the more primitive times when Apollo was worshipped as the goat-herd[274a]. At Delphi it long remained the favoured victim with which to propitiate the prophetic god[129], and a story

[a] *Hell. Journ.* 1901, p. 135, &c.; cf. 192, Fig. 66.

was in vogue that goats were the original discoverers of the oracular powers of the site: the Eleusinian offering of a goat to Apollo Pythios probably preserved a Delphic tradition [157]. In the Laconian feast called the Κοπίδες no other sacrificial animal was allowed, and all the people ceremoniously partook of its flesh, eating it with a special kind of bread [248]. The same victim was sacrificed to Apollo Ἀποτρόπαιος, 'the Averter of ill,' in the Marathonian tetrapolis [274 d]; and the men of Kleonai, as we have seen, when threatened by the plague, offered a he-goat at sunrise and dedicated a bronze figure of one at Delphi [211]; and when the worship was introduced into Rome the Greek ritual was borrowed. The goat-sacrifice may often have been piacular, the animal dying for the sins of the people, and in some way representing the community. But the only trace of the 'theanthropic' character of this animal is found in a Roman cult, of which the rites may have been Hellenic—a goat was sacrificed according to Aulus Gellius, 'humano ritu,' to Vejovis, who was sometimes identified with Apollo [274 d]. Finally, the aegis seems to have been part of the magical outfit of Apollo as of Zeus in the Homeric period, and this was only the divine goat-skin that derived its prophylactic and thaumaturgic qualities from the potency of the sacrificial altar and from the communion between the animal and the God [a].

Of the significance of the wolf in the legend and ritual of Apollo Lykeios [274 a], enough has perhaps been said [b]. But we may note again the curious story that it was a wolf that brought to Apollo the purifying laurel-bough from Tempe after the slaughter of Python. As we know that the same ceremony was performed in a Delphian festival by a young priest, we may find a clue to the story in the supposition that in prehistoric times the officiating minister was called by the name, and perhaps appeared in the guise, of a wolf, just as the ministers of Poseidon were themselves called ταῦροι. The scholiast on Sophocles mentions that according to common report wolves were actually sacrificed to the wolf-god at Argos, and if we could accept this as authentic,

[a] Vide vol. I, p. 100.

[b] Vide p. 114 seq.

and could discover that the sacrificers really partook of the flesh or blood of the offering, we should have most of the elements here of that type of sacrifice which Robertson Smith has described as the sacramental eating of the theanthropic animal.

The problem of the Sminthian worship [a] touches the question of these animal-incarnations of the deity. Modern anthropology has tended to assume a totemic origin for the Cretan-Aeolic cult of Apollo the mouse-god, while admitting the hypothesis that a higher Hellenic has here imposed itself upon a lower non-Hellenic religion. The ritual-facts that have to be considered can be very briefly stated: mice are said to have been worshipped by a certain stock in the Troad and to have been treated with reverence in the temple of Apollo Smintheus; the god derived his title from them, and the figure of a mouse was carved by Skopas beneath the foot of his statue, probably as a 'speaking' symbol. Apart from outside analogies, this is all we know of the local cult-fact. It may mean as much as Mr. Andrew Lang [b] and others have discerned in it, or it may mean much less. The general question that it might raise concerning Greek religion and sociology cannot be discussed here, and would perhaps in any case be irrelevant; because we are very probably confronted here with phenomena of non-Hellenic origin. It may be sufficient for the present to observe, first, that Aelian's phrase 'the inhabitants of Amaxitos in the Troad worship the mouse' is extremely vague, as it might indicate either a serious cult of the mouse as a mysterious divine power or a trifling and occasional propitiation of a little animal harmful to the crops; secondly, that Apollo as the agricultural deity might naturally be supposed to be in some way answerable for the field-mice, occasionally—according to the various cult-legends—sending them as a plague or to assist his Cretan followers and occasionally destroying them, and that certain mice might be kept in his temple and treated kindly in order to persuade the rest of their tribe to do no harm to

[a] Vide Geogr. Reg. *s.v.* Aeolis.

[b] *Custom and Myth*, p. 103 (Apollo and the mouse).

the fields; thirdly, that there is no indication that Apollo was regarded as incarnate in the mouse, or that his worshippers in Aeolis ate mice ceremoniously, as certain Semites may have done [a], or ever offered them in sacrifice to him: finally, that there is no record or hint of a totemic mouse-tribe in this district.

We must be careful to distinguish the casual propitiation and bribing of animals, that was no doubt fairly frequent in Greece as in other countries, from permanent and definite animal-worship. A 'sacrifice' or a bribe was offered to the flies before the festival of Apollo at Leukas [275 b], as it was at Elis before the Zeus-sacrifice, to induce them to go away and not worry the sacrificers; but this does not amount to 'fly-worship,' nor was Zeus or Apollo regarded as incarnate in the flies [b].

As regards his other sacrificial animals, there is little that seems to call for special comment. The sacrifice of the wild boar on Mount Lykaion was piacular, for the flesh does not appear to have been eaten but was wholly consumed at the altar: the same animal appears to have been used for ritual purposes occasionally at Delphi: but usually, except for lustral or piacular ceremonies, the pig did not figure in the Apolline cult or legend, probably for reasons that have been given [c]. In most Greek rituals there are certain 'tapus,' and the explanation generally escapes us. In Apollo's the horse was tabooed, according to Sextus Empiricus [274 c], and horse-sacrifice, as has been shown [d], was always something exceptional in Greece. We hear too that dogs were forbidden in Delos [274 b], although they were reverentially treated in the Attic ritual of Asklepios-Apollo [216 a], and we find a figure that is probably Apollo accompanied by one on a coin of the Cretan Eleutherna [e].

In regard to the records of the sacrifices both in this and other cults, the main question of interest is whether we can discover a clear sacramental concept in the ceremonies of

[a] For the sanctity of the mouse among Semitic peoples see Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 338.

[b] Vide Zeus, R. 63: cf. sacrifice to Μυίαγρος in Arcadia and Elis, Paus. 8. 26, 7, Plin. *N. H.* 10, 75.

[c] Vide p. 128.

[d] Vide Poseidon-cult, p. 20.

[e] Vide Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 393.

the altar. It emerges, as we have seen, at Argos in a private and peculiar ritual[a]; and we have reason to suppose that the victim called at Delphi the ὁσιωτήρ, 'the giver of holiness,' which was slain when the Ὅσιοι were elected, was regarded as the temporary incarnation of the deity, so that the contact of its flesh or blood or skin could communicate holiness to the 'holy one'[127]. It seems likely also that the goat-sacrifice already mentioned in the Laconian Κοπίδες was a real sacrament, and the people may have believed that they were putting themselves into communion with Apollo by devouring sacred flesh in which his spirit was temporarily incarnate. But elsewhere the record fails us. We may apply the term 'sacrament' in a non-mystic sense to the practice common from Homeric times downwards of the deity and the worshippers feasting together at a common meal, whereby they all become in some measure of one flesh by partaking the same food. We hear of the παράσιτοι of Apollo at Acharnai[54] and in Delos[b]. How far the idea of communion was vitalized in such rites we cannot estimate. We can, however, be reasonably sure that there was nothing in them that suggested to the worshipper that Apollo was himself dying a sacrificial death.

The Apolline festivals, which have now to be considered, range over the spring, summer, and autumn periods of the year, and it marks the character of the bright god that none of them are known to have fallen in the winter season. The Epiphany, or the day of Apollo's coming, was celebrated by certain states usually in the spring or early summer[c]. And certain days in the month appear to have been specially consecrated to him, the first, the seventh, the fourteenth, and the

[a] pp. 128, 304.

[b] Geogr. Reg. *s.v.* Delos.

[c] In Boeotia the Daphnephoria, a spring festival, commemorated his Epiphany (R. 14, 267): in Athens the Thargelia probably, for Istros describes it in his treatise on the Ἐπιφάνειαι (R. 241[d]): in Delphi there was a feast on his birthday, the seventh of Busios (R. 128[n]), the first spring month, and this may have been identical with the θεοφάνια (R. 264[e]): an obscure legend in Pausanias seems to point to an Epiphany-feast of Apollo's at Sikyon (vide Geogr. Reg. *s.v.* Sikyon). It is doubtful if the statement for which Vergil is the earliest authority that Apollo sojourned in Lycia in the winter has any ritualistic value (R. 263[e]).

twentieth, which mark the different phases of the moon in the lunar month. But the seventh day was that in which the god especially delighted [a]; and as this was supposed to be the day of his birth he was called Ἑβδομαγέτης, and on this most of his great festivals are known to have begun. Sacrifice was also offered to him on the other sacred days, and from these he derived the appellatives Νεομήνιος and Εἰκάδιος, which are all the more singular as there is no other instance of a Greek divinity receiving cult-titles in this way from the ritual-calendar [233–235]. No satisfactory explanation, astronomical or other, has been suggested for these facts. We must suppose that the consecration of this seventh day was an early event in Greek religion, as Hesiod attests it and so many Greek communities acknowledged it in their Apolline festival service.

We may distinguish the more purely agrarian feasts from those in which the artistic character is the more prominent. The former can be usually recognized as harvest-celebrations or festivals of the first-fruits, and mostly present certain primitive features that allow us to group them with other European peasant-rituals that have been brought to light and explained by modern anthropology.

The most important of this type were the Karneia, the Hyakinthia, and the Thargelia. The leading questions concerning the Karneia have already been handled, and it remains to state the details of the ritual and to estimate the evidence from them.

The Laconian Karneia [231], about which alone we have any clear statement of date, fell on the seventh of the month Karneios which corresponded to the Athenian Metageitnion, nearly to August in our calendar, and lasted for nine days [27 n, 233 c]. The ritual, as described, appears to have been partly agrarian, partly warlike. A certain functionary was decked with garlands, and, after praying for blessings on the city, started off running, pursued by certain young men who must be unmarried and who were called σταφυλοδρόμοι or 'Grape-cluster-runners': if they caught him, it was a good omen for

[a] The festival of the sister goddess sometimes fell on the seventh also: e.g. at Antioch, *Liban.* 1, p. 236 (Reiske).

the state, but bad if they failed. This is primitive agrarian ritual, instituted to promote the fertility of the harvest and the vintage. The other aspect of the whole festival is that of which we hear most. Demetrios of Skepsis declared that the Lacedaemonian Karneia was a μίμησις or symbolic representation of the military life; but all that he tells us is that the men lived and feasted together throughout the whole time, divided into nine groups of three phratries, each group occupying a place called a Σκιάς, which contained 'something like tents': he adds that everything was performed 'by word of command.' If this were all, we might believe that he has mistaken a Feast of Tabernacles, which might be purely agrarian, for a military commemoration. But we learn from an author quoted in Bekker's *Anecdota* that the 'gymnopaidia' formed part of the Karneia [231 g], and from Sosibios that the leaders of the choruses in the gymnopaidia wore crowns of palm-leaves that were called θυρεατικοί and were commemorative of the victory at Thyrea [a], and from another source that the paeans which were sung by the boys contained allusions to other historical achievements, such as the fight at Thermopylae. These choruses then, which were danced by boys, youths, and men naked, had a military character. And we must believe that this was as much part of the original Karneia as the agrarian ritual; for the festival at Cyrene included a hoplite-dance, and at Argos its legend and at least part of its ritual was clearly military, both the god and the priest being there called Ἀγήτωρ, the 'leader of the host,' a name that was supposed to allude to the invading march of the Dorians [231 d]. It is a legitimate conclusion then that among the Dorians, at least, the festival of the 'god of herds' had taken on a martial character before they reached the Peloponnese [b]. In Sparta it afforded an important stimulus to

[a] A small bronze statuette has been discovered at Amyklai of a nude lyre-playing figure wearing a peculiar crown which is probably a θυρεατικός: it is likely that the figure represents one of the choregi in the Gymnopaidia, vide Wolters, *Jahrb. d. Arch. Inst.* 1896, p. 8; *Eph. Arch.* 1892, Pl. II.

[b] Wide, *Lakon. Kulte*, p. 81, denies the military character of the festival altogether, but without considering the evidence from Argos and Cyrene.

the national culture, fostering the arts of music and song. The great names of Terpander, Thaletas, and Alkman are associated with it: and as the festival-compositions contained allusions to stirring contemporary events, so Euripides' chorus imagined that the devotion of Alcestis would be the theme of the minstrel at the Karneia, 'when the moon was high in heavens all night long[a].'

In this record it is the page of primitive peasant-ritual unfolded to us that is most attractive to the anthropologist. The running and the pursuit of the garland-man has, in my opinion, been explained on the whole rightly by Dr. Wide on the lines which I have indicated above[b]; the person who is dressed up in the 'stemmata,' a sort of Jack-in-the-green, is the incarnation of the vegetation-power who wishes to escape after the harvest, but is pursued by the husbandmen, and if possible captured. Modern studies in European folk-religion have made this ceremony so familiar that there is no need to illustrate it here with other examples. It is more necessary to remark that this is the only clear instance in ancient Greece of this pursuit in a vegetation-ritual surviving in a state-service, though there are legendary hints of it elsewhere[c], and we may

[a] An interesting suggestion has recently been made by Mr. Binney in the *Class. Rev.* 1905, p. 98 ('The Alcestis as a folk-drama'), that the story of Alcestis was really acted at the Karneia as a development of an old-world mummers'-play, a 'vegetation-drama' of death and revival. We may believe that there was some 'mummery' in the Karneia, certain people wearing masks, vide p. 262, note b: the question whether the festival included a simulated death is discussed below, p. 263: Euripides' words would certainly gain in point if the Alcestis-legend was really an integral part of the Laconian celebration, but I am not convinced that they prove that it was.

[b] Op. cit. pp. 73–86.

[c] We have ritual and ritual-legend expressing the idea of the disappearance of the deity, and the search of the worshipper, in the cults of Hera (vide *Cults*, vol. 1, pp. 185–189), and Harmonia (Schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 8); but these are not parallel to the pursuit on the harvest-field. We have dim traces in legend, but not in any recorded ritual, of a pursuit of Dionysos that was perhaps analogous to the ceremony of the Karneia (Plut. p. 717 A, Schol. Hom. *Il.* 6. 131). The priest of Dionysos at Potniai pursues one of the descendants of the Minyades with drawn sword (Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 38), but the intended victim was always a woman, and there is no trace of vegetation-ritual. The latter may be the original source of the human sacrifice in the worship of Aglauros; the victim runs round the altar, but there is no mention of pursuit, vide vol. 3, p. 19.

suspect that it explains the practice observed at Tegea, where in the festival of Apollo Ἀγυιεύς the priestess of Artemis 'pursued some one'[a]. In the Karneia we need not doubt but that the pursued person is the temporary representative of the divinity, not necessarily of the unreal Κάρνος, but of Apollo Κάρνειος, who as a deity of vegetation could easily attract to himself a peasant-rite that belonged originally to a lower stratum of religion. The garlanded runner could take to himself the appellatives of the deity in whose service he was performing his part, and might be called Κάρνειος Οἰκέτας or Κάρνειος Στεμματίας or Δρομαιεύς. The original idea of the race was probably blurred in the later period. We are not told that he was called Κάρνος, 'the ram,' or that he or his followers[b] masqueraded in the guise of the sacrificial animal[c], though the kindred figure of Κρῖος[d] and the great prevalence of animal sacrificial dances in prehistoric Greece may suggest this. But whether as the priest who performed the sacrifice or as the human counterpart of the 'theanthropic animal,' in him we may be sure the power of the god was supposed to reside. And a double part seems to have been assigned to the runner: in his character as priest or votary he invokes a blessing, in his character as god he runs away and is pursued. With what object? Partly, I would suggest, that the pursuers may touch his sacred person with the grape-clusters which they carry in their hands, so that these being impregnated with his virtue, the whole of the vintage may prosper, by the well-known law of magic ritual that the part acts on the whole. And if we suppose that the 'staphylodromi' then ran round the vineyards bearing with them these consecrated products, we shall understand the obscure phrase of Hesychius,

[a] The ritual was explained by the story of the murder of Skephros, the friend and votary of Apollo, by Leimon (R. 48[b]).

[b] It seems that all those who officiated were called Καρνεᾶται, a name of no special significance (R. 231[b]).

[c] Wide, op. cit. p. 78, concludes too much from the passages he quotes from Hesychius: the locus *s. v.* στεμματιαῖον (δίκηλόν τι ἐν ἑορτῇ πομπέων δαίμονος) no doubt refers to the Karneia, but conveys no hint of an animal-masque: the others which he gives *s. v.* δεικηλισταί, δίκηλον, are not necessarily relevant, cf. Athenae. p. 621 E.

[d] Vide p. 135.

who describes these personages as 'those who stimulate the vintage-labourers' [231b].

But, according to Wide [a], the original object of the pursuit was to slay the garlanded man or man-beast who embodied the spirit of vegetation, though he does not discuss why it was necessary on this theory for the pursuers to carry grape-clusters. Now the slaying, whether real or simulated, of the representative of vegetation, is a fact of peasant-ritual with which we have been made familiar; but it was not universal or necessary: he might be kept and put to other uses. But is there any suggestion of a slaying of Karneios? Not in any record of the ritual, but only in the legend that a certain Acarnanian prophet called Karnos was slain, a legend recorded by Theopompos [27b]. But if we take this story as evidence sufficient to prove that the human sacrifice of the representative of the god was once a part of the Karneia, we still ought not to explain this as an instance of the familiar vegetation-ritual.

For according to that legend it is not the garlanded man, the 'Jack-in-the-green,' who was slain, but the prophet-priest who led the host as the incarnation of Apollo Karneios (or Agyieus) and himself called at Argos 'Hagetor' like the god himself: and this is a very different figure. The legend then may be evidence of that slaying of the god-priest with which readers of Dr. Frazer's work are familiar, but not of a human sacrifice according to harvest-ritual. And if the priest dies a sacrificial death, the question must arise how far the god was supposed to die also, but this will be more conveniently discussed below in connexion with the human sacrifices in Apolline cult. But we cannot assign full value to the testimony of a single legend, unless there is some *data* afforded by the actual ritual to support it. And in this case there are none: in the Karneia, dissimilar in this to the Hyakinthia, we can discover no chthonian rites at all: there is no grave of Karnos, no mourning for him, no piacular ceremonies recorded [b].

[a] Op. cit. p. 80.

[b] Pausanias' statement (K.27)—derived probably from Theopompos—that the Dorian worship of Apollo Karneios

We may now consider certain features of the other leading Laconian festival, the Hyakinthia [246-252]. This great national celebration was held at Amyklai in the month Hekatombaion [246]—which corresponds roughly to the last half of May and first half of June—and probably began on the seventh day. Our chief authority for it is the *Lakonica* of Polykrates, from whom Athenaeus quotes the following description [247]. 'The Laconians celebrate the festival of the Hyakinthia for three days: and owing to the sorrow for Hyakinthos they neither wear crowns at the evening banquets nor bring in bread or cakes to the meal . . . and they do not sing the paean to the god, but having dined with great decorum they depart. But on the middle of the three days there is a varied show and a great and remarkable gathering. Boys, with their tunics tucked up, play on the lyre and sing to the flute, striking all the chords at once with the plectron, and sing the praises of the god in anapaestic rhythm and high pitch: while dancers mingling with them move in an archaic style of dancing to the accompaniment of flute and song. Others in gay apparel ride through the theatre on horseback, and youths formed into very large choruses enter and sing some of their native songs. Of the maidens some ride on richly decorated chariots of wickerwork, others drive in procession their chariot-teams for racing: the whole city is in movement and festal rejoicing, and on that day they sacrifice a large number of victims, and all the citizens invite their friends to dinner and even their own slaves.'

As we have already seen, two different streams of religious thought and ritual meet in this festival. It begins with a service of mourning for Hyakinthos, for the account of Polykrates corresponds in this respect with Pausanias' statement that offerings were placed in the tomb of Hyakinthos before the Apolline sacrifice in the Hyakinthia [19]. The rule against crowns occurs in other chthonian or sorrowful rites in Greece; in the pre-Christian cults such religious sorrow is almost entirely confined to the worship of deities and heroes

was instituted in order to appease Karneios, merely rests on the story of the death of Karnos, not necessarily on something he saw in the ritual.

of vegetation[a] and is sympathetic with the passing away of the early verdure or with the fall of the year.

The meal in the evening may have been a sort of funeral banquet; but the rule against eating bread is probably an instance of that abstinence from cereals which is occasionally ordained before the corn-harvest begins[b]. And as Hyakinthos was a vegetation-deity and the festival fell near the beginning of June, we must suppose that it had a certain significance for the coming harvest. But when we come to the Apolline part of the festival everything is changed: there is no nature-worship, no vegetation-ritual, and no more sorrow; the paean resounds and men wreathe themselves with ivy at the banquet[c]: the ceremonies have the air of the gorgeous pageantry of a civilized society, great in the arts of music and great in war[d]. Are we then to believe, as Polykrates seems to desire us, that this characteristically Apolline ritual with its lofty music and genial gladness occupied one day alone and that this day of rejoicing was intercalated between two days of sorrow? We may well say with Aeschylus: χωρὶς ἡ τιμὴ θεῶν: Apollo's service is not likely to have been thus thrust in as an episode into the midst of the service of the dead. We cannot naturally explain the rejoicing as commemorative of the resurrection of Hyakinthos; for if this was a genuine religious dogma of Amyklai[e], it would find expression in a festival of early spring. The explanation usually accepted[f] is that Polykrates was wrong in regard to the duration of the

[a] The only exception I am aware of is the bewailing of Achilles by the Elean women.

[b] In the Megalensia at Rome abstinence from bread was enjoined in the fast that preceded the resurrection of Attis, when it was probably eaten sacramentally; vide vol. 3, p. 389, R. 57[e], Cybele chapter.

[c] See Dionysos, Geogr. Reg. *s.v.* Laconia: this shows in Wide's opinion, op. cit. p. 291, a certain assimilation of Hyakinthos to Dionysos: the latter was a leading god in Amyklai, Paus. 3. 19, 6.

[d] The exhibition of the shield of the Theban hero Timomachos seems to point to some military display[250].

[e] We have some evidence that it was: the apotheosis of Hyakinthos and Polyboia was wrought on the base of the Amyclaean statue (3. 119, 4), and Nonnus (19. 101) speaks of a singer singing of the resurrection of Hyakinthos Ἀμυκλαίῳ τινὶ θεσμῷ.

[f] Vide Roscher's *Lexikon*, *s.v.* Hyakinthos.

festival and the order of the days: if we take certain passages in Herodotus[a] literally, we must believe that it lasted at least ten days, and we may suppose that the first part was mournful, consecrated to Hyakinthos and probably the original pre-Apolline ritual, the latter part joyful and devoted solely to the god. On this hypothesis it is not unreasonable to connect the Spartan festival of the Hekatombaia[c] [246] with the Hyakinthia[b]: we know that both occurred in the same month, which drew its name from the former, whereas if they were really distinct we should have expected the Spartans, like other Dorian states [191, 255], to have called the month after the more distinguished feast. If this theory which connects the Hekatombaia with Apolline worship is correct[c], it gives an additional illustration of that which the Spartan cult of Pythios seems to reveal, the paramount political ascendancy of Apollo after the consolidation of Laconia under Dorian Sparta; for Strabo associates the institution of the Hekatombaia with the synoikismos of 'the hundred cities' [246].

It is almost certain also that one of the Laconian festivals known as Κοπίδες, with its interesting goat-sacrifice noticed above, was part of the Hyakinthia[d]: it is mentioned and described by Athenaeus in the same context with the latter, and one of his sources associates it definitely with Amyklai [252].

There are two other points that invite attention in the record of the great Amyclaean festival. We hear of a nightly κῶμος [251]. As we have seen, nightly ceremonies in Apolline worship are significantly rare; and we might naturally think that these at Amyklai belonged only to Hyakinthos, the chthonian power: if so, as they are described by Euripides as 'a nightly merry-making,' his ritual was not wholly sorrowful.

[a] Cf. 9. 71 and 9. 11, 2.

[b] So Roscher and others, *Lexikon*, 1, p. 2762.

[c] Both at Argos and Sparta the Hekatombaia are recorded without the name of the god to whom they were offered: we must choose between Zeus and Apollo; the former was called Ἑκατόμβαιος in Crete and Caria, the latter in Athens and Mykonos [253].

[d] Another feast called Κοπίδες was held in Sparta, evidently at a different time from this, and associated with the Τιθηνίδια, the festival when the nurses brought the male children to Artemis, see Artemis, R. 72 (Athenae. p. 139 A).

Again, we note the prominence of women in the Hyakinthia: they weave a chiton for Apollo [249], they enter for the chariot races, and participate in the nightly revel; and one of them in the Roman period was specially honoured by the city of Sparta as 'leader and life-president of the most holy agon of the Hyakinthia' [251]. We must not lay too much stress on this last piece of evidence, remembering the case of the lady-pluralist who in the decadent days of Sparta managed to attach to herself a large number of heterogeneous priestships [a]. But evidently women had a high function and important position in the Hyakinthia; and the social and religious customs that prevailed at Sparta concerning women may explain this. But they seem to have played no part at all in the Karneia; and generally in Hellas the religion of Apollo appealed specially to the masculine temper, had little or no relation with the life of women, and—except in its prophetic ritual—rarely admitted female ministration [b]. Bacchic usages may have penetrated the festival, for the 'nightly revel' of the women has very much of a Dionysiac air; or possibly their function in the Hyakinthia was derived from the older pre-Apolline period, when the ceremony was a pure vegetation-ritual, in which according to a natural law of early religious thought women would be prominent [c].

Of these early festivals that were consecrated to Apollo, or taken over by him, as a deity of the harvest and a giver of fruits, the most complex and the most important for the study

[a] Vide Poseidon chapter, vol. 4, p. 34, note a.

[b] The Delian-Hyperborean legend may preserve a reminiscence of women-ministrants; but these came into the story from the association with Artemis. Certain minor functions in ritual were usually performed by women, in Apollo's as in other cults: e. g. the Ανθιάδες Κόραι at Athens (R. 7 [b]): we hear of a chorus of maidens in the service at Didyma (R. 274 [k]) and in the Boeotian Daphnephoria (R. 267), and the performing girls at the Delia are praised by the author of the Homeric hymn (R. 263 [a]). The maidens who went on the sixth of Munychion to propitiate Apollo in the Delphinion were regarded as representing the maidens of the Minotaur tribute (R. 34 [c]).

[c] Vide vol. 3, p. 111. During the sacrifice to Apollo Asgelatas at Anaphe, women — apparently female slaves — hurled abuse and ribaldry at the other sex (R. 29). This was possibly part of a vegetation-ritual, cf. Frazer, *Golden Bough*[3], vol. 1, p. 97 (cursing a charm to produce rain).

of Greek religion was the Attic Thargelia [241]. We gather that this fell on or near the seventh of Thargelion, which according to the Attic-Delian dogma was the birthday of Apollo [233]. As this date corresponds nearly to our twentieth of May [a], we must regard the Thargelia not as a spring-festival but an early harvest-celebration, when some of the first cereals and fruits are ripe [b]. The whole tenor of the ceremonies was agrarian, though as was inevitable in Athens it came to acquire an artistic character as well and some significance for the higher social life. It can be divided into two main rituals that fell on two different days: on the sixth of Thargelion, the city was purified by the procession, expulsion, and possibly the execution, of two human scapegoats known as φαρμακοί: on the seventh various cereal-offerings were brought to Apollo. It will be convenient to consider these latter first. We are told by Hesychius that the whole month was sacred to the god, and that in the Thargelia 'firstlings of all the fruits that were just appearing were carried round in procession and offered (to him).' The word θάργηλος itself is explained variously: it was a word for the offering themselves, the newly-made bread or the young fruits and vegetables, or for the vessel in which they were borne in the procession [241a–c]. It is generally supposed also that the εἰρεσιώνη, the bough of olive or laurel tied up with wool and laden with different kinds of fruits and cakes, was also carried round on the same day. It seems to have been more prominent in the ritual of the Pyanopsia, but the Scholiasts on Aristophanes speak of it in connexion both with the Pyanopsia and the Thargelia, regarding the latter as a festival of Helios, whom they would probably identify with Apollo [241b]. And we can only understand a gloss in Hesychius that explains θάργηλος as ἡ ἱκετηρία, 'the suppliant-bough,' if we suppose that the Thargelia-ceremonies included the ritual-use of the εἰρεσιώνη; for we

[a] Vide Dionys. Halic. *Antiqu.* 1, c. 63: he speaks of the twenty-third of Thargelion as seventeen days before the summer solstice, τελευτῶντος ἤδη τοῦ θέρους.

[b] Vide Mannhardt, *Antik. Wald. Feld. Kult.* p. 215; Mommsen's *Feste d. Stadt Athen* (chapter on Thargelia); Frazer, *Golden Bough*[3], vol. 3, p. 125.

learn that this was called 'the suppliant-bough' in allusion to a certain story of Theseus [259 c]. The εἰρεσιώνη was probably not devised originally for the Apolline service; it was used in the service of Athena as well [a], in the Panathenaia, and the bough itself, though occasionally of laurel, is generally described as of olive-wood. In fact, we have reason to suppose that the vegetation-ritual of the Thargelia, as of the very similar Pyanopsia, was part of the old European peasant-religion that preceded the developed service of the 'high gods,' and was taken over into their worship as it has been taken over by Christianity. These particular ceremonies are attached to Apollo because they naturally fell at the time of his early summer festival, the period of his 'epiphany' or 'special visitation' at Athens [b]. But the record is too slight to allow us to decide how far the personality of the god impressed itself on this part of the Thargelia: we hear merely that some of the cakes attached to the bough were worked into the form of a lyre [259 d], and it is probable, though not recorded, that a large εἰρεσιώνη was carried in procession to his temple. This may have been the Pythion, as we know that the tripods won as prizes in the musical competitions of the Thargelia were dedicated there [156]. Or it may have been the Delphinion, as the autumn εἰρεσιώνη, which was associated with the legend of Theseus and his vow to Apollo Delphinios, was probably consecrated in this temple. But the ceremony in its main form shows the character of private agrarian rite: each citizen hung the magic bough over his own door, and the boys sang a spell over it [c]. This was probably an Attic harvest-fashion before Apollo was heard of. It was a charm to avert famine, whence the story arose that it was a ritual prescribed by an oracle when a famine threatened [241 b]. Originally an act of magic rather than religion, intended to conserve the forces of vegetation for the coming year, it is taken up by the higher religion, and becomes a harvest-thanksgiving, or even a supplicatory service, an idea which could all the more easily arise

[a] Athena, R. 36[1].

[b] Istros describes the Thargelia in his treatise: περὶ τῶν Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπιφανειῶν.

[c] Vide fuller account in the description of the Pyanopsia, infra, p. 286.

owing to the resemblance of the εἰρεσιώνη to the suppliant's bough with woollen fillets. We may regard it as a much simpler form of the same kind of ritual as the Boeotian Daphnephoria.

The other side of the Thargelia, its piacular service, remains to be considered. On the sixth day of Thargelion the Athenians 'cleansed their city' [241 h], such purgations before the early harvest or harvest-ceremonies being a prevalent custom [a]. With this was associated the much discussed ritual of the φαρμακοί. Our earliest account of this descends from Istros, a writer of the third century B. C., who tells us [241 d] that the Athenians were in the habit of 'leading forth two men in the Thargelia, as a mode of purifying the city, one in behalf of the men, the other in behalf of the women'; and he adds by way of explanation a legend concerning a person called Pharmakos, who stole some sacred libation-cups from the temple of Apollo and was stoned by the 'companions of Achilles': and he concludes by saying that 'the things done in the Thargelia were an imitation of these things.' The natural conclusion which we should draw from this mysterious story—which may be of more value than at first sight appears—would be that the two 'pharmakoi' at Athens were actually stoned to death or that there was a pretence of stoning them. The only earlier authority who alludes to these personages is Lysias, and his allusion is indirect: he thinks the city should 'purge itself of Andokides, should solemnly send him forth of its gates as a scapegoat or φαρμακός and get rid of him [241 e].' Why in this sentence, with its accumulation of verbs, is there no reference to killing, if it was the usual fate of the Attic 'pharmakoi' to be killed? The next direct account that can be quoted is much later but more explicit. Helladios of the third century A. D. informs us 'that it was the custom at Athens to lead two pharmakoi, one for the men and one for the women, to be a purification for the city. The one

[a] Cf. the festival of the first-fruits among the Creek Indians in early summer (Frazer, *Golden Bough*, vol. 2, p. 331): a new fire is made, fruit and flesh offered to the spirit of the fire as an annual oblation for sin, a sham fight follows.

intended for the men had black figs hung round his neck, the other had white: and they were called "Συβάκχοι." This purification was to avert the troubles of plague, and arose from (the murder of) Androgeos the Cretan, for in consequence of his lawless death the Athenians were smitten with the plague, and so the custom prevailed always to purify the city with pharmakoi'[241 i]. This record, which, as the opening phrases suggest, may be drawn from Istros, is of the greater value for the anthropology of the problem; but it is somewhat provoking in its silence concerning the ultimate fate of the human scapegoats. We cannot assume *a priori* that they must have been killed; for the scapegoat might be let go, bearing away the sins of the people into the wilderness. During the procession they were beaten with branches of the fig-tree, with what object will be considered immediately. But it is only very late authorities, such as Suidas, the Scholiast on Aristophanes, and Tzetzes, that speak of an actual immolation of the φαρμακοί[241 f, g, l], and of these the first two excite suspicion, for their statements are evidently based on a misunderstanding of a passage in Aristophanes, which they wrongly supposed to be referring to the Thargelian scapegoats[a]. We are left then with nothing but the account given by Tzetzes in the Chiliades[241 l], which deserves more careful attention than it usually receives: 'in time of plague, famine, or other disaster, the ugliest man in the city was led to sacrifice, as a purification and an expiation of the city; bringing him to a suitable place they put cheese into his hand, and cakes, and figs, and having smitten him seven times on his genital organs with squills, wild figs, and other wild growths, they at last burnt him with wood of wild (fruit)-trees, and scattered his ashes to the winds into the sea.' Tzetzes is a writer of no independent value for classical antiquity; but this ritual narrative—which is no doubt intended to refer to the Thargelia—is anthropologically far too good to be a mere fiction; it must be drawn from some early and detailed account of the

[a] Mommsen, *Feste d. Stadt Athen*, p. 475, n. 3, argues rightly that the ὥσπερ δημοσίους of Aristophanes must refer to the animal-victims that were fattened at the public expense.

festival, other than that given by Istros[a]. Are we to suppose then that the Athenians were in the habit at some past period in their history of immolating the human scapegoat in this cruel fashion? That this cold-blooded ritual-murder should have been consummated every year in the most brilliant of the Greek states seems so grave a slur on Attic civilization that, hardened as we are about similar blots on our own national scutcheon, we are inclined to dismiss the statement, or only to admit it as true of far-off prehistoric days. Others, like Rohde, regard the evidence as too strong to be controverted; while modern anthropology seems disposed to accept it with eagerness as giving a piquant instance of savagery at the heart of the ancient culture. Looking, however, at the evidence without emotion, we must admit that in the Apolline story there is a very marked streak of legend pointing to the practice of human sacrifices. We have noticed already the tradition that the Ainianes[77] had at one time been commanded by the Delphic oracle to stone their king, and stoning in old days was more likely to have been a religious than a secular mode of execution. There is the ugly story that the Scholiast on Pindar preserves[2] about the wild northern Kyknos, son of Ares, who established himself by the Apolline shrine at Pagasai and there waylaid the pilgrims to Delphi, and 'cut off their heads that he might build a temple to Apollo out of their skulls.' The startled commentator instantly emends τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι to τῷ Ἄρει, to save the character of the better god; and the second Scholiast on the passage supports the emendation. But the first, who quotes Stesichorus, may have meant what he wrote or what the MSS. record; for there is much in the mysterious legend of Kyknos that associates him closely, and not in an hostile sense, with Apollo[b]. In the first place, his name suggests the 'Hyperborean' priest of Apollo: the fight with Herakles took

[a] He goes on to make certain quotations from Hipponax, but the more detailed archaeological account that precedes is not likely to have been derived from the satirist of Ephesos.

[b] See Wilamowitz, *Euripides*, 2. 73, 127, who regards Κύκνος as the 'Apollon-diener,' but does not follow out the consequences of this theory.

place in or near the very temenos of the god of Pagasai, and Hesiod was aware of the tradition that his grave was once in this vicinity. But the hero who haunts the temple and whose grave lay near was surely the friend or priest, and not the enemy, of the divinity. Kyknos may have been of that class of warlike priests to whom Dr. Frazer has dedicated *The Golden Bough*, who have to fight all comers for their tenure of office. The slain priest could easily come to be regarded in the later legend that develops as the enemy of the god: and in this case Delphic jealousy of Pagasai that may have intercepted the offerings from the north may have had its influence in converting the figure of Kyknos into that of a wild robber; and being a northerner, he would be naturally regarded as a son of Ares, or, being a gigantic personage of the Minyan district, a son of Poseidon. Kyknos, Poseidon's son, inhabits Tenedos, Apollo's own island, and according to one legend is slain, as Palaiphatos reports it, stoned by Achilles[a]. There was another Kyknos, rumoured in late myth to have been a musical king of Liguria, and to have been transformed into a swan by Apollo: there was yet another Kyknos of Kalydon who flung himself into a lake, and there is the same transformation-story about him[b]. Now death by stoning and leaping into the water actually occurred in primitive Apolline ritual[275]. Also the name Κύκνος, the Swan, is unique of its kind in Greek mythology, and not many really distinct heroes are likely to have borne it. And the legend nearly always emphasizes their death and their association with Apollo. Therefore, though the lexicographers give us seven, we may believe in one 'swan,' a shadowy sacerdotal figure of the north Greek or 'Hyperborean' Apolline worship, who dies in the service of his god, and whose legend is carried about, and, becoming confused, begets many other 'swans,' who play many strange, sometimes epic, parts, but whose actions and sufferings betray something of their original significance.

In passing, we may note that building or embellishing a shrine with human skulls is a very genuine and interesting

[a] *De Incred.* 12. [b] Anton. *Transform.* 12. 12.

piece of savagery, of which modern folklore supplies us with contemporary instances, and which appears in a Libyan legend of Poseidon [a].

To pursue the legendary evidence further, we have the well-known stories about the leap from the Leukadian rock, which was certainly connected with the ritual of the local Apollo [275 b], and which appears reflected in Hyperborean tradition [b]. We may compare with this the Delphic stories that Pherekydes threw himself from the Corycian rock [c], and that Aesop suffered a similar fate on suspicion of appropriating sacred money [d]. But the clearest illustration of the point is the Megarian story preserved by Pausanias [e]: Alkathous was sacrificing at the altar of Apollo, when his own son rushed up and with innocent intent threw the burning wood off the altar, whereupon the father instantly slew him with the sacred faggots. The legend gives us strong testimony that at Megara, in ancient times, human victims were offered to Apollo, and that the victim might even be the king's own son.

So then the prehistoric Apollo was without remorse in this matter. But was the savage custom wholly extinct in the historic period? The reminiscence, or the simulation of it, might linger long in actual ritual, the most conservative of all the records of man. We are told, for instance, that the Thessalians every year promised to sacrifice a hekatomb of men to Apollo Καταιβάσιος, and every year deferred the execution of the vow [275 e], the most naïve instance of ritualistic fraud that has come down to us. But the actual practice survived to a late date at Leukas: it was mitigated first by choosing criminals for the purpose, who had to die in some fashion or other, so that the demands of ancient religion were thus reconciled with a higher morality [f]: it was further

[a] Vide Poseidon, R. 111.
[b] Plin. *N. H.* 4. 26, § 90.
[c] Diog. Laert. 1. 11, § 118.
[d] Plut. p. 557 A–B.
[e] 1. 42, 6.
[f] The same reconciliation of ritual with morality was discovered at Rhodes in the human sacrifice to Aristobule, vide Artemis, R. 120. Our own mode of execution by hanging is suspected to descend from the practice of hanging human victims on Odin's tree: criminals would at last be selected, and the gallows is still called the 'gallows-tree.'

mitigated in that the death was only simulated; the person was thrown over, but the fall was lightened by ingenious contrivances, and he was rescued and sent out of the country [275 b].

But we have also two records that seem to be clear and decisive, proving the late survival of human sacrifice to Apollo in all its rigour: one is a passage in the *Ibis*, where the poet prays against his enemy 'that he may be sacrificed at the holy altar as a victim to Phoebus . . .: or that Abdera on certain solemn days might devote him to death, and that a shower of stones thicker than hail might fall upon him.' Certainly this ritual-death at Abdera by stoning appears in this context as part of the Apolline worship there [275 c]. Or if we are so sceptical as to suspect that Ovid is speaking of things past as if they were present, we at least cannot evade the positive evidence given by Strabo concerning human sacrifice at Kourion in Cyprus, 'there is the promontory from which they throw those who have touched the altar of Apollo [275 a].'

In the history of religion there are many strange contradictions; and the bondage of ancient ritual is often stronger than the strongest civilizing instinct of the most progressive race. Therefore we need not wonder if Apollo, the deity whom the higher imagination of the Greek so exalted and purified that death and bloodshed became unclean things in his sight, should have to tolerate through ages of civilized history such a ritual as Aeschylus might describe as more suited to the festival of the Furies [a].

With all these analogies before us, we may then accept the explicit statement of Tzetzes that at some time in the past the Athenians were in the habit of actually immolating the human φαρμακοί in the Thargelia; and we may reconcile what he says about the burning with what Istros implies about the stoning by supposing that they were stoned first and burnt afterwards. For both these processes have their ritualistic value, as this slaying need involve no blood-

[a] *Eum.* 189.

shed, and the accursed or sacred flesh is absolutely consumed [a].

But, after all, the serious question which deeply affects our view of Attic civilization remains unanswered: how long did this savage practice continue in real force? Were the contemporaries of Pericles and Demosthenes capable of it? If so, we cannot apologize for them by saying that, like the Rhodians, they reserved their worst criminals for this fate and merely condemned to a religious death those who deserved a secular [b]. No ancient authority ever suggests that the φαρμακοί were criminals: they were simply the ugliest men that could be procured, and the Athenian of the fifth and fourth century was no more likely to suppose that ugliness supplied a moral justification to murder than we are.

There are strong reasons for believing that the practice of human sacrifice had died out at Athens before the fifth century B. C., and probably earlier, and only survived there in one or two worships as a ritualistic pretence. We have Euripides as a witness that a mock-sacrifice of human blood was a custom of his own time in the worship of Artemis Brauronia at Halai [c]; similar fictions may have been found in other Attic cults of which there is no record. The latest recorded instance of the actual offering of a human life in Athens belongs to the period of Epimenides, who was summoned to purify Athens after the Cylonian massacre about 600 B. C., when a noble youth voluntarily offered his life in expiation for the sins of the people [d]. Even if we accept the story, we must lay stress on the voluntariness of the oblation, a trait which marks even the legendary sacrifice of the daughters of Erechtheus, which is the only example of this

[a] The sacrifice of the Locrian maidens in the service of Athena Ilias is a very close parallel to the Thargelia-ritual (vide Athena, R. 1[b]). Photius, in a vague way, speaks as if the Greeks in general had been in the habit of throwing a youth every year into the sea after wiping off their evils upon him, 275[f].

[b] This is sometimes assumed by modern scholars, e.g. Schömann, *Griech. Alterth.* 2, p. 244: apparently also by Miss Harrison, *Prolegomena*, p. 104.

[c] Vide Artemis, R. 32, vol. 2.

[d] There are two separate versions of the story, one given by Athenaeus from Neanthes of Kyzikos (Polemo declared the whole story a fiction), *Deipnosoph.* 602, C, F: another, from an independent source, by Diogenes Laertius, 1. 10, § 110.

ritual in the mythology of Athens. In the fifth century, such sacrifices, even as a desperate expedient in great danger, revolted Attic feeling, of which we can take Aeschylus and Euripides as safe interpreters. And Plutarch, in his life of Pelopidas, gives us an interesting story attesting the agony of mind that was aroused in the leaders of the Theban army before Leuktra, by a dream that seemed to point to the sacrifice of a maiden: a solution was happily found, a 'maiden' presented herself for sacrifice, a yellow-maned young mare, not a human maid. The speaker in the Platonic dialogue of 'Minos' declares that human sacrifice was prevalent among the barbarian nations, but 'we consider it illegal and unholy,' though he admits that something ominously like it survived on Mount Lykaion of Arcadia and in the Thessalian Halos. Could an Athenian have had the temerity to write this, when every year a public ritual-murder was perpetrated by his own state, a piece of savagery which must have become a scandal notorious throughout the Greek world? Even the Locrian maidens, the victims of Athena Ilias, were given a chance of escape, and this ritual was abolished before the middle of the fourth century. Such sacrifices may have survived in the Greek world sporadically, or as an expedient in a great crisis, far on into the Hellenistic period. But the *a priori* reasons that have been considered are strong against the supposition that they were still in vogue as an annual rite at Athens in the zenith of her history. And to these reasons we may add a valuable piece of negative evidence from Porphyry. His chapter on cereal and animal sacrifice in the *De Abstinentia*[a] contains a short record of the human sacrifices prevalent at any time among the Mediterranean peoples; it is evidently not written to spare the feelings of the Athenians or other Hellenes, and he mentions, from the mythical history of Athens, the example of the daughters of Erechtheus. Surely the Thargelia would have been his salient example if its cruel ritual had been in vogue in historical times: and he must have known about the Thargelia, for he quotes Istros who had written about it. Yet there is no mention of the Thargelia in that chapter.

[a] 2. 54.

A more direct contribution of evidence, hitherto unused, to the solution of the question may be gleaned from statements in the *Phaedo* concerning the execution of Socrates. Unfortunately we have nowhere any precise statement as to the exact day or month of his death[a]. But Plato and Xenophon inform us that immediately after his sentence the sacred trireme set sail for Delos for a festival of Apollo, and that until she returned to Athens no one could be put to death; and therefore the execution of Socrates was deferred for at least a month, as Xenophon states [263 g], or for a very long period according to the more indefinite words of Plato. This respite was given, not for the sake of mercy, but in order that the city might contract no stain, since as long as the ship was absent in the service of the 'pure' god, to whom contact with death was unclean, the city must remain 'pure' and no one could be put to death. Now it is difficult to dissociate this period of purity from that which was consummated by the φαρμακοί on the sixth of Thargelion. Again, the sacred ship was said to be the very vessel in which Theseus set sail for Crete, and the date of his departure was carefully preserved, the sixth of Munychion [242 g]. Why should this fictitious date be chronicled at all unless it was connected with some fact, just as the date of Theseus' return was connected with the known date of the Pyanopsia? If we suppose then that the ship actually left the Peiraeus at some time near to that date —the exact hour being fixed by those who watched for the divine signal in the Marathonian Delium and by the priest who crowned the prow—then it was sailing to bear the θεωροί to the Delian festival of the god[b] that fell in Thargelion, probably on his birthday, the seventh day; it would not then return to Athens till after the day of the φαρμακοί. Therefore

[a] Robert, *Hermes*, 21, p. 168, thinks that in *Phaedo*, p. 80 C—ἐν τοιαύτῃ ὥρᾳ —there is a reference to a cool season of the year such as early spring: there may be, but the context shows that there is no reference to the death of Socrates, but merely to the conditions which are most favourable to the longer preservation of the body after death.

[b] Xenophon definitely calls it 'the Delia'; but it is a question to be considered below when 'the Delia' were held.

those victims—in the time of Socrates at least—by public ordinance could not be slain[a].

Nor in the Thargelia festival of other communities—it was only the Ionians that seem to have possessed it[b]—is there any hint of human sacrifice, though at Ephesos, as at Athens, the victim was beaten with fig-branches[244]. There is indeed the interesting record concerning a scapegoat ritual at Marseilles[245]. According to Petronius and Lactantius Placidus[c], a pauper offered himself for the purification of the society, and he was kept in great sumptuousness at the public expense for a whole year, at the close of which he was led round the city with solemn execrations and prayers that 'on him might fall all the evils of the community,' and then cast forth, or, perhaps, if we could trust Lactantius, stoned to death outside the city. The ceremony was obviously an annual lustration and not an exceptional rite, as Servius would have us believe, resorted to in time of plague. But though we may surmise that this was part of a Massilian Thargelia, there is no mention of the name of the festival or the deity.

We may safely conclude then that the 'human sacrifice' in the Attic Thargelia in the later historical period was only a shadow and a simulation of what had once been a real oblation.

The other question that remains concerns the study of early religion. Why was the human victim once slain in the Thargelia? Obviously for lustral and piacular reasons, as the name *φαρμακός* and the records sufficiently show: and it was very important to purge the sins of the community, to 'expel the devil' before harvest-time[d]. But it is doubtful whether the idea of expiation is not somewhat too advanced to describe exactly the primitive thought embedded in the Thargelia

[a] Vide discussion of the Delian festivals, p. 287, &c.

[b] No Dorian, Aeolic, or other community except the Ionians had the month *Θαργηλιών* in their calendar: see Bischoff, *De Fastis*, Taf. 3.

[c] Lactantius merely speaks of a 'Gallicus mos,' but is probably referring to Marseilles: the final fate of the *φαρμακός* is described by Petronius as 'proiiciebatur' (unwarrantably altered to 'praecipitabatur' by Stephanus): Petronius is the better authority.

[d] Cf. Frazer, op. cit. 3, p. 78, for instances of expulsion of devils at seed-time and harvest.

κάθαρσις. That a resentful deity might pardon the sins of the people, if one of them offered his life in expiation for them, is a concept that belongs to high religion, though there are moral flaws in it; but it is then desirable on this theory that the life offered should be a powerful life, more sacred than the common, and therefore best able to mediate between the community and God: such a life is that of the king's son or daughter, who is therefore often the piacular victim in Greek legend. More primitive and more akin to animistic demonology than to religion is the idea that one's sins, like one's diseases, might be taken from one's own person and, by certain ritual, planted in some other living being, animal or man, and if this creature by magical or higher ritual could be charged with all the sins of the community and could be safely put away, here was a literal and almost mechanical expulsion of sin, and there is hardly any need for a high god in the matter. But for this purpose it was just as well, and more economical, to choose the vilest and ugliest person available; and such a character was the φαρμακός, an abject sin-carrier, whose death need not be called an expiation, but rather a purgation by magic transference [a].

This idea is clearly discernible in the ritual; but there is also another, quite different, even antagonistic, that we may discern if we look carefully. Why is the φαρμακός decked out with ripe figs at Athens, fed up with figs, cheese, and maize at Ephesus, perhaps fed sumptuously and gorgeously attired at Marseilles? The account of the ritual in the last city somewhat resembles the description of the divine honours paid during his short supremacy to the human victim in Mexican worship. The φαρμακός is in fact playing two rôles at once; in his character as sin-bearer he is vile, ugly, and rejected, burnt, and his ashes cast into the sea; in his character as the incarnation of the harvest-god, he is decked with the fruits of the soil, fed and cherished, whipped with fructifying boughs, especially on the reproductive organs, to stimulate his

[a] Cf. the case of the Indian φαρμακός, the criminal who takes upon himself the sins of the Rajah and Rani of Manipur: they purify themselves and the criminal and his wife go off in their old clothes: *Anthrop. Journ.* 1901, 302. Vide my *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 116.

vitalizing powers[a], and if he was ever burnt, as he might well have been, his ashes would not have been wastefully thrown into the sea, but probably strewn over the land to impregnate the soil with his vital spirit. With such ritual Dr. Frazer has rendered us all familiar. An explanation may now be ventured of that mysterious trait in the aetiological legend, the stealing of Apollo's cups by Pharmakos and his retributive death by stoning at the hands of the companions of Achilles. The latter name points to the coast of Asia Minor, and it is the Thargelia of some Ionic city, Ephesos or Miletos, that Istros had in mind. We must suppose that in one of these cities there was the pretence of what had once been a reality, the stoning of the sin-bearer. If we suppose also that here, too, previous to his immolation, he was treated with divine honours, carried through the city bearing some of the emblems of the god, with the god's very libation-cups in his beneficent hand, we shall at least understand the story of the theft. We may also discern in the Delphian story quoted above[b], about the ugly Aesop who was stoned for stealing the temple-treasures, a reflex of the same ritual.

Assuming then that the *φαρμακός* was at one time regarded, though inconsistently, as the incarnation of the vegetation-power, and as such put to death (as well as for other reasons), may we conclude that here at least is an example of the belief that Apollo himself dies a temporary death in ritual? The conclusion is not necessary, and against all probability; for when in ritual, such as the Stepteria at Delphi or the Boeotian Daphnephoria, a human minister was chosen to incarnate Apollo, they naturally chose the young and beautiful, not the ugliest.

It is singular how little Apollo is heard of in the account of

[a] The whipping was part of the ritual at Athens and Ephesos (R. 244); cf. the whipping of Charila in the vegetation-ritual at Delphi (Plut. 293 E). This may have been the meaning of the running and the scourging around the Delian altar which Theseus instituted (R. 280): it is significant that in this ceremony the votary fastened his teeth into the stem of the sacred olive-tree, thus putting himself into connexion with the divinity in the tree.

[b] Supra, p. 274.

this part of the Thargelia; we can say no more than that in some Ionic city the φαρμακός may have carried one of his φιάλαι, and that is only a conjecture; there is no mention of any of his temples in connexion with the procession in Athens, and it occurred on the sixth of the month which is not his day. In fact it is probably true to say of this part of the Thargelia, as of part of the Karneia and Hyakinthia, that the ritual is pre-Apolline, and only touches the Apolline service of the seventh day through the close proximity of date[a]. It may have been consecrated originally to the earth-goddess, who once demanded human victims in Greece, and to whom the Thargelia offerings may have belonged by right before Apollo appropriated them. This view is somewhat confirmed by the fact of the sacrifice to Demeter Χλόη on the sixth of Thargelion, the very day of the κάθαρσις[b]; and would be still further commended if we could accept the brilliant emendation of the Hipponax-fragment proposed by Bergk [244], according to which the poet refers to a vegetable-offering made at Ephesos to Pandora—an old form of the earth-goddess—'by way of purification at the Thargelia.'

So far, then, as the Attic φαρμακός was a divine incarnation, he may have incarnated, not Apollo, but a primitive vegetation-demon[c]. And Apollo did not die in this ritual, nor, as far as we can discover, in any other where the human victim was offered. There is little left to discuss concerning any of these. It is interesting, however, to note that in Cyprus they threw over the cliff and therefore presumably killed those who 'had touched the altar of Apollo' [275 a]. Are we to suppose that the touching was an act of sacrilege punishable by death, just as the rash man who touched the ark of Jahvé was punished by the withering of his arm? This is an entirely un-Hellenic idea: the touching of the altar in the religious view of the Greeks was not an offence, but a serious act

[a] According to Tzetzes the victim was struck seven strokes: we may see here an allusion to the sacredness of the number seven in Apollo's calendar.

[b] Vide Demeter, R. 9.

[c] We should know more about his true divine connexions if we could interpret the mysterious name Σύβακχοι applied to both the victims (R. 241[1]).

whereby a person established a mysterious contact between himself and the deity. Sometimes it was necessary for the animal victim voluntarily to touch the altar, because it was thus made manifest that the divinity had chosen it out and that the divine spirit had entered into it. In the Megarian legend mentioned above, the son who is sacrificed by the father had laid hands on the altar, and is slain by the sacred wood that he had touched. We may suppose then the Rhodian victim had marked himself out for sacrifice by this accidental contact, or was compelled to touch by the priests: in any case they are here immolating a human being who has just been in mystic communion with the deity and is thus himself temporarily divine. Of the Leukadian ritual nothing is recorded that gives us any clue as to its original significance; their choosing malefactors as victims suggests that the oblation was piacular, or was perhaps intended as an ejection of the sin-bearer, but there may have been confusion here as in the Thargelia. A gloss in Photius that wants emending suggests that the priests at times may have thrown themselves over, and if so, at Leukas as elsewhere, a sacred personage[a] died a sacrificial death [275 e].

It may be that the two latter cases are examples of a vegetation-ceremony that Greek legends attest, which consisted in throwing into the water an image or an incarnation of the vegetation-deity for the probable purpose of renewing his or her youth[b]: and this may occasionally have become confused with the casting of the human scapegoat into the sea, which Photius seems to think was a common practice [275 g]. And in certain cults where the character of the deity as a vegetation-power was very prominent, as in those of Dionysos and Aphrodite, the belief could thus prevail that the divinity passed away in temporary death.

[a] We hear of Aphrodite throwing herself down the rock, vide vol. 2, p. 650.

[b] We find this ritual shadowed in Cretan legend, vide vol. 2, p. 447 note c, p. 637; the record of the Attic Thargelia suggests Cretan influences, attested by the story of Androgeos' murder, and by the associations with Apollo Delphinios: it is curious that Aigeus—whose house becomes the Delphinion—flings himself into the sea about the time of the Pyanopsia, and that Theseus ends like his father; but these are probably legends derived from Poseidon-ritual.

But now that the evidence has been scrutinized, we cannot find that such ritual, though it might often attach itself to Apollo as an inheritance from an older or lower religious stratum, ever succeeded in marring the brightness of his character or clouding it with chthonian associations. Even if his priest Karnos or Karneios, his temporary incarnation, might at one time have had to die in ritual, the idea of the ceremony does not appear to have been pressed to any such strained logical conclusion as that in his death the god died also.

The account of the Boeotian Daphnephoria brings once more the physical functions of this deity into clearer light than his intellectual or spiritual nature[267]. The description of it in Pausanias[267 b] might indeed lead us to suppose that it was nothing more than a feast of purification: he merely tells us that the strongest and most beautiful boy was selected from one of the noble houses at Thebes to be the yearly priest of Apollo Ismenios, 'and they call him the laurel-bearer, for all the boys bear crowns of laurel.' The procession with laurel boughs points to some ceremony of lustration such as that which we find in the Delphic Stepteria. But Pausanias has given us only an inadequate description of the Daphnephoria, of which a more detailed account has been preserved by Photius[267 a]: every ninth year the priests in Boeotia brought laurels to the temples of Apollo, accompanied by choruses of maidens singing hymns: the ceremony of the daphnephoria was as follows: 'they decorate a log of olive-wood with laurels and variegated flowers; on the top of it a bronze ball is fitted, and from this they suspend smaller balls; about the middle of the log they attach purple garlands, setting the smaller balls round in a circle, and they cover up the lower parts of the log in a saffron-robe. The upper ball signifies for them the sun, with whom they connect Apollo, the lower one the moon, and the others that are attached the stars; the garlands symbolize the course of the year, for they fashion 365. The ceremony of the daphnephoria is begun by a boy whose parents are both alive; his nearest of kin carries the garlanded log, which they call κωπώ; then follows the "daphnephoros" himself, holding the

laurel, with long hair flowing on his shoulders, wearing a golden crown, clad in shining raiment to his feet, and shod in shoes called "iphikratides," he is followed by a chorus of maidens holding out suppliant boughs.' There is much here of great interest for primitive ritual, and, thanks mainly to the labours of Mannhardt and Frazer, it is not hard to interpret the main purpose of the Daphnephoria. It belongs to the maypole processions, universal in the peasant-religion of Europe, of which the object is to quicken the vitalizing powers of the year in the middle of spring [a] or at the beginning of summer. As regards the balls with which the tree was hung, Photius no doubt correctly gives the traditional interpretation [b], which is supported by the curious fact of the 365 garlands. But one finds the same custom of decking the maypole with metal balls and garlands cited by Mannhardt [c] from North Germany, and he declares the former to be merely the substitute of gilded eggs, the symbol of fertility. It is noteworthy also that the tree in the Daphnephoria is treated anthropomorphically, the saffron-robe that is wrapped round the lower stem being often used as a sacred garment in the cult of Dionysos, who is specially and prominently a tree-god. There is no direct evidence of sun-worship here; but the ritual savours rather of sun-magic, even if we are certain that the balls were really solar and astral symbols [d]. Such vegetation-ritual, of which tree-cult and solar magic are integral parts, was immemorial in Greece, and, owing to different local accidents, attached itself to different higher worships, here to an Athena, there to an Apollo, nor has Christianity shaken off the parasitic growth. The Daphnephoria, then, brings no real support to the old theory that Apollo developed from Helios, nor need we take Photius' statement about their assimilation to represent a real Boeotian dogma.

[a] It is almost certain that the Daphnephoria was a spring festival: the laurel-bearers proceeded to the temple of Apollo Ismenios and Galaxios; and the latter title denotes the god who brings the milk to the cattle in spring, hence the spring-month Γαλαξιών in Delos.

[b] Cf. the disks or globes consecrated to the sun at Iguvium, Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, p. 139.

[c] *Baumkultus*, p. 177.

[d] The same is true of the parallels to the Daphnephoria quoted by Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 3, p. 301.

Another interesting feature of this Boeotian ritual is the temporary apotheosis of the boy-priest, who is the living incarnation of Apollo. No doubt it was the aboriginal idea in Hellenic priesthood that the priest incarnates the deity, but this became fainter in the latter days of Hellas before the Oriental religions revived it; it was rarely presented so prominently as in the Boeotian Daphnephoria and the Delphic Stepteria.

Such a δενδροφορία as appears in the former rite is mentioned by Strabo[a] as common in the service of Apollo, but we can quote no other instance of it except in the ecstatic ritual of Magnesia mentioned above.

The Attic Pyanopsia[259], the only recorded festival of Apollo that fell in late autumn, belongs to the agrarian class of festivals already examined. Falling on the seventh of Pyanepsion, it was a thanksgiving service and a consecration of the later fruits and cereals to the harvest-god. The special ritualistic act from which the festival took its name was 'the cooking of the πύανος,' a dish of pulse or beans or a sort of πανσπερμία, supposed to be commemorative of the common meal shared by the companions of Theseus on their safe return from Crete. He landed on the seventh day of this month, and the festival was said to have been instituted by him in fulfilment of his vow to Apollo Delphinios. And the εἰρεσιώνη, which has been mentioned in connexion with the Thargelia, figures again and more prominently in the Pyanopsia: its magical use is set forth in the song of the boys which has been handed down by Pausanias and Plutarch: 'the eiresione brings figs and rich loaves, a measure of honey and oil to mix, a cup of pure wine, that it may go mellow to bed.' The wine is poured over the bough as a charm, and this method of sympathetic magic needs no comment[260 e]. An interesting gloss in Hesychius[259 e] preserves for us the fact that the εἰρεσιώνη was called κορυθαλία, a word meaning 'the nurse of children,' whence it appears that this ritual, like the Thesmophoria, aimed at securing the growth of the family as well

[a] In the vague passage already noticed, p. 253, note a.

as the fertility of the fields, an extension of purpose which followed, perhaps, when the εἰρεσιώνη was engrafted on the Apolline worship[a]. For these agrarian rites with their vegetation-magic and cereal sacraments[b] were certainly older in Attica than the coming of Apollo. As for the legend of Theseus, it was probably only at a very late period that it fastened on the Pyanopsia and Thargelia. The hero is not essentially an 'Apolline' character at all. But if these ceremonies came to be associated with the temple of Apollo Delphinios, as we have reason to suppose they were, it was natural that the Attic Theseus should enter into their story; for Delphinios had strong Cretan associations, and the voyage of Theseus against the Minotaur, the most glorious event in the mythic history of Attica, would also serve as a ready explanation for any Cretan elements in Attic or Delian religion.

The festivals of Delos, so far as they are recorded, belong to a higher order; they concern rather the history of Greek art and poetry, and have little to do with the simple peasant-ritual of field and homestead. Yet the agrarian character of Apollo was recognized in Delos also, for there was certainly some celebration in the island at which 'Hyperborean' ἀπαρχαί were delivered, the cereal first-fruits of the Greek states[c]. We may ask, when and at what festival were these consecrated? The Delian festal-calendar still remains uncertain, in spite

[a] Korythaleia was the name of the Spartan goddess to whom the nurses consecrated the boys, vide Artemis, R. 72: the phrase in Hesychius, τὸν ὑπερόριον θεόν, is quite correct: Mannhardt, *Ant. Wald. Feld. Kult.* p. 242, n. 1, accepts the impossible emendation ὑπερβόρειον θεῖον: his whole account of the εἰρεσιώνη is marred by his mixing up the 'Hyperborean' legend with it, which plays no real part in the εἰρεσιώνη ritual.

[b] An interesting parallel to the Pyanopsia is found in a Lithuanian harvest-ritual, in which a sacramental meal of corn and beer plays the chief part, described by Mannhardt, op. cit. 250 (borrowed by Frazer, op. cit. 2. 321).

[c] According to the natural meaning of the passage in Pausanias (R. 242 f), these were still being delivered in his time; the island must have somewhat recovered from the destitution caused by the Mithridatic ravages, see Strabo 486, and there seems to have been a revival of its ancient prestige in the first and second centuries A.D., as we gather from the Delian inscription concerning the pious sacrificial offerings of the Chians 'who renewed all the ancient usages,' vide Geogr. Reg. *s.v.* 'Delos.'

of the recent epigraphic discoveries. The coming-in of the first-fruits, cereal and vegetable, evidently implies a summer-festival and a panegyris or gathering of the representatives of the states, and Callimachus associates the *ἀπαρχαί* with the arrival of the choruses [242e]. But these latter would appear to be intended for the famous 'Delia,' which Thucydides supposes the author of the Homeric Hymn to be describing in the well-known passage about the gathering of the Ionians [263a], who delight Apollo 'with boxing, dancing, and song.' Now the scholars who have recently dealt with the subject, since the evidence published by the French [a], have concluded that the Delia was a spring-festival, one placing it in the Delian month Ἱερός, which corresponds to February–March [b], another in Galaxion about the March equinox [c]. And certain passages in ancient literature seem to accord with this view: 'the cities send choruses as pledges to Apollo when sweet spring begins and the nightingale lays its eggs,' says Dionysius the traveller; Theognis speaks of the far-famed hekatombs that the peoples send to Phoebus 'when spring begins, and the god is gladdened with the lyre and the paean, and the voices of the choruses' [262]. We can hardly doubt but that the reference is to Delos and its great festival. Then we have the legend preserved by Servius that Apollo, after spending the winter months in Lycia, arrives in Delos to spend the six summer months there [108]; and the *ἐπιδημίαι* or divine visitations, which are not infrequently mentioned in the religious record of Greece [d], would be the natural occasion for a festal celebration. Servius may be only paraphrasing Vergil who describes Apollo leaving wintry Lycia and visiting Delos his mother-land, and there instituting choruses: 'around the altars dance a mingled band of Cretans, Dryopes, and painted Agathyrsi [263e].' We suppose the poet to be referring to the season of spring, but the mention of the Agathyrsi throws an air of

[a] *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1881–1883.

[b] Robert, *Hermes*, 21, p. 168. The names and order of the Delian months are clearly established by recently discovered inscriptions, e. g. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1903, p. 78.

[c] Mommsen in Bursian-Müller *Jahresbericht.* 1886, pp. 333–347.

[d] Vide supra, p. 258, note b.

unreality over the passage; their only significance is their allusion to the Hyperborean offerings, which must have come in the early summer, if at all. The statement in Thucydides, that the Athenians organized the great penteteris of the Delia after they had purified the island in the winter, is also regarded as a proof that the Delia occurred in early spring [263 b].

It will be felt that this evidence is on the whole very vague: if we believe that the choruses started in early spring, we must allow for some delay on the voyage and for some interval after arrival in Delos, during which they might practise. And the statement of Thucydides, when examined carefully, gives us no chronological clue: some time after the winter-purification the Athenians instituted the Delia on a grand scale—how long after he does not care to say. It is very likely that the Delians themselves practised an annual purification before their great celebration; the inscriptions [a] prove that they purified their temple every month, and Plutarch [242 a] refers to 'the great purification' at Delos, which, from the context, seems to have just preceded the coming-in of the Hyperborean first-fruits, that is to say, was an early summer ritual.

Meantime it must be regarded as *a priori* improbable that the Ionians and the Greek states generally would have sent choruses of boys and valuable offerings across the seas before or about the March equinox: there was no constraining dogma about the exact date of Apollo's coming to Delos [b], but he would probably be supposed to arrive when it was convenient for his worshippers to arrive; and Aegean navigation is dangerous and unpleasant till near the end of April.

It is recorded that the Delians believed Apollo to have been born on the seventh of Thargelion [242 b]; this was also the Athenian belief, and no Apolline festival occurred in Athens, so far as the record goes, before that date. Would the Delians have instituted his great celebration before his birthday? It does not seem likely, and has not yet been proved. The inscriptions speak of τὰ Δήλια καὶ Ἀπολλώνια [242 b, 263 d], probably a double

[a] *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1882, p. 22.

[b] For instance, Apollo shared in a Delian sacrifice offered to Artemis Leto, Zeus Soter, and Athena Soteira in the month Lenaion, almost in mid-winter, vide Athena, R. 114 [b].

name for one complex festival[a]; but they give no sure clue as to its date. If we suppose it to have fallen on the seventh of Thargelion, the cities would have begun to think about their choruses in early spring, and we could still understand the passages in Theognis, Vergil, and Dionysius. We could also understand that the legend of Theseus could be engrafted upon this Delian festival; for he sailed on the sixth of Munychion, and might have settled matters with the Minotaur in time to return to Delos, to institute his crane-dance and to award his prize of the palm-leaf crown on the seventh of Thargelion [34 c, 242 g, 263 g]. And that there was some great Apolline ceremony in Delos in this month, in fact a Delian Thargelia, almost follows of necessity from Theophrastos' statement that the 'leading Athenians danced round the temple of Apollo Delios, wearing Theran garments, and this is the Apollo to whom they consecrate the Thargelia' [241 m]. There was no temple of Apollo Delios in Athens. Only, the seventh of Thargelion, on which Athens might consecrate some first-fruits to the god, is too early for the arrival in Delos of the Hyperborean offerings from all parts of the Greek world, especially of those coming from the north. For these we must assume a date somewhat later in the summer. Could this supposed summer-festival have been the Delia to which the Homeric hymn refers? The great Ionic panegyris and the Hyperborean legend are the two facts with which the earliest account of Delos has to reckon. Is it natural to suppose that they were

[a] That the two names (R. 263 [d]) designate one continuous festival is also Mommsen's view (loc. cit.): it does not seem likely that two separate great festivals, both equally Apollo's, should be called the one Δήλια the other Ἀπολλώνια: we know that strangers frequented the latter, and choruses of boys were sent; but it is not probable that choruses were sent twice in the year from the cities. Again the choragic inscriptions mention always Ἀπολλώνια καὶ Διονύσια, never the Δήλια (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1883, p. 103, lists of χορηγοί, third century B.C.); naturally, if the Apollonia are the same as the Delia. Mommsen, who gives convincing reasons for placing the Delian Dionysia in Galaxion, maintains that the Apollonia must have preceded these, though in the same month, because the choragic lists always mention them first. I cannot see the force of this reason: the long accounts of the hieropoei followed a chronological order of the months: but the lists of the choregi had only two festivals to mention at all: they could mention these in order of importance, not necessarily in order of time.

wholly independent of each other, and that the states would find it convenient to send their corn-carriers in one month and their choruses and 'theoroi' in another[a]? But whatever may have been the aboriginal practice, the evidence at present available seems to point to a festival in the island early in Thargelion, and there is nothing that forbids us calling this the Delia-Apollonia. Then the summer-festival, when the offerings come —which Callimachus, let us remember, associates with the χοροί of the cities—is a festival without a name. Nor have we a name for that autumn-festival in Delos, of which we get a glimpse in Menander's statement that the 'departure of Apollo,' somewhere about the end of October, was solemnized in Delos and Miletos with ὑμνοὶ ἀποπεμπτικοί. And perhaps it was this autumn-festival that was associated with the legend of the return of Theseus who reached Attica on the seventh of Pyanopsion. Apolline festivals in fact may have multiplied in Delos since the earliest settlement of the island; and the influence of the Athenian calendar may have caused changes in the Delian.

The great Pythian festival which fell on the seventh day in the month Bukatios[b], the second summer month of the Delphian calendar[256 a], may have originally been a harvest-thanksgiving, Apollo being supposed to come down from the Hyperboreans to take part in it; but if any agrarian character ever attached to it[c], this was entirely overshadowed by the higher culture of Greece.

It is more worthy of our attention than the Olympia, because the athletic side was always subordinated to the artistic and intellectual. The legend of its foundation belongs to the legendary history of Greek music and poetry: it gives us the name of the Delphian Philammon, who 'was the first to institute choral dances round the temple,' and was the reputed

[a] Note that the Coan month 'Dalios' is a summer-month following on 'Hyakinthios' (R. 255); I agree with Robert's arguments establishing this in *Hermes*, 21, p. 171.

[b] See Kirchhoff, *Monatsb. d. Königl. preuss. Akad.* 1864, pp. 129–135; Mommsen's *Delphika*, p. 157.

[c] In the historic period it was a 'penteteris,' celebrated every four years; it is said to have originally been held every ninth year (R. 256[c]); if this were true we can hardly suppose that its origin had anything to do with agrarian ritual.

author of a poem on Apollo and Artemis [264 d]. It was only after the Crissaean war that the Amphictyons added athletic contests to the Pythia. The earliest competitions were musical and poetical, and it appears that at some time later some form of tragic recitation was added, of which the theme was the death of Python [257]; and, as has been mentioned already, the *νόμος Πυθικός*, the musical composition specially associated with the festival [256 e], was given the same interpretation [a]. Prizes were awarded not only to the poets and musicians, but even to painters [256 f, g]; and in fact the Pythia may be regarded as the prototype of the art-exhibitions of modern Europe, for in this festival alone we hear of the famous artists exhibiting their works and competing. The great Delphic celebration then was pre-eminently the consecration of the highest life of Hellas to Apollo; a detailed account of it would form a special chapter in the history of Greek music.

There were other festivals consecrated to Apollo at Delphi that fell earlier in the season, and though less brilliant are of importance for the special study of Apolline ritual. There was a celebration on the seventh of Busios, Apollo's birthday [264], an early spring-day which must be regarded as marking the time in the year of the god's epiphany at Delphi. Somewhere near to this must have fallen the Theoxenia [265], in which the newly arrived deity extends hospitality to the other gods, especially to Dionysos, as appears from one of the recently discovered Delphic hymns: the latter is invoked 'in these holy hours of spring,' and is entreated 'to show this hymn to the brother-god in the yearly Theoxenia' [265 c]. This festivity then included like the Pythia a competition of the poets, and the shade of Pindar, who had deserved well of Apollo, was invited with his descendants to partake of the banquet: it included also, curiously enough, a sort of vegetable show, and a prize was given to him who exhibited the finest leek. In the most brilliant ceremonies of the artistic worship, the peasant is not wholly forgotten.

[a] There is truth in the statement of the Scholiast on Clemens Alexandrinus, for Plutarch, p. 417 F, says that the Delphians allowed 'the poets and rhetoricians in the theatres to act the combat of Apollo with the snake.'

This account must close with a notice of the festival known as the 'Stepteria'[a], which we may call the 'feast of purification' and in connexion with which the 'cathartic' ideas in the worship of this god may be finally discussed. It is described by Plutarch as one of three 'enneaterides' or festivals held every ninth year at Delphi, and was regarded partly as a holy drama enacting the death of Pytho, and the consequent flight of Apollo to Tempe, where he is purified and whence he returns in triumph bearing the sacred laurel. Combining the accounts given by Plutarch and Aelian 264 e, g, we can construct the following picture of the ritual: on a certain day in spring, a noble Delphian boy, conspicuous probably for his beauty, proceeds with a band of boys chosen from the best families under the escort of certain sacred women called 'Oleiai,' who carry torches and conduct the youths in silence to a cabin that was constructed near the Pythian temple in the form of a royal palace, and which was regarded as the abode of Python: this they set fire to and overturn the table, and without looking round fly through the doors of the temple. Then the boy-leader feigns to go into exile and even servitude; afterwards they all proceed together to Tempe, where they are purified at an altar, and having plucked the sacred laurel that grew there and made crowns for themselves with its leaves, they all return home along the sacred Pythian way (of which the route has been described above[b]), and in a village near Larissa, called Deipnias, 'the village of the banquet,' the boy-leader partakes of a solemn meal, probably a sacrament; they return to Delphi in triumph, accompanied by flute-music; and the sacred laurel they bring back serves to fashion the crowns for the Pythian victors.

No recorded religious service is so characteristically Hellenic as this, and perhaps none so fascinating. It is obviously in

[a] The form Στεπτήρια is of better authority than Σεπτήρια, vide Frazer, *Paus.* 3, p. 55: the word may be derived from the purificatory crowns brought back by the boys; an old meaning of στέφειν = 'to purify or expiate,' has been assumed by Miss Harrison and others, *Hell. Journ.* 1899, p. 223, note 1: this sense is not proved, or necessary to assume, but στέφη and στέφειν could be used of any offerings to the deity such as the Hyperborean first-fruits wrapped in straw, vide R. 242 d.

[b] pp. 103–104.

the main an expiatory ritual; and we may conclude that it was celebrated in the early summer, because such piacular rites are commonly performed before the harvest, and the laurels which are brought back are intended to be used for the summer Pythia[a]. But certain difficulties arise when we consider the details of the record and the whole significance of the Stepteria. The ancient writers who describe it evidently regarded it as a mimetic representation of Apollo's adventures after he had slain the Pythian snake. But in nearly all the similar examples afforded by classic cult which we can control, the ritual-legend grows out of the ritual and is subsequent to it. Only we must admit the possibility that the legend may have acquired sufficient influence and vitality to have come at last to impose a certain form on the ritual itself. Thus the boy-leader, who here as in the Boeotian Daphnephoria certainly incarnates the deity, feigns to go into slavery; some other explanation may be found, but it is natural to think that he is here imitating the god, who goes into slavery with Admetos because this was a recognized means of atoning for bloodshed[b]. But there is no whisper of a myth that Pytho, venerable serpent-deity though he may have been, actually lived in a 'stately cabin' like a 'king's palace,' and that Apollo set fire to it after kicking over the table. We may suspect that all this was not 'mimetic' at all, but part of the mere ritual of purification[c]. That temporary cabin reminds us of the tent in which Orestes was purified in Troezen[273 c]: as the boys were led to it in silence by the sacred women before their journey, may it not have served as

[a] It was summer when Apollo came back from the Hyberboreans to Delphi according to Alkaios (R. 256[d]); and the boys' journey from Tempe appears to have been the counterpart of the return of the god. Yet the Boeotian Daphnephoria, which resembled the Delphic ritual in many respects, seems to have been a spring-festival, vide supra, p. 285, note a.

[b] Vide vol. 1, p. 73, note d. The custom existed in the pre-Christian society of Iceland.

[c] Dr. Frazer in his commentary on Pausanias explains the whole ritual as mimetic: the value of his note—vol. 3, p. 55—is chiefly in the curious parallels he adduces from modern savage life of purification after slaying certain animals (which are not necessarily those that are worshipped by the tribe): thus in Dahomey a man who slays a 'fetich-snake,' enters a faggot-hut thatched with dry grass; this is then set on fire and he escapes as he can, running the gauntlet of the tribe, who hurl things at him till he reaches a river.

the place of their preliminary lustration? Then, as being contagious with their miasma, it is naturally purified by fire or burned when they have done with it. The overthrowing of the table may denote the destruction of the contaminated furniture, as modern savages destroy the furniture in the house of a friend when a child is born. Then the boys flee without looking round, so as to avoid the maleficent influences which are always near on such occasions. All this may have been preceded or accompanied by a dance representing the combat. But we cannot suppose that it was the exigencies of the drama and the compelling influence of a myth that sent the boys to Tempe: especially as the Daphnephoria in Boeotia had no association with the Python-story. We may believe that the procession of the laurel-bearers along the Sacred Way was part of a great ceremony of public lustration, which associated Delphi with the ancient shrine of Apollo in the north. Evidently the boys left the city in haste, for the first part of their march was supposed to imitate a flight or pursuit. Were they leaving hurriedly because the sins of the community were upon them? At any rate, unlike the usual scapegoats, they return purified and rejoicing, bringing purification to their people. Now, as the boy-priest no doubt incarnated the youthful god in the Delphic as in the Boeotian Daphnephoria, it was quite natural that the belief should arise that what the boy was doing the god had also done, and that the boy was repeating in a mimetic show what the god had done in earnest.

Hence grew the dogma that the death of even Python was a stain on the pure nature of Apollo, which only the journey to Tempe and the efficacy of the cleansing laurel could purge. It points to the prevalence of a belief that even justifiable or accidental homicide is a cause of 'miasma' or religious impurity, and reveals the propagandist emulation of Delphi to win for their god the supremacy over the Greek ritual of purification.

We may now gather examples legendary or historical of the cathartic mission of Apollo [222, 264 i, 273]. The earliest literary record is the passage in the epic of Arktinos concerning the purification of Achilles from the blood of

Thersites in Lesbos, where he was cleansed by Apollo and Artemis. The later literature, which supplies us with a store of illustrations, naturally gives us no clue for determining at what time any particular myth of this type arose. The typical instance that occurs at once is the purification of Orestes. The full consideration of his legend would require a special chapter; it is only necessary for the present to note that the intervention of Delphi belongs to the post-Homeric record, and indicates the moral predominance of Apollo as the avenger of public wrong, and claims an independent efficacy for the Apolline *katharsis*. For no doubt the purification that Apollo grants was originally supposed to set him free; it is only at a later date that the claims of the Attic law-court began to be heard, and state-morality comes to impose laws upon religion to which even the gods must submit. So prevalent and powerful was the legend in Greece that any locality in which an elaborate ritual of purification with accompanying ideas of 'tapu' was established might attract the story of Orestes: thus it worked its way into the ritual-legend of the Attic Choes, in which men took a meal together but each apart at his separate table, and they accounted for this restriction as if it were a reminiscence of the guarded hospitality which they had once shown to the matricide[a]. Still more prominent was it in the purificatory ritual of Troezen, which was associated mainly with the temple of Apollo Thearios[273 e]. A tent stood before the shrine, in which a certain guild of purifiers met on fixed days, and took a solemn meal together: probably they were performing certain lustral rites for the community, and isolation was obligatory in such ceremonies because of the miasma; but they styled themselves the descendants of those who had purified Orestes, and they called the tent after him; also the laurel that grew outside the tent, the emblem of the purifying power of the god, was said to have sprung from the καθάρσια, the things that they had used in his purification and had buried there. In the same temple, Theseus was purified from the blood of the Pallantids, which he had justifiably shed. Many other

[a] Vide vol. 5, Dionysos, R. 124[b].

localities no doubt possessed special rituals of Apolline purification and invented various legends to explain them: at Amyklai, doubtless through Apollo, Herakles was purified from the death of Iphitos; and it was in his temple at Sikyon that the daughters of Proitos were healed of their madness by means of purifications taught them by Melampos [222 c].

The last mentioned story suggests a reflection. Melampos is a Dionysiac personage and his cathartic methods belong to the ritual of Dionysos. Yet Apollo succeeds in annexing him. We may detect here the anxious efforts of the Delphic priesthood to secure for the god a monopoly in this important department. For other deities were purifiers besides Apollo, for instance Zeus Meilichios who healed the first murderer Ixion, Demeter, Athena [a], Artemis, and especially Dionysos. Nor was the Delphic policy altogether successful. The great Greek mysteries, with which Apollo had little to do, had each their own system of purification, and Zeus Meilichios could not be displaced at Athens or elsewhere by the younger god. Nor in the great lustration performed by Epimenides the Cretan, to cleanse Athens from the Kylonian stain, do we find any recognition of Apollo, though it is he that bids the Athenians send for the prophet [b].

Yet Apollo's dictation and authority in this matter was amply recognized by the Greek states. Their representatives who went to consult Delphi in times of public distress might bring back an admonition 'to purify the city' [222 d]. And the soothsayers and purifiers whom a state might employ would often receive their diploma from Delphi; Apollo Pythios recommended Bakis to the Lacedaemonians as a person who could purify their women of the madness that possessed them [222 f].

Nowhere did this function of Apollo's receive fuller public recognition than at Athens, especially in the matter of

[a] Vide the story of the purification of the Danaides by Athena and Hermes, Apollod. 2. 1, 5.

[b] Vide Diog. Laert. bk. 1, c. 3, §§ 110, 112. The Parian chronicle regards the purification of Herakles by the Athenians as the first instance of *katharsis* applied to homicide; but makes no mention of Apollo.

homicide, about which the equitable temper and the superstitious nervousness of the people made them particularly sensitive: the state maintained three 'exegetae' or directors of ritual who took their authority from Delphi, and whose function it was to cleanse those who for any cause were in a condition of ἄγος or religious impurity[222 d]; and Plato in the *Laws* has Athenian practice in mind, when he legislates that 'he who slays a friend against his will shall be purified in accordance with the law that has come to us concerning these things from Delphi'[222 f].

It is a reasonable view that these cathartic ceremonies are of somewhat late origin in the development of the Apolline worship. For instance, the association of Orestes with Apollo is certainly post-Homeric; the Troezenian legend of Theseus belongs to the time when Attic myths were beginning to travel abroad, and this marks the close of the Epic period; the figure of Melampos in the story of the Proetides seems to indicate the migration of Dionysos into the Peloponnese, and this was one of the latest events in the history of Greek religion before the historic period. Nor do we discover these ceremonies in the rites of those festivals which we may believe most ancient, the Karneia, for example, or the Hyakinthia; and reason has been shown for supposing that the φαρμακοί of the Thargelia were not really associated with Apollo. Again, most of the purification-ritual of Apollo and most of the legends concerning it deal with cases of bloodshed; and it has been maintained by ancient as well as modern scholars that Homer did not think of homicide as a personal stain. This is true on the whole, although we may trace the embryo of the idea in the expression of Hector's that one 'may not offer libation with unwashed hands or pray to God when stained with gore and filth[a].' Certainly the poet was unaware of or ignored the idea that the shedding of blood fastened upon the slayer an unseen stain which could only be cleansed by elaborate lustral ceremonies: he knows of the incest and parricide of Oedipus; but in the Homeric version the king is not driven forth accurst but remains ruling his kingdom,

[a] *Il.* 6. 266.

though troubled in his mind. Only, it is difficult to believe that the whole ritual of purification and the conception of a miasma generated by certain acts and by the contact of certain things were developed in Greece wholly in the post-Homeric age: these are found so widely prevalent in the primitive societies of the world that we can hardly imagine the pre-Homeric Greek to have escaped them[a]. They are intimately associated with the chthonian powers, whose worship was aboriginal in Greece but did not appeal to Homer; they have much to do with ghost-cult and the wrath of the dead, but Homer is happily indifferent to the powers and terrors of the departed spirit. In fact Homer is in many respects more modern than the age that immediately followed him; and in this age there was a great emergence, probably a revival, of ghost-cult and chthonian ritual which may have been quickened by the diffusion of Dionysiac worship. This fear of the dead wrought great good in that it may have evoked a sense of the responsibility of the whole community in regard to murder[b]. On the other hand it may have temporarily hindered the development of a rational law of homicide, by overshadowing society with the terror of the Erinys; for the Erinys is the incarnation of the dead man's wrath, and the ghost is naturally angry whether the man was rightfully or wrongfully killed. It was natural that men should look to Apollo to provide a remedy; first because of the great development in this period of the authority of the Pythian shrine as a centre of consultation, and then, perhaps, because the bright and genial nature of Apollo, his antagonism to the shadowy powers of the chthonian world, was part of his aboriginal character. Thus we have seen that the Argives, after the death of a relative, put off the miasma of the funeral by entering into communion with Apollo through a sacramental meal. And, finally, it may be urged that the descriptive

[a] The view expressed in Stengel's *Griechische Alterthümer* that lustration-ceremonies were originally un-Greek is not confirmed by any special or general anthropological evidence.

[b] Vide my *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 139–152. Plato tries to turn the belief in the wrath of the dead, as well as the doctrine of retribution after death, to a moral effect, *Laws*, 927 B, cf. 870 E.

epithet φοῖβος of which the meaning has already been considered [a], and which was an immemorial appellative of Apollo, probably points to the conception of purity attaching to this god in the earliest period of which we have any record or trace.

But there were two special causes, both operative in the post-Homeric period, for this intimate concern of Apollo's with cathartic ritual. One—I would suggest—was the entrance of Dionysos into the polytheism of Hellas: Apollo was saved from the dangers of his rivalry by the dexterity of his Pythian priests, who bring about a brotherly alliance between the two divinities. But the Dionysiac religion was richly furnished with ceremonies of lustration and the ideas of cathartic deliverance. And Apollo may have appropriated these and used them at Delphi: this hypothesis might at least explain the mysterious presence of those women called αἱ Ὀλεῖαι in the action of the Stepteria, for these are the names of the Minyan women who figure in the Dionysiac festival at the Boeotian Orchomenos known as the Agrionia [b]. Another cause is more obvious, the influence of Crete, where there was in very old times a system of cathartic ritual attached to the Cretan Zeus, in whom something of a Dionysiac character may be recognized [c], and whence travelled the cult of Apollo Delphinios to Delphi and Athens. It is certain that ceremonies of purification from homicide attached to this cult, as under its protection arose the court ἐπὶ Δελφινίῳ in Athens to try cases of manslaughter where justification was pleaded. If this were instituted by Drako, as Grote maintains, its institution would fall near the time when the Cretan Epimenides was summoned to Athens to purify the city from sacrilegious bloodshed. Finally, as showing the part played by Crete in this department of Hellenic religion, those legends are of importance that tell of Apollo's visit to Crete to purify himself from the death of Python [222 g, 264 i].

As regards the καθάρσια or means of lustration, there is nothing specially characteristic of Apolline, as distinct from

[a] Vide supra, p. 140.

[b] Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 38.

[c] Vide vol. 1, pp. 37, 38.

other, purification, except the use of the laurel[1]. The reasons that marked out this tree for such a function may have been partly natural—the purity of the air by the laurel-grove—but probably religious in the first instance; the god was associated closely with his sacred tree, and therefore the carrying of the laurel-bough in the festivals that have been described, or the act of the suppliant who lifted the bough from Apollo's altar, ensured a divine communion that would cleanse the air from evil influences. In the Troezenian ritual-legend, the laurel is said to spring from the buried *καθάρσια*: and in the monuments that represent Apollo officiating as cleanser, his constant attribute is the laurel-bough.

Water also has naturally a lustral power in his as in other ritual, and the Troezenians use this as one of the means of cleansing Orestes, and holy water was not infrequently placed outside the ancient temples[a].

We have records also of a peculiar fire-purification which is noticeable here. Among the ancient Greeks as among other peoples the notion prevailed that the hearth-fire and still more the holy temple-fire was sensitive to impurities[b]; and that therefore after some great sacrilege, or perhaps annually at the piacular season, it might be desirable to extinguish the fires of the community and to kindle them anew from some holy flame.

The most famous instance is in the account of the feast of Eleutheria instituted to commemorate the battle of Plataea: the Delphic oracle commanded the generals to extinguish all the fires in the country as having been polluted by the barbarians, and to fetch new fire from the common hearth of Pytho[c]. It appears that a similar ceremony of lustration was

[a] The water might be sprinkled on the people or on the defiled person with the laurel-branch; it was thus that the Milesians were purified in time of plague by the mythical Branchos who bade them cry aloud during the ceremony on the names of Hekaergos and Hekaerge (R. 273[d]).

[b] The first expression of this idea is in Hesiod, *Op.* 733. The belief in the susceptibility of the fire to impurity belongs to primitive thought, vide Frazer, *G. B.* 3. 210, 463–464. For the ceremonious extinguishing the old fires and rekindling the new among the Peruvians, Iroquois, Mexicans, Chinese, certain modern tribes in Africa, cf. id. pp. 249–253.

[c] Zeus, R. 131[b].

practised every year in the island of Lemnos; the fires were extinguished for nine days, while a state-vessel was bringing holy fire from Delos; if she arrived before the piacular chthonian offerings were completed, she remained in the offing lest the new fire should catch the contagion; when the fires were relit from it, it was said that 'a new life began,' a phrase which reminds us of the purification in some of the mysteries[273 e]. The Lemnians were probably purifying themselves from the malign influences of the ghost-world, and hence we hear of ἐναγίσματα in this record; but they naturally explained the rite by reference to the evil deed of the Lemnian women who murdered their husbands. Two interesting inscriptions at Delphi, found some years ago by the French, show that the same practice was maintained at Athens as late as the first century B. C.; comparing them together[273 f], we can only conclude that on some solemn occasion a chariot was dispatched from Athens bearing a sacred tripod to Delphi, and returned thence bringing holy fire from the Pythian hearth, accompanied by a female ministrant called the πυρφόρος: and that the object was to rekindle some sacred fire in Athens that had been extinguished at some season of expiation. We hear of no general extinction of fires in Athens; and the perpetual fire that was maintained on the Acropolis could only be rekindled, if by mischance it went out, by the pure heat of the sun[128 p]; we may therefore be inclined to the supposition put forward by the writer who published the inscription[a] that the fire brought from Delphi is intended to replenish the altar of Apollo Pythios during or after some such piacular service as the Thargelia.

It appears also that in the cathartic ritual of Greece the efficacy of certain sacred stones was occasionally recognized. Orestes sat on the stone of Zeus 'Kappotas' and was cured of his madness[b]: as a parallel to this story we may quote the state-

[a] M. Couve, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894, pp. 87–88: he seems to incline also to Mommsen's suggestion that this Athenian ritual alludes to the story of Herakles defiling the tripod by carrying it away from Delphi. But the improbabilities of this view are obvious.

[b] Vol. 1, p. 46. For an interesting Irish parallel see Miss Harrison's '*Delphica*,' *Hell. Journ.* 1899, p. 237.

ment in Pausanias about the λίθος σωφρονιστήρ, the 'sobering stone' at Thebes, which in the local legend was said to have received this name because Athena flung it at the mad Herakles to heal him [a], but which had evidently been used in some ritual of purification from the 'miasma' of madness; for madness in Greek legend is the curse that the dark powers send upon the shedder of blood. In another Troezenian legend, we hear of the purifiers of Orestes sitting on the sacred stone outside the temple of Artemis Λυκεία [b]. Finally, a theory recently put forward concerning the Delphic omphalos [c] is noticeable in connexion with these facts: that the omphalos was a sacred stone fashioned to indicate the grave-mound of the earth-spirit, and that the suppliant who sat or knelt upon it, as Orestes does in a vase-representation in the British Museum [d], was availing himself of its cathartic virtue. Such an act would denote that the person was putting himself into communion with the chthonian divinities; but it is probable that the 'omphalos' had lost this significance before the Orestes-story concerned Delphi, and had become a mere symbol of Apollo's power. However, the primary legends about these miraculous cathartic stones seem to belong to another stratum of religion than the Apolline [e].

We may say the same thing of another act in the ceremony of 'katharsis,' perhaps the most important of all, especially in the purification from bloodshed, the lustration with pig's blood. In the account of the Ge-cults and of the mysteries, the close association of this animal with the chthonian powers has been noted. It was pre-eminently the piacular animal; and by the act of homicide the slayer had offended the earth and

[a] Paus. 9. 11, 2.

[b] Id. 2. 31, 6.

[c] Miss Harrison, op. cit.: but it is not clear that all cathartic stones are 'chthonian' or earth-stones: in the period of stone-worship every stone as the abode of a divinity might have a miraculous virtue for prophecy or purification: on a signet-ring from Knossos, published by Dr. A. Evans, *Hell. Journ.* 1901, p. 170, Fig. 48, we see a celestial god attracted down to his sacred pillar.

[d] Roscher's *Lexikon*, 3, p. 983.

[e] Miss Harrison, op. cit. p. 240, quotes the very important example of stone-worship in the Orphic *Lithika*, 351–383; its name φοιβήτωρ λᾶας, in spite of the story that Apollo gave it to Helenos, does not necessarily refer to Phoebus Apollo, vide supra, p. 141, n. b.

the ghost; therefore the washing with pig's blood was the means by which the suppliant endeavoured to protect himself by the communion of 'blood-friendship' with the chthonian powers: we may term it a supplicatory sacrament. Now Apollo, though he has no tie with this animal, would advise his petitioners who had sinned against these powers to avail themselves of its virtue. Therefore he is seen to be purifying Orestes with it on a well-known vase in the Louvre[a]; and it is probable that the young god was supposed to have used it for his own purification at Tempe, where Plutarch says, 'he offered libations (to the shade of Pytho) and did all that men do when purifying themselves from the wrath of daimones'—a clearly chthonian ritual[b]. The temple of Delos was purified every month with a pig[c], and the same animal was carried round the Athenian Pnyx to purify the ἐκκλησία from evil influences. But those who used the lustration of pig's blood were certainly not putting themselves in communion with Apollo, as those were who bore the purifying laurel in the Daphnephoria or Stepteria[d].

Finally, we may notice the very important example of a genuinely Apolline purification, the already mentioned Argive ἔγκνισμα, a word of unexplained origin[273 b]. Plutarch tells us that after the period of mourning for a kinsman's death was over, the Argives sacrificed to Apollo, giving barley to his priest and taking a portion of the victim's flesh and roasting it, not at their own fire which had been extinguished as polluted, but by means of fire borrowed from their neighbours. We can hardly be wrong in interpreting this as a direct sacramental communion with Apollo, whereby they shake off the evil influences that might cling to them from the world of

[a] Vide Roscher, *Lex.* 3, p. 983.

[b] *De defect. Orac.* 15, p. 418 B.

[c] Vide Mommsen, *Feste*, p. 476, n. 4.

[d] Is it some similar idea of cathartic communion that explains the scene on a British Museum vase, Apollo holding a pair of shears near the head of Orestes, published *Arch. Zeit.* 1860, Taf. 137. 3? From this point of view we might compare the practice of offering hair on graves. But it is more probable that the vase-painter merely wishes to express that the god is curing the mortal of madness, for Orestes is said to have shorn off his own hair, when he became sane, Paus. 8. 34, 3.

the dead, an unique instance of a sacramental purification in Apollo's worship [a].

Thus then Apollo endeavoured to deal with the complex system of purification that had grown up in the Greek world since Homer's period. The god was not responsible for most of the ritual nor for its vast predominance; it grew up rather under such influences as the terrors of the ghost-world, the Dionysiac and the mystery-cults which promised posthumous happiness to be obtained by lustration, baptism, and other cathartic ceremonies. Its vogue was dangerous, and to some extent it infected the later Greek temperament with 'sacerdotage.' The Delphic worship appears in regard to it as a directing and restraining influence. For the idea of spiritual purity, arising by slow development from the tradition of ritualistic purification, and at the same time offering a deliverance from the burden of it, was attributed, as we have seen, by the higher minds to the Pythian Apollo. And indeed the superstitious terror of the ghost-world, which influenced many of the laws concerning homicide, produced certain social results of high value; it helped forward the concept, that received powerful expression in fifth-century literature, of the sacredness of human life; and the belief that even the accidental shedding of a slave's blood was a stain was not without possibilities of moral growth [b].

But such beliefs needed moralizing, lest they should prove a stumbling-block in the way of legal progress: as they might, for instance, if, through excessive consideration for the injured feelings of the ghost, they helped to stereotype the view that all bloodshed was equally a stain, and also that purification would set a man free from social consequences. Now we may regard such an epoch-making institution as the court of Apollo Delphinios at Athens in two ways: we may believe that its institution represented the healthy revolt of utilitarian law against the tyranny of religion, the lay mind insisting that homicide was not in every case equally a stain, that justifiable circumstances might be pleaded, and that only when such

[a] Unless we may explain the meal of the boy-priest at Deipnias in the same way, vide supra, p. 293.

[b] Antiphon. p. 764.

plea was proved should the god's purification and human pardon be granted. Or we may suppose that this great social idea emanated from the religious system itself, that Apollo and his ministers recognized the necessity of a more advanced theory concerning homicide, and modified the rules of purification to give it effect. This latter view has been suggested in a former passage as somewhat the more probable, though usually Greek religion is stimulative rather than creative in the sphere of political life. It could only be verified, if we could show that at some time before the establishment of such courts Apolline purification from bloodshed had come to be withheld by the priests at some important centre like Delphi or Athens until 'extenuating or justificatory' circumstances could be shown, which would soon require a special court to consider them. We have, however, only vague indications that this may have been so: no one would purge Ixion from his sin till Zeus took pity on him, and no shrine would purify the Lacedaemonian king Pausanias from his foul crime against the Olynthian maiden. And it is interesting to note that the typical Apolline purifications in Greek legend are cases of justifiable homicide; Theseus and Orestes could urge moral pleas in their behalf[b].

Nothing, in fact, is more difficult than to weigh the exact contribution of religion on the one hand and the utilitarian impulse on the other to any important moral or legal reform in ancient society. But whatever view we may take in this particular case, we find that the Athenians accredited Apollo Delphinios with this momentous advance towards civilized law: the god of purification stood in that court as the protector of society against the tyranny and terrors of the ghost-world.

[a] Vide supra, p. 177.

[b] I have somewhat developed these suggestions concerning the influences of the concept of purification upon law and morality in my *Hibbert Lectures*, chap. 3.

CHAPTER VI

MONUMENTS OF THE CULT OF APOLLO

THE group of monuments connected with this divinity is of transcendent importance for the history of Greek art and art-mythology; they also provide us with interesting illustration, direct or indirect, of most of the cult-ideas that have been examined, although few monuments of the actual temple-worship may have survived.

The inquiry into the cult-objects of the earliest period raises at once the archaeological question concerning *Ἀγυιεύς*. The emblem or *ἄγαλμα* of this worship was, as we have seen, almost invariably aniconic, the prevalent form being usually the conical pillar [a], but at Athens apparently a rounded stone of altar-shape. Is this a monumental tradition brought in from the north, or was Apollo on entering the regions of Mycenaean or 'Minoan' culture attracted into its circle of pillar-worship? Either view might harmonize with archaeological fact or probability. The very wide prevalence of pillar-cult in the Mediterranean and Anatolian regions in the Mycenaean period has been ably demonstrated by Dr. Arthur Evans [b]; but it belongs also to the early religion of northern and central Europe. Concerning this, as concerning many other problems of prehistoric archaeology, it is difficult to judge with conviction. No doubt all the Hellenic divinities in the pre-Homeric age were likely to be worshipped with this aniconic emblem, whether by original right or by right of annexation; the immigrant Apollo, wherever he settled down, could easily take to himself a Mycenaean or 'Minoan' pillar. And the latter appears at least on one monument

[a] Coin Plate A, 15 (Ambrakia, third century B.C.).

[b] Op. cit. *Hell. Journ.* 1901.

of this age, a Cypriote seal, in the obelisk form proper to Agyieus[a]. But so far as one can gather from the evidence collected by Dr. Evans, the sacred pillar of the Mycenaean religion stood always before or within a shrine, and not, as Agyieus stood, before the private house or in the open country. And we can perhaps better explain by the other hypothesis the curiously persistent adherence of this particular Apolline cult to the aniconic type; if we suppose, namely, that the Agyieus-emblem entered with the wandering deity, and that it was specially consecrated by serving to mark certain stations along the Sacred Way from the north: and this view would also accord with the fact noticed above, that the Carneian god, the leader of the migrating host, appears to have had an agalma of this very type. It has sometimes been held that the Delphic omphalos-stone was also a modified form of the Agyieus-column[b]: if this were so we should be obliged to conclude that it belonged by original right to Apollo, and was not taken over from a prior cult. And certainly Photius records one shape of the Agyieus in which it must have resembled an omphalos[48]; nor was he speaking at random, for this is the form of two 'agyieis' found at Pompeii[c]. Also it is a fact of some importance that the omphalos discovered at Delphi by the French excavation was erected before the temple in such a position as an Agyieus column would occupy. Such a form certainly resembled a grave-mound, and could easily, by misunderstanding, give rise to the legend—attested by late authority only—that the omphalos was the grave of Python or Dionysos[d].

It is not easy to determine the period in which the anthropomorphic eikon came to displace generally the aniconic

[a] Evans, op. cit. p. 173, Fig. 49.

[b] Evans, op. cit. p. 173; J. Six, in *Ath. Mitth.* 1899, p. 344.

[c] Miss Harrison's opposite theory, propounded in *Hell. Journ.* 1899, p. 225, &c., which has been alluded to already, vide supra, p. 303 (that the omphalos was originally the grave-mound and mantic altar of the earth-spirit), is attractive and well argued: its weakness is the absence of any phrase or record that connected the omphalos with Ge, and of any evidence that it ever was locally connected with the shrine of Ge; nor does the writer note the Pompeian omphalos-shaped 'agyieis,' to which Six calls attention, loc. cit.

[d] Vol. 5, Dionysos, R. 35[g].

agalma. The transition is well illustrated by the record of the Amyclaean statue of Apollo, which has been already described. No doubt the type is preserved by those Lacedaemonian coins that present the figure of a divinity who is armed with helmet, spear, and bow[a], and whose body from the shoulders downwards has—on one coin—the form of a column. The goat by his side is specially appropriate to Apollo of Amyklai, and the wreath in the field is probably of laurel. On three coins presenting the type we find the figure enveloped from the shoulders downwards in a robe, which, as Overbeck remarked[b], may have been the garment which the women wove for him yearly. Even on these the aniconic form emerges clearly. A fourth coin shows the agalma unrobed, and it is noteworthy that the columnar term has the downward-tapering contour which is characteristic of the Mycenaean column[c]. In what way this armed divinity is related to the spear-bearing god whom Dr. Evans has discovered on the Mycenaean seal[d] is a difficult question to decide upon. But the evidence of the Karneia seems to show that the concept of the warrior-deity named Apollo travelled downwards from the north; and this belief is somewhat strengthened by the record concerning the northern Apollo Pythaeus at Thornax, whose art-type was the same as the Amyclaean [96].

Of Apollo the wolf-god the only certain cult-image that survives[e] is preserved by the coins of Tarsos, which are all of the late imperial era, but present a type of the deity which descends from the archaic period[f]. In stiff attitude, with his legs close together, the god stands on the omphalos or on a column, or on a column supported on the omphalos: his hands are usually held down and grasping the paws of two wolves

[a] In a former volume (2, p. 701) I have discussed the arguments in favour of naming the coin-figure Aphrodite: I was wrong in saying that the goat was not characteristic of Apollo, vide pp. 254–255.

[b] *Kunst. Myth.* 3, p. 7.

[c] Coin Pl. A, 16.

[d] Op. cit. p. 170; cf. p. 108.

[e] The type of Lykeios at Athens described by Lucian (R. 7) shows no reminiscence of the wolf-god: it belongs to the later period when the significance of the term was almost extinct: it is found freely reproduced on Athenian coins, Overbeck, *Kunst. Mythol.* 3, Münztaf. iv. 16.

[f] Coin Pl. A, 17 (vide supra, p. 122): these have been published by Imhoof-Blumer, *Hell. Journ.* 1898, Pl. 13. 4.

that spring up on each side of him in heraldic fashion. It has been noted that a similar arrangement of these animals is found in the religious art of the Mycenaean epoch[a]. The probability of an early connexion between Lycia and Cilicia has been noted in a former chapter. And as the foundation-legend of Tarsos—as of Lycia—points back to Argos, and commemorated the name and part of the story of the Argive-Lycian hero, Bellerophon[b], so the coins of Tarsos attest the antiquity of this tradition, and to that extent corroborate it. For Perseus, the tutelary hero of the city, is prominent on the later coins[c], and as early as the fifth century we find Pegasos among the coin-types[d]. But the Tarsian coins of Apollo Lykeios do not enable us to determine the antiquity of the worship at this city: we should indeed be able to trace it back to an epoch at least as early as the sixth century if we were convinced that the type of the idol were a creation of native and indigenous art; but it may well have been borrowed directly from Argos, the reputed metropolis, where there long lingered the tradition of the ancient xoanon dedicated by Danaos to the wolf-god[7 f], and where the type of the wolf long survived on the coins as the symbol of his worship[e].

Archaeological testimony concerning the cult-emblems or cult-figure of Apollo the hunter is very scanty. The bow, his constant attribute, may have once alluded to this primitive trait in his character; but more explicit evidence is supplied by a series of Cretan coins, which show us the youthful figure of Apollo with bow and stone[f]; and there are strong reasons, as Mr. Wroth has shown, for associating with the hunter-god the type of the Cretan wild-goat's head that is found—en-

[a] Supra, p. 116, note a: Dr. Evans has kindly shown me an impression of the seal.

[b] Strab. p. 673; Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Ταρσός.

[c] Imhoof-Blumer, op. cit.

[d] Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 613.

[e] Vide Argive coin, circ. 200 B.C. *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Peloponnese*,' Pl. 28. 3. It is possible that the later cult-image of Apollo Lykeios at Argos by the Athenian sculptor Attalos is presented by a coin of the time of Marcus Aurelius, on which the god stands with his left elbow resting on an Ionic column, and holding a branch in his right hand (Imhoof-Blumer-Gardner, *Num. Comm. Paus.* p. 159, Pl. F. F. xxiv): if this is so we may suspect that the reminiscence of the wolf was fading from the worship.

[f] Vide Geogr. Reg. *s. v.* Crete.

circled occasionally with a laurel-crown—on coins of Praisos, Hyrtakina, and Elyros[a]. The other wild animal most frequently attached to him in the ordinary art-representations is the roe or the stag, and it probably appeared not infrequently in monuments of cult. The most famous instance of this class that has been recorded and of which some copies have survived was the Milesian cult-image of Kanachos, representing the god holding a roe in his right hand[b]. And we may conjecture that a representation similar in idea, showing the animal in trustful relation to the god, belonged to the early state-religion of Caulonia; for on an archaic coin that will be discussed below a stag is seen in the field looking back and up to a strange and enigmatical figure which there are strong reasons for believing to be Apollo[c]. On one monument of Graeco-Roman sculpture[d] the god is represented wearing the skin of his favourite animal, the nebris, the usual garb of Dionysos, from whom we may believe the local artist borrowed it[e].

The pastoral character of Apollo was occasionally expressed by the ancient religious agalmata, for instance by the statue at Patrai representing him with his foot on the head of an ox[7]; but among those that survive we find it only rarely and allusively indicated. There is no archaeological evidence that he was ever represented as horned; though a misinterpretation of a certain peculiar treatment of the hair above his forehead has given rise to this belief[f]. Coins of

[a] *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Crete*,' pp. xxvi–xxviii.

[b] Vide Pl. XXIV.

[c] Coin Pl. B, 6.

[d] Published by Foucart, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1882, p. 177 (in the museum at Eski-Zaghra, Apollo headless, lyre in left hand, griffin at his feet).

[e] It has been held that the boar on early Lycian coins was intended as a symbol of Apollo (*Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Lycia*,' p. xxvii). This is probably wrong, and the figure with a boar at his feet on a late coin of Mallos (Overbeck, *K. M.* iii. Münztaf. iv, 8) is more probably Amphilochos than Apollo, for the boar does not figure in his myth and very rarely in his ritual, and no other wild animal except the wolf and the stag can be proved to have been associated with the Apolline cult-monuments of the historical period.

[f] e. g. in Furtwängler-Roscher's *Lexikon*, vol. I, p. 468. A herme of peculiar shape with a ram's head on the top has been recently found near Las in South Laconia; and Schroeder who publishes it believes it to be a theriomorphic form of Apollo Karneios, *Ath. Mitth.* 1904, p. 22, Abb. 1; it is difficult to determine with exactness the name of an isolated monument like this.

Delphi present a goat's head in combination with two dolphins, and these may allude to the divine goat-herd as well as to the dolphin-god, or to the story of the discovery of the oracle by goats. The pastoral god Karneios may be recognized on a late coin of Gythion—as Professor Gardner has pointed out [a]—on which the figure of Apollo is shown leaning on a pillar and therefore probably copied from a cult-image, while behind him the idol of Pan appears standing on a column with nebris, pedum, and syrinx. Now the record [b] mentions two statues of Apollo at Gythion belonging to the public worship, and it is not likely that there were more: there are two types of him on the coins, and as one has been interpreted with great probability by Professor Gardner [c] as representing Apollo the Founder, who stood in the market-place, we are justified in concluding that this with which we are dealing presents Karneios. And the adjacent figure of Pan serves to suggest what the uncertainty in the ancient interpretations of the name might cause us to doubt [d], that the original significance of 'Karneios' as a deity of flocks and herds had not died out in the rural districts even in late times. The other monuments that indicate the function of the shepherd-god are a coin of Alabanda [e], of late period, on which a sheep or a lamb is figured by his feet, a black-figured vase on which an ox is represented by his side [f] and the colossal statue of the seated Apollo holding the shepherd's staff, a much restored work of late date in the Museo Boncompagni [g].

We have seen that in ritual and cult he assumed not infrequently the character of a divinity of vegetation; but the archaeological evidence is once more almost at fault. The

[a] *Num. Comm. Paus.* p. 60, Pl. N. xxiii.

[b] R. 27[b]; Geogr. Reg. *s. v.* Laconia.

[c] Ib. p. 60, vide infra, p. 319.

[d] Vide R. 27: we find Apollo occasionally associated with Pan in cult-monuments (vide supra, p. 123), and a relief has been recently found on the south side of the Acropolis representing Pan, Apollo, Hermes, three nymphs dancing round an altar with worshippers approaching, *Eph. Arch.* 1903, p. 41.

[e] Overbeck, *K. M.* iii, Münztaf. iv. 7; Geogr. Reg. *s. v.* Caria, p. 451.

[f] Overbeck, op. cit. pp. 47, 57, *Atlas*, Pl. 19. 21.

[g] Helbig, *Führer*, 827; Overbeck, *Atlas*, Pl. 22. 38.

archaic temple statue at Delos and apparently an ancient idol at Olbia represented him with the kalathos, the sign of fertility; and we find him with the pomegranate on the coins of Side[a]; and the kneeling figure with the lyre and with the flower raised to his face on a Tarentine coin of the archaic period may be derived from the cult of Apollo Hyakinthos[b]. And we can scarcely doubt but that this lyre-bearing personage is Apollo, whose worship was prominent at Tarentum; the kneeling posture is no insuperable difficulty, for the early numismatic art loved to adapt the forms to the given space, and a kneeling Apollo is found on the coins of Kyzikos among other types of kneeling figures which do not appear to be posed for any dramatic purpose[c].

We might have expected to find in the religious art some allusion to the widespread custom of sending harvest offerings to the god; and possibly we may interpret the symbol of the barley-ear in this sense, which we find on an early coin of Selinus below a chariot driven by Artemis and Apollo[d]; or it may allude generally to his agrarian character. In the group of representations that deal in various ways with the Hyperborean myth, there is none that seems to recognize the ritual of the 'Hyperborean' corn-offerings[e], except possibly a certain coin-type of Pantikapaion in the fourth century B.C.[f] A lion-headed griffin, horned and winged, bearing in his mouth the shaft of a spear or arrow, is standing with uplifted paw above an ear of corn. The griffin is by this time the consecrated animal of the Hyperborean Apollo; and Pantikapaion was adjacent to the territory, where at last Greek myth had

[a] *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Lycia*,' p. 153 (period of Hadrian).

[b] Coin Pl. A, 18: vide Gardner, *Types*, p. 86, Pl. 1. 3; Overbeck, op. cit. p. 74.

[c] Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 452; *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Mysia*,' Pl. vi. 7, 10: the kneeling Apollo may be explained as the archer, but there is no explanation for the kneeling Zeus except the decorative convenience.

[d] Coin Pl. A, 19 (Gardner, *Types*, Pl. VI. 24).

[e] The vase-paintings that depict Apollo riding on griffin or swan and playing the lyre allude to the return of the god from the Hyperboreans, but belong to mythic-imaginative, not to religious or ritualistic art.

[f] Vide Coin Pl. A, 20 (Gardner, op. cit. VII. 42; Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 238; Roscher's *Lexikon*, *s. v.* Hyperboreer, vol. 1, p. 2837).

settled the griffins and the Hyperboreans; also it was the great corn-granary for Hellas, and sent its Apolline tithe on the route that ended at Delos. The coin bears this obvious allusion upon it, and the only explanation yet offered of the shaft in the griffin's mouth, where it has no dramatic but only a heraldic meaning, is that which associates it with the story of the sacred arrow which was transmitted as a divine token by the carriers of the offerings, and which wafted Abaris on his wonderful journey[a].

It may be asked why was the griffin associated with Apollo and why specially with the Hyperborean story? The question is pertinent here, because the evidence which might furnish an answer is provided by the monuments rather than by the literary record. The survey of these reveals clearly, as has already been indicated[b], that the griffin was borrowed by Greece in the Mycenaean and historic periods from Egypt or Syria or from both countries, and that it conveyed to those who borrowed it no mythic or symbolic significance at all; it came as a merely heraldic animal, with a peaceful function as a guardian of the sacred gate or pillar, and it could be attached to the temple of any divinity. But very few Greek cults appear to have attracted it, the Apolline rather more frequently than others perhaps, but even in this it only rarely appears. We may venture the conjecture that somewhere two griffins were found heraldically guarding a pillar which was interpreted by the Hellenic religion as Apollo Agyieus: for on a pilaster from the Milesian temple two are found grouped in this fashion on each side of a palmette[c], and from the facts collected by Dr. Evans[d] we may surmise that this was a motive handed down from the Mycenaean pillar-worship.

But the earliest archaeological fact with which we start in considering the cult-connexion of Apollo and the griffins is the representation on the late Attic coin[e], on which Furtwängler has discovered the archaic image of Delos wrought

[a] This hint is thrown out by O. Müller, *Dorier*, 2. 4, § 6, in a footnote.

[b] Vide supra, p. 142, and Furtwängler's excellent article on 'Gryps' in Roscher's *Lexikon*.

[c] Furtwängler, op. cit. 1, p. 1774.

[d] *Hell. Journ.* 1901, p. 149.

[e] Coin Pl. A, 21; see *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, p. 332.

by Tektaios and Angelion, and which shows us two of these animals 'rampant' at his sides. As there is no reason to doubt but that they belonged to the original dedication, we gather thus valuable evidence from the sixth century B.C. concerning the griffin as an Apolline emblem. But what is its significance here? It is suggested by Furtwängler that it alludes to the Hyperboreans, and that it came to Delos with the Lycian cult. But there is no indication that the Delian god borrowed anything from Lycian cult, and no proof that Lycia was regarded as a specially 'Hyperborean' land, though it may have sent its corn-tithes to the sacred island[a]; nor, though the griffin occurs on the Lycian coins of the fifth and fourth centuries, do we know that it was there associated with Apollo.

Yet it is quite possible that the Delian griffins may have been 'Hyperborean' emblems, even in the later and fictitious sense of the word; for certainly some of the corn-offerings which came to the island in the sixth century might be said to have come from the Scythian North; and early Milesian colonization may have transplanted the form of the griffin, probably familiar at Miletos, to the far lands of the Euxine, which Herodotus regards as its special haunt; and henceforth it might occasionally serve as a symbol of a real Hyperborean ritual that had become disguised by geographical fables.

Still the question here raised about the ancient Delian statue must remain an open one; the griffins in this as in other cases may have had a purely conventional and heraldic value.

It is doubtful whether any of the representations on vases and coins of Apollo riding on the griffin or swan convey any allusion to actual cult or are anything else than mere products of mythopoeic art. We may suspect that the coin-type of Chalkedon[b] showing the god on the swan may hint at the corn-offerings, as this city lay on the direct route of their transmission from the north-east. The swan on the reverse of fourth-century coins of Klazomenai[c] may allude to some festival,

[a] Vide supra, p. 110, note c.

[b] *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Pontus*,' Pl. 28. 5; Overbeck, op. cit. Münztaf. v. 11, 12.

[c] *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Ionia*,' Pl. 6. 7–9.

perhaps the προφθάσια[272] which celebrated Apollo's annual return to the state; for the fragment of Alcaeus speaks of the swans bringing him back from the Hyperboreans to Delphi at the appointed time of his epiphany or the θεοφάνια. The record of this latter feast seems to invest it with something of a Dionysiac character[264 c]; and it is surely this Delphic ceremony that is suggested by the scene on the beautiful Kertsch vase in the Hermitage which represents Dionysos—who divided with Apollo the Delphic year—as greeting the god when he returns from the Hyperboreans[a].

If we question the monuments for evidence concerning the solar character of Apollo, we get practically no response. The only notable fact is that certain Carian coins struck under Mausolos and Hidrieus show a countenance of Apollo that strikingly recalls the face of Helios on the Rhodian coins: the treatment of the hair and the bar across the forehead confirm the impression of likeness[b]. But it would be rash to explain this as due to any religious dogma or any approximation of cults; we may attribute it simply to the influence of Rhodian numismatic art in Caria in the fourth century, and the close political relations between the two countries at this period. In fact Greek art of the autonomous period betrays no consciousness of the solar character of Apollo[c]. We can only regard it as a caprice that the painter of the famous Melian amphora of the Gigantomachy makes the torch as well as the bow the weapon of the god; or we may suppose that he adopted this as a simple device for associating him with the torch-bearing Artemis. In the great Pergamene frieze, where we should not have been surprised to find some recognition of the conception of a Helios-Apollo, prevalent, as we have seen it was, at late times in Asia Minor, the figures of the two deities are not placed together, nor do they show any

[a] Plate XVII.

[b] Coin Pl. A, 23 (*Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Caria*,' Pl. 28. 2. (5), 7); cf. Pl. 36.

[c] We find no rayed head of Apollo: the coins of Troas that show his figure sometimes employ the star as emblem, but there seems no reason for regarding this as an allusion to his solar character (which is Mr. Wroth's view vide *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Troas*,' p. xxi); for lion on coins of Miletos looking back at star vide supra, p. 142.

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resemblance of character or attributes. The only other instance of the torch in the hands of Apollo is a representation, which seems to reproduce a cultus-image, on imperial coins of Nikopolis[a] in Epiros: the attitude of the figure gives some support to Friedländer's ingenious interpretation, who saw an allusion in this type to the beacon-fire maintained by the temple on the height of Leukas.

On the other hand we have clear numismatic illustration of the maritime character of the god. On a coin of Kyzikos of the fourth century B.C. we find him seated on a swan holding a tunny-fish[b], and a trident is part of the type that reproduces Nero's Apollo Aktios on a coin of Alexandria[c]. The dolphins seen on each side of the goat's head on a coin of Delphi[d], dolphins with a wolf on coins of Argos[e], a dolphin on a coin of Olbia[f] with a head of Apollo on the obverse, on a coin of Megara with the obelisk of Agyieus, are no doubt characteristic of Apollo Delphinios, although on certain Cretan coins this animal appears rather to have been significant of Poseidon[g].

The occasional association in cult of the two gods is illustrated by a coin-type of Antigonos Gonatas which shows a head of Poseidon on the obverse, and on the reverse the figure of Apollo naked and seated on the prow of a trireme holding a bow (Coin Pl. A, 22).

As regards the civic and political cults, we do not know whether any special art-type was consecrated to any particular one. But the numismatic evidence strikingly attests the Panhellenic character of Apollo as a deity of the city and the confederacy; in fact, probably no other divinity is so frequently presented on the coins; and these give material for estimating of his status in the various communities of Greece[h]. The fourth-century coins of the Chalcidic league[i] prove him

[a] Overbeck, op. cit. vol. 3, p. 312.

[b] Coin Pl. A, 24 (*Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Mysia*,' Pl. 8. 13).

[c] *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Alexandria*,' Pl. 3.

[d] Müller-Wieseler, *Denk. d. a. K.* 155[e]; Head, *Hist. Num.* pp. 288–289.

[e] Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 367.

[f] *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Thrace*,' p. 11.

[g] *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Crete*,' pp. 65, 73, 74, 77.

[h] Vide Geogr. Reg. passim.

[i] Vide Geogr. Reg. *s.v.* Chalkidike.

to have been regarded as its divine patron and are of great value for the history of religious art. We have also an interesting monument of the greatest Apolline confederacy of the Greek world in the Amphictyonic coins of Delphi[a]: on these we see the god seated on the omphalos with a laurel-branch in his right hand, while his left is resting on his lyre and his left hand props his chin so as to assist the expression of calm meditation in the whole pose. The full character of the Delphic deity is outlined in these simple and genial forms; but we dare not affirm that this type presents the cultus-image of the temple. In fact it is not clear that the shrine ever contained a central idol; for Pausanias in his detailed account mentions none which we could regard in this light, as he notices only a statue of Apollo 'Moiragetes' in the group with Zeus and the two Fates[106], and another golden image of Apollo kept in the adyton and only seen by few[b]. It may be this latter that is presented by a late Delphic coin of the period of Faustina, on which Apollo is seen within his temple by the entrance holding out a patera and leaning on a column[c].

Elsewhere in North Greece Apolline coin-types of beauty and importance are found: it is the dominant city emblem of Zakynthos[d], and we have already noted the significance of the numismatic evidence of the Agyieus-cult in the cities of the north-west.

Attic coinage, being dominated by Athena, presents us Apollo's figure but rarely; and the only monuments of his public cult that it seems to disclose are an archaic type of the Delian god already mentioned, which will be further discussed below, and the idol of Apollo Lykeios: at least the coin that represents Apollo standing at ease and leaning against a pillar surmounted by the tripod, with a bow in his left hand and with his right arm bent over his head[e], very closely accords with Lucian's description of the latter[7b].

[a] Coin Pl. B, 7 (Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 360, *Brit. Mus. Cat.* Pl. 4. 13).
[b] Paus. 10. 24, 5.
[c] Gardner, *Types*, p. 178, Pl. XV. 26.
[d] Coin Pl. B, 1, 11.
[e] Imhoof-Blumer-Gardner, *Num. Comm. Paus.* C. C. Athens, no. xviii.

Nor is the Apolline type generally prominent in the coinage of Megara, the Isthmus, Aegina or the Peloponnesian states. That of Sparta, for instance, though it presents to us the figure of the Amyclaean cult, does not sufficiently illustrate the great importance of the Pythian worship for the community; this may be mainly due, no doubt, to the fact that Spartan currency only begins with the period of her decay. The type of Apollo the Founder has been recognized on the coins of Gythion, of the late imperial period, the town that was founded according to the local legend by Apollo and Herakles to mark their reconciliation after their strife over the tripod: the god stands holding a branch in one hand, and with the other he may be laying aside his bow[a]. The political influence of Apollo in Argolis, especially of Apollo the wolf-god, is sufficiently attested by the coinage of the fifth and fourth century[b]. On the other hand the numismatic evidence from Arcadia, Messenia, Elis, and Achaea does not yield proof that he occupied a leading place in the public religion of these communities. A monument of some historical interest is a coin-type of Patrai of the time of Marcus Aurelius, which shows us an Apollo holding a Victory in his hands. This is a unique motive and no doubt refers to some exceptional event; it is a plausible conjecture[c] that it commemorates the assistance rendered by the men of Patrai to the Aetolians in their defence of Delphi against the Gauls, which Pausanias mentions as the occasion of the dedication of a statue to the god in the Odeum of Patrai[230 b].

The mints in which the Apolline coin-types were most abundant appear to have been those of the cities of the Asia Minor coast. He is prominent in the Bithynian issues of Prusias I[d] and at Kios[e]; at Chalkedon also, where he shares his popularity with Artemis[f]. On the same evidence we should regard him as the chief political deity of Abydos[g],

[a] Vide Imhoof-Blumer-Gardner, op. cit. p. 60, Pl. N. xxi.

[b] Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 367; vide supra, p. 310.

[c] Imhoof-Blumer-Gardner, op. cit. p. 80.

[d] *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Pontus*,' p. 209.

[e] Ibid. pp. 130–132.

[f] Ibid. p. 126.

[g] *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Troas*,' p. xli.

Gambreion [a], Alexandria Troas [b], Myrina [c], and paramount at Miletos, where for a long time the types were exclusively Apolline [d]. And the influence of Miletos is reflected on the coinage of many of her colonies in the Black Sea, at Pantikapaion [e], Sinope [f], Odessos [g], and Olbia. An interesting type, probably of Apollo Προστάτης, is preserved on the coins of the latter city which present an archaic image, descending perhaps from the middle of the sixth century, of the god holding the bow in his left hand, a round object which has been supposed to be a pomegranate or ointment-box in his right, and wearing on his head a kalathos or mural crown, the emblem of the prosperity of the state [h], an attribute rarely affixed to Apollo, but found in the Delian statue of Tectaios and Angelion.

Returning to Ionia, we find his figure dominating the coinage of Kolophon and prominent on that of Magnesia on the Maiander and Smyrna. On the other hand the coinage of the Dorian Hexapolis, so far as it has hitherto been published, disappoints the natural expectation of finding here a dominant Apolline tradition or some interesting illustration of the political cult of the community. Other types prevail over his in the coinage of these cities, Aphrodite for instance at Knidos, and Herakles at Kos; Apollo's head is somewhat more frequent on the issues of Halikarnassos [i], but the early coins of Lindos, Camiros, and Ialysos show nothing distinctive of him except perhaps the griffin's head [k]; and the currency of the later city of Rhodes reflects the Helios-cult almost exclusively. What surprises us more is that the early coinage of Lycia, the land which appears to have been originally won for Hellenism under the auspices of Apollo, shows no clear trace of the influence of the cult of Patara, which may indeed

[a] *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Troas*,' p. xli.

[b] Vide infra, p. 346.

[c] Coin Pl. B, 3 (*Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Troas*,' Pl. 27. 1).

[d] From 350 B.C., vide *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Ionia*,' Plates 21, 22.

[e] Vide supra, pp. 313–315; cf. Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 239.

[f] Supra, p. 172.

[g] *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Thrace*,' p. 137.

[h] Vide G. M. Hirst, '*Cults of Olbia*,' *Hell. Journ.* 1902, pp. 253–256, Pl. 2; Pick, *Thrakische Münzbilder*, 1898, p. 173.

[i] Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 526.

[k] Ibid. p. 538.

have relaxed its hold over the aboriginal population as the native element became stronger in the land; it is only from the second century onwards that Apolline types become frequent on cities of the Lycian confederacy [a].

The Seleukid coins of the Antiochi exhibit an interesting type of Apollo, who is represented seated on the omphalos or standing by his tripod and holding one or more arrows pointed slantwise towards the ground, a motive which Müller has ingeniously interpreted as alluding to the civic and pacific character of the god of Antioch [b] (Coin Pl. B, 4).

Finally, the Sicilian coinage attests to some extent the character of Apollo, 'the founder of cities,' and the part that he played in the Hellenic colonization of the West: two of the cities of Sicily, Alaesa and Tauromenion, commemorate him on their coins as Ἀρχαγέτας, the divine oekist [c], and on the fifth-century coins of Catana and Leontini Apollo's head is the usual city type. As regards the cities of Magna Graecia, his cult is illustrated, as we should expect, by a large number of coins, but his type appears to dominate no issue except that of Kroton [d]: here we find his tripod and other of his emblems on the earliest coins, and very beautiful representations of his head on those of the fourth century. Yet it was not Apollo but Herakles who was regarded as the founder of this state. The prevalence of the tripod as the emblem of the city has been explained as due to the influence of the Pythagorean societies; but the association of Pythagoras with Apollo was not so intimate as to greatly recommend this explanation. We may rather seek one in the tradition that ascribed the earliest settlement to the inspiration of the Delphic oracle, and it is to Delphi that the famous coin alludes which depicts the young god on one side of the tripod shooting at Python on the other. At Metaponton, the cult of Apollo was instituted in the agora where his statue was surrounded with laurel trees, and this image is well shown by

[a] *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Lycia*,' pp. xlviii, l: for bronze coinage at Xanthos vide p. li, and Pl. 18. 5; Phaselis (second century B. C.), Pl. 16. 12.

[b] K. O. Müller, *Antiquit. Antioch.*; Head, *Hist. Num.* pp. 638–640.

[c] Head, op. cit. pp. 115, 130.

[d] Vide Geogr. Reg. *s. v.* Italy, p. 454.

fifth-century coins on which we see the god standing before an altar holding a bow lowered in his left hand and a laurel tree in his right [a].

The numismatic, then, as well as the other public monuments of Greece, sufficiently reveal the political character of the god which the literature so fully attests; and the mythologic art in such subjects as the slaying of Tityos and the Gigantomachy, the contest of the Greeks and Amazons, of Lapiths and Centaurs, developed the conception of him as the god of order and law, now battling himself as protagonist against the forces of misrule; now, as in the Olympian gable, standing by as the stately arbiter of the struggle. But it is not easy to discover the special art-forms consecrated to the various aspects of his character as the guardian of the political community and the helper of man, the character to which so many cult-titles allude. The only conventional type is that of Agyieus, otherwise Greek art asserts its usual freedom. There was no generally accepted form expressive of Apollo the Founder, or Προστάτης, or Ἀλεξίκακος the Averter of ill, or of Καθάρσιος the Purifier; though sometimes we may apply these appellatives to special works. Thus, on an interesting fifth-century coin of Selinus, Apollo is seen in his chariot by the side of his sister discharging his shafts at some invisible foe; and on the other side is the river-god, Selinus, sacrificing over an altar to Asklepios [b]. We have a tradition of the deliverance of the Selinuntian territory from plague, and the record of the cult of Apollo the Healer in the city, and we may believe that the artist of the coin was inspired by both of these. But there is no reason for supposing that Apollo Alexikakos was always represented with outstretched bow, or in dramatic attitude as an 'Averter.' Nor is it possible to fix the art-form of the god of healing or purification, though we may copiously illustrate from the monuments the ideas attaching to these cults.

One of the most interesting works of archaic religious art

[a] Coin Pl. B, 5 (Head, op. cit. p. 63); cf. Geogr. Reg. *s. v.* Italy.

[b] Coin Pl. A, 19; Hill, *Sicilian Coinage*, p. 84, Pl. VI, 3.

is the well-known coin of Kaulonia[a], showing a naked male figure striding forward and holding a branch, that may be of laurel, in his right hand raised behind his head, while on his outstretched left arm we see a diminutive winged form with winged sandals, who also holds a branch and is flying away from him. The smaller seems to be an emanation of the larger personage, whom we can with reasonable certainty interpret as Apollo. His face is beardless and his long hair flows down his shoulders; in the earliest specimen of the type a stag is represented in the field looking back at the god, and we have already noted the familiar association of Apollo with the stag. Again, we find two dolphins arranged as emblems on each side of the same figure on the fifth-century coins of Kaulonia; and among the types of this period appears a laureate head of Apollo, proving the local cult of this divinity. Assuming, then, this name for the god, we may accept as the best explanation of the whole motive the ingenious theory put forth and well argued by Mr. Watkiss Lloyd, who sees in the smaller figure a wind-demon, and regards the coin-type as an embodiment of the idea of Apollo Καθάρσιος, who by the agency of healthful winds purified the locality of pestilence. Certainly the small demon is intended to be the familiar spirit and agent of the divinity, for he is looking back in his face as he runs down his arm; and as Prof. Gardner, who accepts the theory, remarks, the boughs that both of them carry in their hands may represent the trees waving in the wind.

The laurel belongs to Apollo specially as the purifier and the healer, but it had become so generally recognized as his badge that it may often be regarded as a merely conventional adjunct, not necessarily indicative of any explicit cult-idea in the artist's mind. It was no doubt sometimes intended as a reminiscence of Delphi. Thus on a late coin of Asine, where we have record of the cult of Apollo Πυθαεύς, we see the god clad in a himation round his lower limbs, leaning on a pillar, and holding a laurel-spray in his right hand[b].

[a] Coin Pl. B, 6 (vide Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, p. 85; Head, op. cit. pp. 78–79; Watkiss Lloyd, *Num. Chron.* 1848).

[b] Imhoof-Blumer-Gardner, *Num. Comm. Paus.* p. 51, Pl. M. 1.

Then, from the part that it played in Delphic divination, the laurel might sometimes serve to characterize the prophet-god. But the expression of his oracular character is generally made more explicit in art by the addition of other symbols, such as the omphalos, which appears in many representations on coins and vases, and was used also for plastic monuments. The same value attaches to the symbol of the tripod which is very frequent on coins, sometimes standing alone, sometimes with a serpent coiled round it, and sometimes combined with the omphalos. These emblems, used as the coin-types of various cities, always convey an allusion more or less direct to Delphi, which is made still clearer when the omphalos is covered with a net[a]; occasionally they may attest a local cult of Apollo Pythios[b], or may indicate a local Apolline oracle[c]; or perhaps they serve more often as the decorative ensigns of Apollo's worship in general, stereotyped by the great influence of Delphi, and without any more special significance[d].

Of Apollo the Physician no public monument has been

[a] Netted omphalos with two eagles upon it (cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 4) on fifth-century Cyzicene staters, *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Mysia*,' Pl. 8. 7 (cf. Delphic omphalos discovered by the French excavation, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1900, p. 259, covered with a trellis-work of sacrificial fillets, in imitation of the ἀγρηνόν or mantic robe, vide Miss Harrison, ibid. p. 257); on fourth-century coin of Cretan Chersonnesos, Apollo seated on omphalos with lyre, Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 388 (cf. Delphic Amphictyonic coin, p. 318).

[b] Tripod and serpent emblems of Apollo Thearios at Troezen, vide Imhoof-Blumer-Gardner, *Num. Comm. Paus.* p. 48; at Megara, ib. p. 6; at Argos, ib. p. 35; Magnesia on Maiander, Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 502.

[c] Tripod on coins of Sinope, vide supra, p. 172; Myrina, omphalos with laurel branch, *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Troas*,' Pl. 27. 1; Chalkedon (Apollo on omphalos), R. 174; tripod on coin of Klaros, supra, p. 224, note b; Telmessos-Apollo on omphalos holding arrow, R. 202; Patara, Apollo with omphalos and crow, tripod and serpent, R. 201; omphalos on coins of Tarsos, p. 309; Parion on the Hellespont, R. 37, 195.

[d] e. g. lyre and tripod on coins of Patrai, Geogr. Reg. *s. v.* Achaea; Apollo leaning on tripod on coins of Arcadian Orchomenos, ib. *s. v.* Arcadia; tripod on coins of Cretan Axos, ib. *s. v.* Crete; Apollo on omphalos on coins of Apollonia ad Rhyndacum, ib. *s. v.* Mysia; Apollo on omphalos with bow and arrow on coins of Antiochus IV in Egypt, *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Ptolemies*,' p. 81; tripod on coins of Kroton, vide supra, p. 321; A. on omphalos on coins of Apollonia and Istri, *Jahrb. d. d. Inst.* 1898, p. 168. A relief from Kyzikos, *Rev. Arch.* 1891, p. 10, represents Apollo Μουσαγέτης with an omphalos encircled by a serpent at his feet.

preserved that we can recognize, except certain coin-representations of a late period. Two of the Thracian Apollonia show Apollo Ἰατρός characterized by the laurel and the bow[214]; and it is only in Thrace that we find Apollo in the later centuries with definitely Aesculapian attributes, with the serpent-staff, for instance[a]: on a coin of the Thracian Bizya[b], struck under Philippus senior, we see him grouped with a trio of health-divinities, Asklepios, Hygieia, and the muffled figure of the young Telesphoros, over whose head he extends a hand, while his left is stretched out over a snake that appears to be coiled round an egg.

There is no religious type that Greek art worked upon with so much devotion as that of the lyre-playing Apollo; on a large number of monuments, early and late, we recognize the god of music, the leader of the Graces and the Muses. But we may be sure that the god had not already discovered his favourite instrument before he reached his Mediterranean home; the Arcadian story ascribing the invention of it to Hermes would prove nothing in itself: but the anthropological facts concerning the distribution of musical instruments show the lyre to have been indigenous from a very remote period in the Mediterranean basin, Egypt, Abyssinia and East Africa[c], and the recent Minoan-Mycenaean discoveries reveal the seven-stringed lyre as already in the service of religion[d]. There was not much left for Apollo or Terpander to invent in this matter. As regards the date when the art-form of the lyre-playing god came into vogue, the record is of course silent. The earliest representation that has come down to us is the Melian vase (Pl. XXIa) published by Dr. Conze[e], of which the probable date is near to 700 B.C., and which shows us Apollo playing the lyre in a chariot accompanied by two

[a] W. Wroth in *Num. Chron.* ser. 3, 1882, pp. 302–305, Taf. 14.

[b] *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Thrace*,' p. 89.

[c] In northern and central Europe the stringed instrument was of the harp-type. I am indebted to my friend Mr. Henry Balfour for calling my attention to these facts.

[d] On the 'Minoan sarcophagus,' found by the Italians near Phaistos, the seven-stringed lyre is seen in the hands of a worshipper, in a talaric chiton, playing before the Double Axes. Dr. Arthur Evans has shown me a Mycenaean seal on which a lyre with eight strings is represented.

[e] *Melische Thongefässe*, 4. A.

female figures who may be the Graces; any doubt as to the personality of the deity is dispelled by the figure of the goddess who comes to meet him, and who is proved to be Artemis by the quiver on her shoulders, and by the fawn which she holds by the horn. But the earliest cult-monument that expressed the idea of the god as the leader of the Graces and the tutelary spirit of the arts, was the Delian image wrought by Tektaios and Angelion in the first half of the sixth century B. C. Plutarch's description of it lays stress specially on the three figures of the Graces that it carried in its left hand, each holding a musical instrument, one a lyre, the other flutes, and the middle one a Pan-pipe [225]. Of this image, which was probably a wooden xoanon, perhaps overlaid with gold, we have a reproduction on late Attic coins [a] that have been already mentioned. From their evidence, it appears that the god's head was adorned with the kalathos, which might have been intended to allude to his tutelary functions in the state, or might have borne its usual meaning as an emblem of fertility. The same attribute has been noted above on the coinage of Olbia. The Attic coin which we are examining shows the Graces also bearing it on their heads, and it belongs to them naturally as vegetation-divinities; but it is clear that they were mainly characterized here as deities of the arts, and standing in the right hand of Apollo [b] they reflect the salient character of the god. At Delphi also they fulfilled the same purpose, where their statues stood by the side of his image [c].

Of the very large number of monuments which contain the figure of Apollo Kitharoedos, only a few can be associated directly or indirectly with actual cult. The famous relief from Thasos, now in the Louvre [d], with the dedication to Apollo Nymphegetes and the Nymphs, a work perhaps of the end of the sixth century, or more probably of the first part of the fifth, shows us the god with the lyre in his left hand and the plectron in his lowered right, and a

[a] Coin Pl. A, 21.

[b] As Overbeck (*Kunst. Mythol.* 3. p. 18) has pointed out, Plutarch or the pseudo-Plutarch has mistaken right for left, vide R. 225.

[c] Vide Geogr. Reg. *s. v.* Delphi.

[d] Vide infra, Pl. XVIII.

PLATE XVIII

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Plate XIX

a

b

nymph raising a garland to his head. The relief is no doubt a votive offering, and the inscription seems to associate it with public ritual. We may say the same of a relief in Dresden [a], said to be found in Miletos, representing a worshipper praying to Apollo, Artemis, Leto, and 'Kourotrophos': the style suggests the religious sculpture of the fifth century, and the work was probably intended to be dedicated in some temple, perhaps in commemoration of an agonistic victory. There is no reason to suppose that either of these works derives its forms directly from temple-sculpture.

But it is possible that a temple-group of Artemis, Apollo and Leto has suggested the figures on the relief discovered near Eretria, of fourth-century style, and intended no doubt as a dedication to the shrine of Artemis 'Amarusia [b].' The inscriptions found in the neighbourhood prove the common cult of the three divinities, and the forms show a decorousness and a tranquillity of pose and style such as belongs to the best religious sculpture of Greece; and it is possible that the god who appears on the relief as the musician was worshipped under that aspect in his sister's temple.

Also, we find the type of Apollo Kitharoedos on a great many coins [c]; but though these are all in a sense public monuments, it is only a few of them that may be supposed to have borrowed the form from actual temple-worship. The famous Praxitelean group wrought for the temple of Megara is faintly outlined for us on the coinage of that city [d]; and the coins of Patrai [e] which show us an Apollo with his right hand extended and holding in his left a lyre that rests on a base, may possibly preserve a reminiscence of the statue dedicated in the public Hall of Music [230 b]. Finally, the popular imagination loved to picture the god not only as a musician himself, but as the

[a] Pl. XIXa, *Arch. Anz.* 1894, p. 26. The libation-cup in the right hand of Apollo is not necessarily derived from a cult-image; on many red-figured vases he holds the phiale in one hand and the kithara in the other, vide Overbeck, op. cit. p. 64.

[b] Pl. XIX[b], *Eph. Arch.* 1900, Πίν. 2.

[c] Coin Pl. B, 1. Another beautiful example is the representation on a silver coin of Metaponton, Müller, *Denk. d. alt. K.* 2, no. 134[d].

[d] Vide vol. 2, p. 532.

[e] Vide Imhoof-Blumer-Gardner, *Num. Comm. Paus.* p. 80.

inspirer and teacher of the musician. A vase has been published on which he appears in company with Thamyris and a woman who may be Sappho, as a broken inscription above her gives us some of the letters of this name [a]. And an Attic stamnos of good fifth-century style in the Ashmolean Museum of Oxford [b] shows us an Apollo crowned with laurel and clad in a himation that reveals his right breast, holding the lyre and standing between two girls each with a double flute: the god of string-music being, as we have seen, by no means indifferent to wind-instruments (Pl. XX).

It has been seen that in actual cult Apollo was occasionally recognized as having authority over other parts of the intellectual domain besides music. But only a few monuments can be quoted that reflect this belief. A coin of Smyrna [c] shows us a head of Apollo laureate, and on the reverse the seated figure of Homer reading a scroll; and the god himself is seen similarly engaged on a coin of Kaphyai [d].

So far as I have been able to trace them, the art-monuments are inferior to the literature as a mere record of cult. But we have now to consider under what forms the best Greek art developed and presented the ideal of the divinity to the imagination of the people: and in the fulfilment of this task the artist rose above both the poet and the philosopher.

[a] *Römische Mittheil.* iii, Taf. IX, p. 245.

[b] Published by Prof. Gardner, *Hell. Journ.* 24, p. 31.

[c] *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Ionia*,' Pl. 25. 7.

[d] Vide Geogr. Reg. *s. v.* Arcadia.

PLATE XX

PLATE XXI *a*

PLATE XXI *b*

CHAPTER VII

IDEAL TYPES OF APOLLO

It was in working upon the form of Apollo that Greek art first reveals the tendency, which afterwards became dominant, to present the divine ideal in youthful aspect. A bearded Apollo appears to us an incongruous type; yet it is found on our earliest Apolline monument, the Melian amphora quoted above [a], and on the well-known François vase. And again on a fragment of a fifth-century vase found on the Acropolis of Athens, containing a representation of the outrage of Tityos on Leto and her deliverance by Apollo and Artemis, the god is undoubtedly bearded, and also—what is the most singular feature in the artist's conception of him—he is armed as a hoplite in cuirass and helm [b]. We may see in this the caprice of the artist rather than the survival of a very early divine type such as that at Amyklai. Usually, in the earliest as well as in the later period, Apollo is represented in peaceful pose or peaceful action such as was consonant with the character of the god of music, and it appears that the aspect of him that was most familiar to the popular imagination was that of the kitharoedos, in which character he would generally appear fully or partly draped [c]. But at some time in the sixth century the fashion began to prevail of depicting Apollo naked as well as beardless. The earliest example of this type that can be quoted at present, if we look at it merely from the point of view of the morphology of art, is the very uncouth

[a] Pl. XXIa; vide p. 325.

[b] Pl. XXIb. The vase has been published in *Eph. Arch.* 1883, Πίν. 3, and wrongly interpreted by Mylondas.

[c] The undraped figure is earlier than has often been supposed: on the reverse of a coin of Zakynthos of the fifth century Apollo is sitting on the omphalos naked and playing the lyre, Coin Pl. B, 1.

bronze figure published in the *Fondation Piot*[a], which the inscription proclaims to be a dedication to 'Phoebus of the silver bow,' and which we may believe to be an image of the youthful god himself, as he is asked to make 'a graceful return' for the compliment of the dedication. The right arm was held stiffly down by the side, but the left forearm is stretched out, and some object, probably a bow, was held in the left hand (Pl. XXII). The very rude and primitive style suggests a much earlier date, but the epigraphy of the inscription points rather to the latter half of the sixth century[b], and both kinds of evidence suggest that the work was of Boeotian origin.

Boeotia also was one of the many regions where early marble sculpture had introduced the type of the youthful male figure, standing stiffly with the left leg somewhat advanced, the arms held rigidly down by the sides, the hands clenched, the hair falling in a thick mass on the neck behind. The minute discussion of the type belongs to the history of early Greek art, for which it is of great significance. It only concerns us here because some of these figures can certainly claim the name Apollo. No doubt many of them have been thus designated without sufficient reason: the 'Apollos' of Tenea, Thera, Orchomenos, &c., have no sure title, for some of these may have been representations of the worshipper who dedicates himself, or of the athlete, or sepulchral monuments of the deceased. Yet a vase which depicts Cassandra clasping a very archaic idol of the god proves that he was represented after this type by the beginning of the sixth century at latest[c]. And among the sculpture found at his sanctuary at Ptoon near Acraiphiai is a torso of a figure which was evidently of

[a] § 2, 1895, Pl. 15. 137.

[b] It shows the latest type of *βουστροφηδόν*, the Eastern alphabet is beginning to mingle with the Western (Χ Σ = x by the side of Ψ = ch, the four-stroked Ionic 'sigma' is used). The cincture round his loins is the Homeric *μίτρα*, which descends from the Mycenaean age, and disappears in the sixth century; it is no special mark of Apollo, though the Naxian colossal figure found in Delos wore it also; it is found on bronze figures of Olympia that may be athletes, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1897, p. 172: the interesting bronze figure published there, Pls. 10 and 11, found behind the temple at Delphi, has no decisively Apolline characteristic.

[c] Overbeck, *Kunst. Myth.* 3, p. 15.

PLATE XXII

PLATE XXIII

the form with which we are dealing; it is dedicated to 'the god of the silver bow,' and the names of its two dedicators are added[a]. As they were two, we cannot suppose that in this case we have merely the figure of the worshipper consecrated to the deity; it is surely the deity himself represented as the youthful naked athlete. The fragment was found in the temenos of Apollo, and is of early sixth-century style.

It would be too dogmatic and hazardous to say that no Greek divinity had been represented unclothed before 600 B.C. The Mycenaean world, elaborately as it dressed its goddesses, did not scruple to depict a male deity descending in nakedness from the sky. But the Homeric and the earlier post-Homeric society usually imagined and represented its deities as draped; the axiom, sometimes misused, 'that man makes gods in his own image,' would naturally apply here. Then when nudity became the prevalent fashion at the Olympian games, it was natural that the change should affect artistic conventions. Among the works ascribed to Daidalos we hear of a 'naked wooden idol' of Herakles[b]; but to ascribe a work to Daidalos is not to give us a date. That Apollo should have been the first prominent example of the new fashion is an interesting fact, about the explanation of which we may doubt. It may be found in the Dorian worship, in which Apollo was specially associated with the athletic and military epheboi, and therefore himself imagined as essentially a divine ephebos. It may also be that his relations with Zeus which become more explicit in the later period of religious thought, and in which he was essentially regarded as the son of God, assisted the development of the youthful ideal.

But it is as a youth in early maturity, not as a boy, that the archaic, and usually also the later, art conceived him. It is of interest, therefore, to note here a representation inside a kylix of the British Museum, which may be dated about 480 B.C., and which is almost unique[c] among the earlier monuments (Pl. XXIII). The god is seated with a himation round his loins and lower limbs, holding a kithara in his left and extending

[a] *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1886, Pl. 6.

[b] Paus. 2. 4, 5.

[c] Vide p. 349, boyish type on coin of Mitylene.

a libation-cup in his right towards a flaming altar: his earnest features are still quite boyish, and the forms of the body still rather immature. Yet there is divinity in the figure, a concentrated inner life that fascinates us in the boy-god, while the altar enhances the religious effect of the scene [a].

The progress towards the discovery of appropriate and spiritual forms keeps pace with the general progress of Greek sculpture; and perhaps the Apolline monuments of the early sixth century represent the high-water mark of the art of that period, and to some of them are attached the names of famous sculptors. The Delian idol which has already been examined, the work of Tektaios and Angelion marks an important advance towards freedom and expression; for the arms are no longer attached rigidly to the sides, but are extended forwards [b], and the Graces are carved in the palm. And as the plastic type becomes more mobile, gesture, action, and the display of characteristic attributes become possible. This first stage of advance is illustrated also by an archaic coin of Aegina [c], on which the god is represented in striding attitude, holding a strung bow in his right and a laurel-branch bound with woollen fillets in his left. To the next generation, somewhere near to the close of the sixth century, when Greek art was making rapid progress towards ideal forms, the work of the Sicyonic sculptor, Kanachos, is to be assigned. His Apollo Philesios of Branchidai and his Apollo Ismenios of Thebes are said by Pausanias to have been identical in type[185e]. From the coins of Miletos [d], a carneole gem [e] and a bronze statuette in the British Museum (Pl. XXIV), we can reconstruct the outlines of the lost original, and fill up certain

[a] I owe sincere thanks to Mr. Cecil Smith for calling my attention to this vase and for kindly permitting me to publish it.

[b] Overbeck, following the evidence collected by Homolle, *Kunst. Mythol.* 3, pp. 19–20, gives good reasons for believing the material to be wood and gold. We may at least be sure that the work was not of marble, for in this material the extended arm would not have been able to support the figures of the Graces.

[c] Imhoof-Blumer-Gardner, *Num. Comm. Paus.* Pl. L, ii.

[d] *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Ionia*,' Pl. 22. 9, 10; Overbeck, op. cit. Münztaf. 1, 22, 23; on coin of Alexandria (Antoninus Pius) *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Alexandria*,' Pl. 3, no. 936.

[e] Müller, *Denk. d. alt. Kunst*, 1. 23.

Plate XXIV

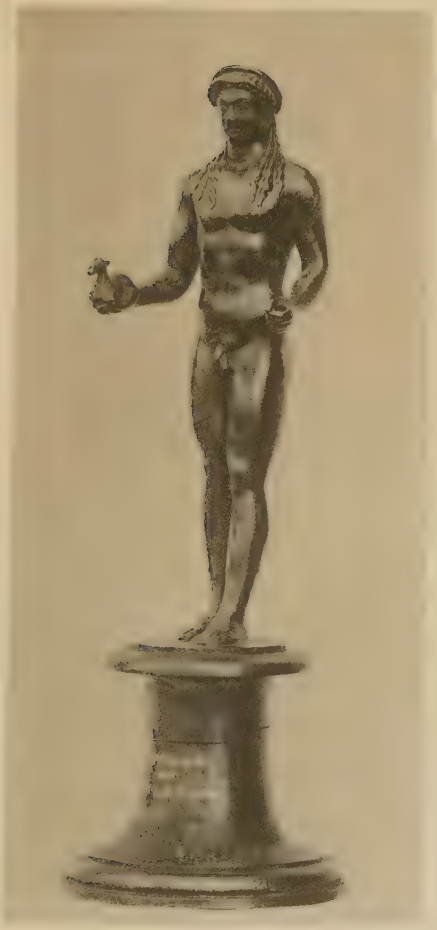


PLATE XXV

details ; there is nothing in the pose distinctive of the god, but the long hair on the shoulders is characteristic : the bow and the stag in his outstretched hands are merely mechanical symbols, but, if we believe—as there is good evidence[a] for believing—that the animal was so placed in the palm as to be gazing up in the face of the protecting deity, the original would have conveyed a certain impression of inward life and feeling. But Kanachos, who was still fettered by the limitations of archaism, was probably not yet able to express a marked sensibility or ethical character in the face. To a date somewhat later than his must be assigned the relief found at Pantikapaion[b], on which Apollo is carved with a lyre in his left and holding the trunk of a laurel-tree in his right, lightly clad in his chlamys and facing his sister ; the work is full of the λεπτότης and χάρις, the delicacy and grace, which the later archaic masters knew how to imprint upon the forms, but it still lacks individuality in the rendering of the divine personalities (Pl. XXV). Within the boundaries of the archaic period there is only one plastic work that comes near to achieving something of ideal expression in the forms, the well-known relief in the Louvre, discovered in Thasos (Pl. XVIII). The god stands here amply clad, as befitted the musician, in chiton and himation, raising the lyre in his left and turning his head half round to receive the garland ; the modulation proper to the movement is seen in the treatment of the throat, and his whole pose shows a stateliness and comparative ease.

The archaic art, then, had contributed something towards the evolution of the Apolline type ; the god is represented as a youthful ephebos, usually naked, except in the character of the kitharoedos, with a free treatment of the hair, of which certain locks escape on to the shoulders. In the next period, between 490 and 460 B.C., the transitional art begins to differentiate the form, and to give to the Apolline as to the other great religious types the distinct impress of a divine character. The chief works to be considered from this point

[a] It is so rendered on the autonomous coins of Miletos, on the coin of Alexandria, and on the gem.

[b] *Fondation Piot*, ii, Pl. VII.

of view are the Choisseul-Gouffier Apollo[a] and the closely cognate works, the Cassel Apollo[b] and the Baracco head in Rome[c]; also two Apolline heads in Athens and the British Museum. The first of these, the well-known statue in the British Museum, has been much discussed, and both its significance and its proper attribution are questions of controversy, which cannot be raised at length here. We see the well-developed and severely trained form of a youth standing rigidly erect with his shoulders drawn back, so that the pectinal muscles are broadly displayed and the abdominal surface flattened; the shoulders certainly suggest the boxer or Apollo Πύκτης, and the large vein in the right biceps is indicated with a vehemence that may point to a new power recently attained in the treatment of the surface. The whole body has a markedly quadrate appearance, and there is a certain dryness in the treatment of the ribs, a rigidity combined with a striking complexity in the lines of the dorsal muscles. But the forms are now imagined according to an ideal canon of proportion. The stuntedness of the archaic type is overpassed. The height is adequate to the breadth, because greater length is given to the thigh, which is almost equal in measurement to the torso, and the effect of the newly discovered canon is stately and imposing. The rhythm also has advanced beyond the limits of archaic art; the feet are still firmly planted on the ground and almost in the same plane, but the weight is mainly thrown upon the right leg, though the body, as the lines of the hips reveal, is slightly inclining to its left, while the head is a little turned towards its right. In fact, here is a great achievement in rhythmic balance of pose; and the work which is of purely Greek sculpture, though probably only a copy of a bronze original, marks a momentous advance in plastic art: the original being the earliest example that is known to us of an ideal representation of the human body, posed with great freedom though with some excess of severity. The face has the earnest, almost sombre, expression characteristic of the type that prevailed in the generation before the zenith of Pheidias.

[a] Pl. XXVI. [b] Pl. XXVII. [c] Pl. XXVIIIa.

PLATE XXVI

APOLLO

The hair is treated after a fashion that prevailed in Attica and elsewhere in the earlier part of the fifth century; its long masses are plaited in two plaits that are bound round the head and secured with a fillet, and though a double row of locks is symmetrically arranged over the forehead there are no tresses descending on the neck or shoulders. The face is long, the forehead strong and broad, yet the lower part of the countenance is emphasized by the heavy chin. The cheeks lack depth, as they still lack in many transitional heads; the thick eyelids cast a shadow over the eyes, a trait common in the art of this period. The work is then a landmark in the history of Greek sculpture. But is it an Apollo? There is nothing in the face or form to prove it, unless we were obliged to interpret the long and curving thing—a part of which remains intact on the tree-trunk at his right side—as the shaft of a bow. But it has been very variously interpreted[a], and it is impossible to be sure what it is. Nevertheless, we may be practically certain that the original statue was intended to represent not a mere athlete but the young god. The statue at Athens, sometimes called Apollo on the omphalos, a close replica of the London work, did not indeed stand on the omphalos which was found near it, but as it stood within the theatre of Dionysos it was probably no athletic dedication. And another head in the British Museum, which appears to be a replica of the same type, was found in the temple of Apollo at Cyrene (Pl. XXVIIIb). But the strongest evidence is afforded by the Torlonia copy, where a quiver—almost entirely antique—is seen carved at the right side. A youthful athletic figure of this period and style, bearing bow or quiver, is certainly Apollo. We may then conceive of the original as holding the bow in his left, which might explain some of the marks on the left knee of the London figure, and possibly a laurel-branch in his right. On a coin of Metaponton of this period we have what appears to be a very similar plastic type

[a] Dr. Waldstein, who believed the statue to be a copy of a famous bronze athlete-statue of Pythagoras, explained it as the leather strap used to protect the hand of the boxer, *Hell. Journ.* I, pp. 185–186: but he does not take the Torlonia statue into account, vide Overbeck, op. cit. p. 105.

of the god bearing these emblems[a], and a derivative of it is found on a later Attic coin[b]. A somewhat more remote affinity to the type under discussion appears in an idol of Apollo, of early fifth-century style, on a Bologna vase[c]; here his left hand, which is lowered obliquely to his front, is holding a laurel-branch, and in the pose of the legs and in the square position of the body, we are reminded of the Choisseul-Gouffier work; but the vase-figure diverges from the type in the extension of the right forearm which is held out at right angles to the upper arm with a libation-cup in its hand.

We may believe that the original, of which the statues in the British Museum and the Central Museum of Athens are good copies[d], was a representation of Apollo, a creation of the Attic art[e] of the transitional period working under Argive influences. But its importance for religious sculpture is not so great; for the work, though ideal, is not divine; there is nothing in the forms and expression to differentiate the god from the athlete.

Of greater interest from the present point of view is the well-known Cassel Apollo (Pl. XXVII), the copy of an original which also belonged to the transitional period[f], but which had achieved a striking advance beyond the former work in the power of characterizing divinity. In the pose of the two figures, even in details of articulation such as the line of the spine and the curvature of the shoulder-blades, there is a strong general resemblance; but in every respect the Cassel type is the more matured. The rhythm is freer; the left foot is drawn further back and, owing partly to the marked inclination of the body to the right and the head to the left,

[a] Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 63, Fig. 38.

[b] Overbeck, *Kunst. Myth.* Münztaf. iv, no. 29.

[c] *Mon. d. Inst.* 10, Pl. 54.

[d] A careful examination of the statue in Athens has convinced me that it is not itself the original, as has been sometimes held.

[e] The view once held that it was a product of the school of Kalamis is against all that we know from the ancient record of this sculptor; it rather illustrates that advance in sculpture associated with the name of Pythagoras, as Dr. Waldstein argues.

[f] The statue is regarded as 'Myronic' by Furtwängler (*Meisterwerke*, p. 194, English Trans.): he admits that the unusual length of the lower part of the face is un-Myronic, but thinks it was given to express 'unapproachable divinity.'

PLATE XXVIII *a*

Plate XXIX

the whole figure does not confront one so squarely and sternly as the Choisseul-Gouffier Apollo. The strength and power impressed upon the form are combined with more ease, and suggest the god rather than the strong man merely[a]. The hair is plaited behind and bound up with the simplicity of the older fashion, but two long tresses, the usual characteristic of Apollo, fall upon the shoulders; it is parted over the forehead and drawn more horizontally sideways in rippling curls, while that of the British Museum Apollo fall more vertically down over the forehead after the fashion of the older bronze-technique. There are two other heads in Europe derived from replicas of the Cassel statue; one in the Central Museum at Athens, found in the Olympieion there, the other in the Baracco Collection at Rome (Pl. XXVIII a): they all agree in the essential features, in the treatment of the hair with the side-fillets, and in the forms of the face with its deep depression in the centre, its long oval outline, strong and slightly protruding chin, and in the parted lips which almost reveal the teeth. But there are some differences: the very austere, almost sombre, expression proper to this type is much more pronounced in the two latter heads, and the characteristic forms are more sharply presented, than in the Cassel head, which betrays a desire to slightly soften down this trait of character; for instance, its eyes are wrought narrower, as if to impart a somewhat dreamy look to a face that is otherwise almost repellant with its stern intellectuality. And the Baracco head is rather flatter at the top, in this respect agreeing with the Parthenon type, while it almost exactly coincides with the Cassel replica in its measurements of the upper as compared with the lower portions of the face, while both differ appreciably in this respect from that which is in the Museum of Athens. That is to say, the upper part of the face, viewed mathematically, predominates in the latter, as it does in the case of the Choisseul-Gouffier Apollo, and generally also in the heads of later art; while in the case of the other two the measurements from the top of the forehead to the tip

[a] The treatment of the upper part of the breast, especially of the flesh by the arm-pits, vividly recalls the style of the Parthenon figures.

of the nose, and from the last point to the end of the chin, are very nearly equal; yet in all these transitional heads of Apollo, the chin is so treated as to assist the expression in the face of sombre force[a]. The intellectual nature of the god is beginning to imprint itself on the broad forehead and the strong line of brow which, in the case of the 'Omphalos' Apollo, is marked with a slight swelling of the flesh about corners.

Another very interesting monument of transitional religious art is the beautiful bronze statue of Apollo, found at Pompeii and now at Naples (Pl. XXX), which has been more truly appreciated by recent archaeological criticism than it was by the older generation[b]. The bronze-technique is so fine and delicate, the modelling so fresh and careful, that we might believe it to be the original work of a great master, but for the shape of the plinth[c]. In any case it is an admirable copy of a work produced before the middle of the fifth century. The shoulders and breast are quadrate, and the thighs are still somewhat too short for the perfection of symmetry. Yet the pose and bearing are strikingly noble, as of a personality self-collected and self-sufficient. This god seeks no communion with mortality. He is presented as the divine musician, with plectron in the right hand and traces of a lyre in the left, and there may be a hint of this character in the droop of the head and the dreamy expression of the eyes that are fixed on the ground; at the same time there is a sombre shadow on the face, and the mouth is almost sullen. The cheeks are broad, the chin large, the cranium very high. In many respects, then, it differs from the Cassel head, though

[a] With these may be compared the head in the British Museum which used to be attributed to Kanachos (Overbeck, *Gesch. d. Griech. Plast.* 1, p. 109), but which belongs rather to the transitional than to the archaic period: the broad cheeks and the over-serious expression prove this: the colossal size suggests Apollo, and there appear to have been long tresses at the sides that have been planed away (Pl. XXIX).

[b] Vide Wolters, *Jahrb. d. d. Inst.* 1896, p. 1.

[c] Furtwängler, *Eine Argivische Bronze*, p. 139, Anm. 61, is right in assigning the round delicately fluted base to a later period. One of the earliest examples of it is the bronze statuette of Zeus, from Paramythia in Epirus, now in the British Museum, a work showing Lysippean influences.

PLATE XXXII

Plate XXXIII

it resembles it somewhat in the treatment of the hair and in the depressions in the centre of the face.

A somewhat different expression appears in the countenance of the Apollo-statue that was discovered a few years ago in Rome and now in the Museo delle Terme[a]; the face seems no longer stern and sombre, but has an air of mild dignity and benevolent thought (Pl. XXXI). In pose it approaches the 'Cassel' type, though there are some differences; but in treatment of the hair and in contour of face, it bears some resemblance to the Bologna head which Furtwängler has interpreted as that of the Lemnian Athena; and on these grounds he maintains the Apollo delle Terme to be a work of the young Pheidias working under Argive influence[b].

The most striking original monuments of Apollo preserved to us from the earlier art of the fifth century are (1) the representation of the god in the pediment of the Olympian gable: in the forms and the execution there is much of the dryness of the older style, and the work is decorative and architectural rather than finely plastic, but the pose is stately and majestic, and powerfully expressive of his character as the arbiter of strife and the guardian of law and order (Pl. XXXII); the lines of the face and the expression are very pure and noble; we note the great sweep of the eyebrow and the broad flat surfaces of the cheek, traits which appear again as marked characteristics of the Parthenon heads; and the sculptor, in spite of his limitations, knew how to distinguish between the mortal and the divinity; for, while another head in the group of the pediment is very similar, in Apollo's the eye-sockets are deeper, the eyes less flat, the centre of the face less broad, the lips fuller; and the work belongs to imaginative religious sculpture, for, though the whole ideal of the divinity is not embodied here, yet the sculptor realizes part of the ideal; the young calm god stands before us, inexorably severe: (2) the Chatsworth bronze head (Pl. XXXIII), known now to the world through the excellent publication and description

[a] Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, 462.

[b] As far as I can judge from the photograph, the treatment of the torso, especially of the pectinal muscles and the abdomen, recalls the Parthenon style.

of it in Furtwängler's *Intermezzi* and through the Burlington Fine Arts Exhibition of Sculpture in 1903. We discern in it many of the forms characteristic of the period, but though the countenance is full of severe dignity, the sombre look has gone; there is a strange impress of inner life and intellectual force in the face, in the large eyes and the broad high forehead with its delicate modulations. The top of the skull has something of the flatness of the Parthenon heads. It is noteworthy that we have here the first example of the peculiar hair-knot above the forehead which is frequent in the later types.

These plastic monuments of the transitional period may descend from the masterpieces of great sculptors, but the criteria at our disposal have not enabled us to discover with any degree of certainty the Apollo-types of a Kalamis, Pythagoras, or a Myron[a], and this is not the place to discuss doubtful theories of ascription. It is sufficient to note the progress made towards ideal and characteristic expression. The achievement of this period of art in this subject is strikingly illustrated by the coin-types of certain states: the earlier coinage, for instance, of Kolophon and Leontini, presents us with heads of Apollo of the perfected archaic style[b], and when we compare them with the somewhat later coin of Leontini[c] we mark the significance of the progress made between 500 and 460 B.C., and the growing power that prepared the way for the great age that followed: the countenance is no longer frigid, staring, or even sombre, but the expression is milder and softened, and intellectual life appears on the strongly-marked brow and forehead, and in the shadowy eyes.

But the Pheidian age marks the zenith of Greek religious sculpture, though it may not have developed and perfected the ideal type of every divinity. Unfortunately there is

[a] An Apollo of Myron existed at Agrigentum[221 d], and in Rome if we may trust an inscription on a headless 'term' Ἀπόλλων Μύρωνος; Kaibel, *Inscr. Graec. Ital.* p. 698 (Furtwängler, op. cit. p. 194).

[b] The archaic and transitional coins of Leontini are published side by side in Head's *Hist. Num.* p. 130, and Gardner's *Types*, Pl. ii, nos. 30 and 25; cf. the coin-type of Kolophon, Gardner, ib. Pl. iv. 37, for the marking of the bone of the forehead.

[c] Pl. B, 8; cf. the coin of Katana, Gardner, ibid. Pl. ii, no. 23.

PLATE XXXIV

no work that is generally accepted as an original representation of Apollo by Pheidias, or even as a copy of such an original. Nor is there any ascribed to him except the statue of Apollo Παρνόπιος, of which we know nothing. But after all, in spite of certain modern theories, the Parthenon sculpture remains our richest and surest source of evidence for Pheidian style and expression. And Apollo is surely present somewhere among the divinities on the frieze. Now the young deity seated between Aphrodite on the right, and the god who can be recognized as Poseidon on the left, was regarded as Apollo by older archaeologists, but this interpretation was somewhat supplanted by one put forward by Flasch that this figure is Dionysos. Yet the former view is really less hazardous and more convincing, and is now gaining ground again[a]. It is better supported by arguments drawn from cult affinities, which are obviously to some extent respected in the grouping of the divinities: for Poseidon and Apollo have very close relations in the state religion, but Poseidon and Dionysos none, nor are the two latter associated in popular myth. Moreover, if this is Apollo, then the female figure on his right, leaning her arm on Aphrodite, will be Artemis, and Artemis and Aphrodite appear associated in the same intimate fashion on the Cnidian fricze at Delphi, a work which we cannot avoid believing has inspired the designer of the Parthenon frieze[b]. Also, if we study the original at Athens rather than the casts of it, we may be convinced, not only of the extraordinary beauty of the relief—the masterpiece of the whole frieze—but of the harmony between the figure and the ideal conception of Apollo (Pl. XXXIV). None of the later modes of emotional expression are used for the countenance, but the genius of the deity is given. The head is slim with broad surfaces of cheek; the throat appears full of breath; the lips are full and half-opened; there are faint lines above and around the mouth; the

[a] e. g. Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke*, p. 190; Studniczka, *Jahrb. d. d. Inst.* 1904, p. 2.

[b] I am indebted to Professor P. Gardner for calling my attention to this, and for other reasons also I feel compelled to withdraw the objections I expressed in vol. 2, p. 538, n. [b] to Furtwängler's interpretation of the Parthenon figure as Artemis.

thick eyelids cast the eyes into shadow, and the whole face seems clouded with thought and infused with spiritual life[a]. The pose is full of decorous ease or 'eurhythmy,' without languor or weakness, and it displays more σεμνότης or majesty than any figure in the divine group except that of Hera. The ample himation is disposed about the body after a fashion much in vogue in the later fifth-century art, and specially characteristic of Zeus and the more august divinities[b]. And there are other representations of Apollo which, in pose or in arrangement of the drapery or in both, resemble and help to interpret the form on the Parthenon frieze: we see him carved on the wooden pyxis of the Hermitage, with a very pure and profound expression in his face, crowned with laurel and wearing a himation that reveals most of his breast, and is drawn over the left shoulder (Pl. XXXV); two coins of Kyzikos of the fourth century represent him draped in the same way[c]; and both the pose and the drapery of the Parthenon figure reappear on a vase in Naples (Pl. XXXVI a), and with still more striking similarity on a relief on a gold cup from Bucharest, on which the seated Apollo is represented with his head turned to his right and holding the lyre in his left as we may imagine him to be holding it in the Parthenon frieze (Pl. XXXVI b)[d].

If this interpretation is accepted, we have a Pheidian type of Apollo that satisfies us: the Delphic god who has become the ancestral deity of the Attic people is here distinguished from the other divinities, not only by his laurel crown, but by the more august form and bearing characteristic of the divine prophet, and by a countenance that, with a subdued degree of expression, reveals the poet and the thinker. And if some other deity in the frieze than this is really Apollo, we

[a] There appears a resemblance more than superficial between this and the Apolline heads on the early fourth-century coin of Chalkidike (Coin Pl. B, 9); and the late fifth-century coin of Gargara (Coin Pl. B, 10) belongs in the main to the same type.

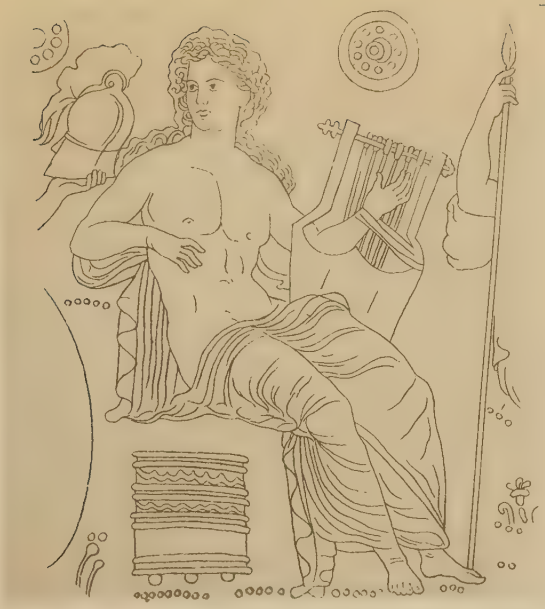
[b] It is found occasionally in the representations of Dionysos.

[c] *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Mysia*,' Pl. 8. 13; Gardner, *Types*, x. 23.

[d] Cf. also the Ashmolean vase, supra Pl. XX, p. 328, and Sacken, *Die antiken Sculpturen in Wien*, Taf. xviii (Apollo seated on the omphalos, and draped like the Parthenon figure)

Plate XXXVI

a



b

PLATE XXXVII

must feel that Pheidias has failed to find for him an adequate type.

The communion between the brother and sister divinities to which the Pheidian work bears some testimony, was prominent in the religious imagination of the fifth century, and received striking expression in the art of the period. Among temple-monuments we can only mention the group of Artemis, Leto and Apollo in the temple on Mount Lykone in Argolis, which was said to be a work of Polykleitos[a]; but nothing has been discovered throwing light on this. Looking at the surviving monuments that show the fellowship of the twin-deities, we find a representation of Apollo Kitharoedos holding out a cup to receive a libation from his sister to have been a favourite motive in the later fifth century. It occurs on the interesting relief dedicated to Kourotrophos, Leto, Apollo and Artemis[b], and on another relief of good fifth-century work in the Museum at Sparta. It occurs also on many vases, of which perhaps the most beautiful is the hydria in Paris already mentioned[c], containing a representation of the god seated and laurel-crowned which, with its solemn and profound expression, reaches a high range of religious art (Pl. XXXVII). We may rank as next perhaps in beauty and expression to this a vase in Naples, with a similar treatment of the same motive, and showing considerable power of inner life in the bent head and thoughtful countenance of the god (Pl. XXXVIII). Differing from these in disposition of the figures, but ranking as an excellent product of fifth-century Attic art is a vase in the Ashmolean Museum, on which he stands opposite to Artemis, her roe between them, he holding the libation-cup and she the oinochoe[d]. The motive is taken from secular Greek life: the wife or sister pours for husband or brother the wine of departure or welcome. But in these Apolline scenes a distinct religious impression is produced, and on another vase of fifth-century style in the Ashmolean Collection[e], on which

[a] Vide Artemis, R. 53[d]; cf. vol. iv. Coin Pl. B, 2.

[b] Vide supra, p. 327.

[c] Vol. 2, p. 540.

[d] Published by Prof. Gardner, *Hell. Journ.* 1905, Pl. 2.

[e] 'Greek vases in the Ashmolean Museum' Pl. 18.

the god receives a libation from his sister, an altar is depicted between them (Pl. XXXIX).

For the task of tracing the form of Apollo in its most ideal and imaginative expression, the coin-types of the fifth and fourth century are of the greatest importance; and we can gain more continuous illustration from them than from any other branch of art. The fifth-century coinage of Zakynthos has created an impressive type: a laureate head with broad surfaces and full features modulated with deep expression, and recalling the head of the Parthenon frieze; the hair is severely treated, only a few locks escaping on to the neck; on the reverse he is seated playing the lyre on a draped omphalos[a]. By the middle of this century, numismatic art had come to indicate the intellectual character of the god by a strong marking of the brow and prominence of the frontal bone. Later, we notice this as a characteristic trait, combined with a softer style and a milder expression on the beautiful coins of Katana of the fifth century (Coin Pl. B, 13), and of Abydos and Chalkidike, struck near the beginning of the fourth century (Coin Pl. B, 12, 9). To the same date, near to 400 B. C., must be assigned a very striking coin of Megara (Coin Pl. B, 14), which shows us a head of Apollo crowned with laurel, the hair falling in short curls by the side, a forehead high and straight and strongly marked, a broad surface of cheek, strong chin, with an expression of great power and earnestness, infused with a touch of brightness. And the coinage of Rhegion and Kroton strikingly mark the change that was coming over the divine type in the period between Pheidias and Praxiteles. On an earlier coin of the former city (Coin Pl. B, 15), the forms preserve the developed fifth-century style, the cheeks are broad, the chin is strong, the simple treatment of the hair which is drawn in almost vertical parallels down over the skull beneath the fillet recalls an older style, and the expression is grave and restrained: in the later coin (Coin Pl. B, 16) the expression has not much changed, intellectual force is still the sole mental trait that is revealed, but this is now combined with a certain richness of

[a] Coin Pl. B, 11, *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Peloponnese*,' Pl. 19. 13.

form, a luxuriant arrangement of flowing hair. Very similar in type to this is a hitherto unpublished bronze coin of Rhegion in the Bodleian Collection (Coin Pl. B, 17): the forms are very pure and strong, the expression somewhat keener and more severe. A coin of Kroton shows the same richness in the treatment of the hair and a marked degree of intellectual refinement in the expression (Coin Pl. B, 18). The same combination of traits is attained by the coin-types of Gambreion and Abydos, struck in the same century; while a somewhat different rendering of the character is presented by the coins of Kios in Propontis, on which we find softer forms and a striking expression of gentle seriousness.

Distinct from these among fourth-century coins is a series of tetradrachms of Amphipolis which present the countenance of the god almost *en face*: the type is more important for art than for religious conception, the style is picturesque rather than plastic, the forms very fresh and genial, but the expression is difficult to characterize, and varies according to the variation in the incidence of light thrown upon the coin; the forehead is broad and barred, the large eyesockets are thrown into deep shadow, the lips are parted and delicately curved; the countenance is touched with a certain emotional excitement, but there is a hint of effeminacy in the rounded contours of the cheeks (Coin Pl. B, 19). There is more emotion and yet no effeminacy in the countenance on a somewhat similar coin-type of Klazomenai[a], the treatment is very picturesque, especially in the rendering of the hair, the surface of the face is deeply modulated, but there is strength and seriousness of expression in the whole (Coin Pl. B, 20). This numismatic type of Apolline head was rather widely diffused; and we may trace a certain affinity between it and the Helios-head of the later Rhodian stamp.

It is natural to suppose that the characteristics of the great masters of fourth-century sculpture would be reflected on the coins; and the coin-type of Klazomenai may owe something to the influence of Skopas. But it is hard to pursue the inquiry with any precision; for nothing very important for

[a] *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Ionia*,' Pl. 21. 8.

our present purpose is known with certainty about representations of Apollo by Skopas. The idol of Apollo Smintheus, carved by Skopas for the temple at Chryse, is certainly represented on coins of Alexandria Troas; but a careful examination of these shows nothing at all characteristic of his style. The mouse is carved at his feet on the bronze coins[a] as evidence of the local cult; and the figure of Apollo is certainly intended to represent the temple-statue, for on imperial coins it appears as inside the shrine[b] with bow, tripod, and libation-cup, on others with flaming altar and with worshippers[c]; and in nearly all cases in form or pose the marks of archaic style are clearly preserved[d]. The conclusion is inevitable that Skopas, instead of creating an original type, deliberately reproduced an archaic and traditional one. This could only be due to the influence of some ἱερὸς λόγος; on one coin we find the idol placed above a cavern, inside which is seen a similar idol lying on the ground, while a herdsman is starting back affrighted; and, as Mr. Wroth well suggests, the primitive associations of a cave-worship, in which a very ancient xoanon was used, may have dominated the later cultus[e].

The other statue of Apollo ascribed to Skopas is that which Pliny calls 'Palatinus,' and which Propertius saw in the interior of the imperial palace, where 'between his mother and his sister the Pythian god himself in long vestments raises the song on high[f].' From what we know of Skopas we may imagine the strong life and emotional ecstasy which would appear in the face and countenance of the divine singer; and it was a work wrought for Rhamnus in Attica, and probably under Attic influence. But it is doubtful whether we can detect the trace of his handiwork in any existing monument. The well-known Vatican statue of Apollo Kitharoedos, even though it corresponds in general to the description of Propertius, and may derive the energy of its movement from the

[a] *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Troas*,' Pl. 3. 6.

[b] Op. cit. Pl. 5. 18.

[c] Op. cit. Pl. 5. 3, 4.

[d] Even the silver autonomous coins which are freest in style, are not wholly devoid of stiffness: Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 469, vide Gardner, *Types*, p. 177.

[e] '*Troas*,' p. xvii, Pl. 5. 14.

[f] Plin. *N. H.* 36. 25; Prop. 2. 31.

PLATE XL

Plate XLI

original of Skopas [a], is yet in form and expression merely dead sculpture, and the much restored face is empty of all character. But we have what is probably a head of Apollo among the Mausoleum fragments in the British Museum which, though in certain of its forms and proportions distinct from the Tegean heads, yet in many essential features reminds us of these original works of Skopas' hand (Pl. XL). It has the same rendering of the mouth, and the great breadth between the eyes which are half-closed beneath the thick lids; but the hair is more freely given, the forehead lacks the violent marking, the eye-balls the striking treatment of the pupils; also, though the cheeks are broad and the chin is full, the contours are too softly rounded, and the treatment altogether too fleshy for the strenuous sculptor of the Tegean monuments; nor does the triangular scheme of the forehead seem proper to his system of forms. The head is thrown back and slightly to one side, and this trait, together with the expression of strong vitality in the countenance, marks the god of music and inspiration. We may conjecture the handiwork of Bryaxis here [b]. The high triangular forehead occurs on early fourth-century coins [c], and in the well-known Munich statue of Apollo Kitharoedos, of which the pedigree and type concern the present study (Pl. XLI). The pose is that of the musician pausing in his music. The stately and elaborate drapery, which the fourth century seems specially to have been the first to assign to the character of the lyre-playing god, has much of the solemnity and arrangement of the folds found in Pheidian works: only, if we may trust a replica discovered at Rome some years ago [d], the lower folds of the mantle on the left side were inflated as if the wind had caught them. This more

[a] For the discussion of this question see Overbeck, *Kunst. Mythol.* 4, pp. 67–68, 186–187: P. Gardner, *Hell. Journ.* 1903, p. 123.

[b] Prof. Gardner, *Hell. Journ.* 1903, p. 123—with whose analysis of the head mine agrees on the whole—suggests Timotheos or Leochares: if the Apollo Belvidere descends, as is probable, from a work of the latter sculptor, he can scarcely claim the Mausoleum head, which only agrees with the Belvidere in the 'korymbos' on the top of the skull.

[c] e. g. on coins of Zakynthos, *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Peloponnese*,' Pl. 19. 18, 19.

[d] *Comm. Arch. Com. Roma*, 1887, Pl. 20.

excited and rhetorical style combined with the majestic tradition of the older religious art suggests a fourth-century sculptor, who, while yielding to contemporary influences, inherited much of the Pheidian manner and ethos. Such may well have been Bryaxis[a], and the type of which the Munich statue is a late copy has an undoubted general relationship with his statue at Daphne, of which the coin of Antiochus V preserves the outlines[b].

To Praxiteles the literary record ascribes four statues of Apollo, and the god must have appeared in the group of twelve divinities that he carved for the temple of Artemis the Saviour in Megara. The only one of these of which we have any certain copy is the Apollo Sauroktonos, several statues in the Museums of Europe showing us his boyish figure in the pose described by Pliny. The best known are those in the Louvre and the Vatican. The figure, which is a marvel for its delicacy and undulating grace, is of great importance for the history of Greek sculpture, but is hardly to be ranked among genuine religious monuments. It shows us merely the sculptor's dream of the young god at play. The spiritual quality natural to this great artist is visible in the countenance, especially in the lips to which he has given the half-concealed smile which he loved to carve ; but the character of the deity is only half developed in the face. Nor can we use its traits as clues to discover other Praxitelean Apollos; for instance, we need not suppose that Praxiteles gave to his other Apolline heads the almost triangular shape of forehead which we see in the Sauroktonos and which differs widely from the form of his Hermes' head.

What this representation suggests of importance for the

[a] The doubt expressed by Clemens as to whether Pheidias or Bryaxis was the sculptor of the images of Apollo and Zeus at Patara in Lycia may point to some actual affinity of style (*Protr.* Pott. p. 41).

[b] Overbeck, *K. M.* Münztaf. v. 39 : that the Munich statue and its confrères are directly descended from Bryaxis' work at Daphne would be proved only if we could show that the right hand of the former originally held a libation-cup as did the figure at Daphne; but the facts do not seem to point to this: see Overbeck, op. cit. p. 181, who cites coins of Lampsakos and other cities with a figure of the same type as the Munich statue holding the plectron.

PLATE XLII

future history of religious art is the beginning of a tendency to represent the godhead under the immature forms of boy or infant. But among the Apolline types, the Sauroktonos stands alone in this respect, for the face of Apollo on the beautiful coin of Mitylene [a], though boyish, is certainly more mature (Coin Pl. B, 21).

We might look to the Mantinean basis, an original monument of this school, to reveal to us the Praxitelean ideal of the god of music (Pl. XLII). He is seated there, amply robed in chiton and mantle, holding the lyre, but pausing in his own playing and listening to the pipes of Marsyas. The figure is nobly imagined, and fascinates us with its tranquil grace; but by a great misfortune the countenance is too disfigured to tell us much. And though we have an Apollo Kitharoedos on the relief from the Euboean temple of Artemis Amarusia mentioned above [b], fairly well preserved in face and form, and a certain impress of the poetic character is discernible in the forehead and in the eyes, and the style of the other figures shows an intimate connexion with the work of the Mantinean base, yet we are left mainly to our imagination and our general knowledge of the sculptor's style for our conception of the Apollo of Praxiteles. We may believe him to have been endowed beyond all others for dealing masterfully with this type of divinity; the mood of poetic reverie would especially attract him, and we know how he could treat forehead, eyes, and mouth so as to give the countenance the deepest impress of inner life, the life of spirit and intellect, and how he could brighten all this with that ineffable smile. The way had been well prepared for him both by sculpture and the numismatic art. A plastic work that appears, so far as one may judge from photographic publication [c], to be of great excellence and to belong to the earlier part of the fourth century, is the Tiezkiewicz bronze statuette now in the Museum of Boston (Pl. XLIII). The hair over the forehead is drawn to each side in horizontal rippling lines, after the

[a] See *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Troas*,' Pl. 32. 1: *Hell. Journ.* 1897, Pl. II. 9, p. 86 (circ. 400 B.C.).

[b] p. 327.

[c] Fröhner, *La Collection Tiezkiwicz*, Pl. XX.

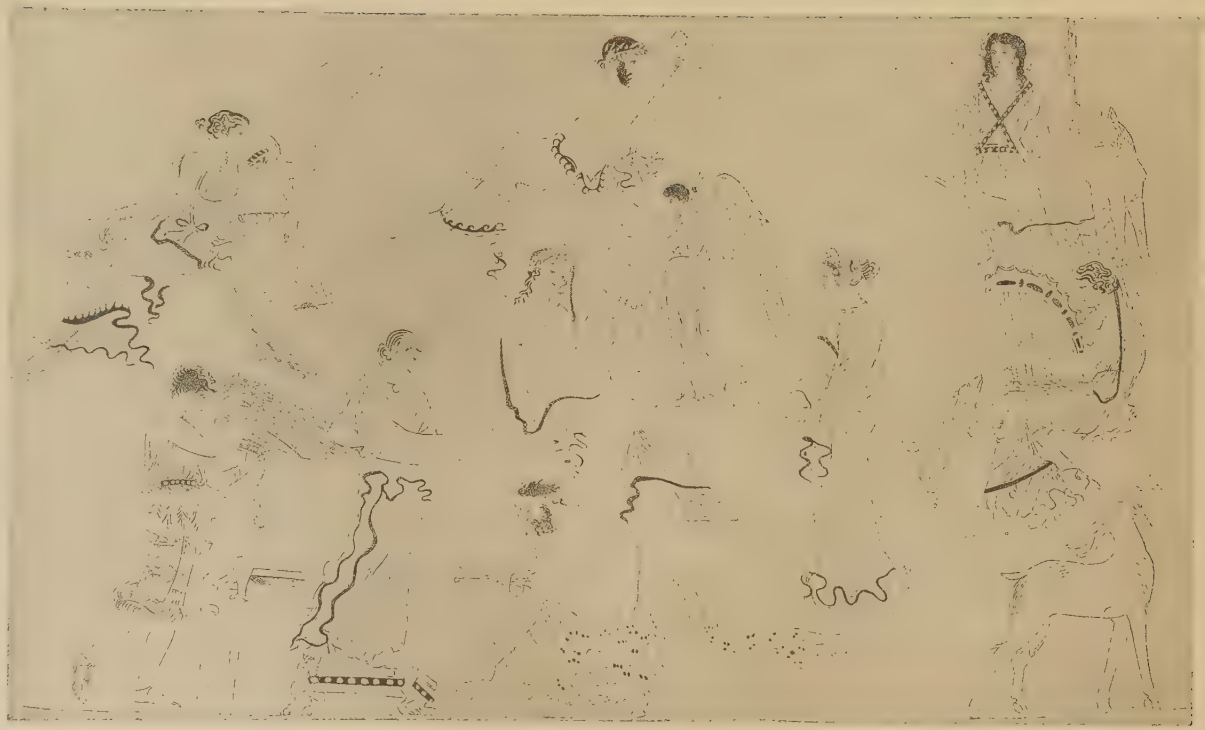
fashion of the fifth century, and the forehead is broad and not triangular; but the very large 'korymbos' or bunch of hair on the top of the skull, of which the earliest example, of more modest dimensions, is seen on the fifth-century Chatsworth head (Pl. XXXIII), is such as we only find on the heads of the fourth and third century. We note also the supple rhythm of the swaying form, the languid inclination of the head to the right where the weight of the body is wholly thrown, while the left foot only slightly touches the ground. There is the same shadow on the face as on the countenance of the Pompeian Apollo, but more pensiveness and a more marked impression of sentiment. The god is sunk in a poetic reverie and was probably holding the lyre, though neither arm can have been much raised.

And other branches of fourth-century art, besides the plastic and numismatic, have left us some impressive and interesting embodiments of Apollo. The figure drawn on the wooden tripod from Kertsch, mentioned above (Pl. XXXV), is a solemn and profound representation of the prophet-god, and reveals his kinship with his father. And again, on an early fourth-century vase of Naples (Pl. XLIV), which represents Apollo playing to Marsyas in the presence of Zeus, there is some nobility and great imagination in the rendering of his form and countenance[a]. In the later works of this, and in those of the succeeding centuries the influence of the Praxitelean style and spiritual quality is long traceable. A striking illustration of this is the series of statues that belong to the type of what is known as the Lycian Apollo; for Lucian, in his mention of the Lyceum at Athens[7], describes the image of the god dedicated there in these words: 'you see Apollo leaning on a pillar with the bow in his left hand, and with his right arm bent back over his head, as in indication that the god is resting from long toil.'

We have many copies of this work in the museums of

[a] We may compare with this a fourth-century vase in the Hermitage of St. Petersburg, of great beauty, showing Apollo playing the lyre before a satyr in the presence of Artemis, Aphrodite, and Adonis: also a large kylix in the Vienna collection, with a representation of the god riding on a griffin and playing the lyre, of very fine fourth-century style.

PLATE XLIII



To face page 350

Plate XLV

Europe[a], some of which show a lyre in place of the bow. It is commonly believed that the Attic original was a work of the Praxitelean circle. But it is more probably the creation of an artist, who at some distance followed his tradition and exaggerated his manner; for there is nothing strictly Praxitelean in the figure except the languor of the pose, the inclination of the body towards its support, and a general resemblance to the proportions of the Hermes. None of them are works of a good Hellenic period, and none of them exhibit the Praxitelean character in the face. The Louvre example (Pl. XLV) shows a high triangular forehead, a high oval head, the central part of the face rather broad, traits which suggest Hellenistic style. The type was adapted to the representation of Apollo Kitharoedos, as is proved by certain statues and more than one gem[b]. Still, the words of Lucian prove that at least the Attic original portrayed the wearied archer[c].

But there is a certain affectation and self-consciousness in the pose ill-suited to the character of the archer-god, and the languor is better explained and more justified in our imagination if we conceive it to have followed the outburst of musical and poetic inspiration. The bow, in fact, somewhat destroys the inward harmony of the whole figure, and we cannot by way of justification suppose a mythic intention. We may believe then that an Attic sculptor after Praxiteles, working under Praxitelean influence which was strong in the Hellenistic period, produced a type of the wearied archer-god, with a general resemblance to the Hermes of the master, but with a later scheme of features and a different fashion for the hair: and that this type was afterwards applied to the wearied musician and gained thereby in appropriateness. Such a theme would be congenial to the taste of the Hellenistic

[a] Louvre, Overbeck, *Atlas*, xxii. 39; Müller, *Denk. d. alt. Kunst*, 2. 127[a]; Capitoline, Overbeck, xxii. 41; Müller, ib. 128; Florence, Müller, 126[a]; Berlin, Roscher, *Lexikon*, 1, p. 460, Overbeck, *Atlas*, xix. 32.

[b] Müller, op. cit. 128[a], 129.

[c] This is Furtwängler's view, Roscher's *Lexikon*, vol. 1, p. 461; but his dogma that fourth-century art could not have represented an Apollo Kitharoedos undraped is very dubious: we find such a representation on the fifth-century coin of Zakynthos (vide Coin Pl. B, 1).

age, when the painter's and sculptor's art loved to embody the idea of languor and repose. Even the gods are becoming fatigued: Apollo poses as an earthly musician, and his expression of bright and strong intellectuality passes away into a look of dreamy poetic sensitiveness; for Hellenistic work has a marked infusion of sentimentality, the bane of religious art.

To the beginnings of this later period we may assign the famous Pourtales head of the British Museum (Pl. XLVI), which expresses in striking forms the character of the melancholy poet brooding over his dreams. The sadness in the face is intentional and is no illusion. The conception is new and strikes us as decadent or modern. The expression is gained by the forward and sideward inclination of the head, and by the treatment of the eyes and mouth. Certainly the effect is beautiful, but picturesque rather than plastic, and one misses the fire and virility of the older sculpture [a].

The Pourtales work is a fascinating example of what may be called the Hellenistic effeminate type of Apollo. But certain earlier representations belonging to the fourth century may have assisted this transformation. We find a touch of effeminacy in his representations on a few coins of this period; and perhaps there was something of this quality in the temple-image of Bryaxis at Daphne, unless it is merely his rhetorical mannerism that makes Libanius praise 'the tender delicacy of its neck.' The changed style is illustrated by third-century coins: for instance, by the coin-type of Aigai in Aeolis, of which a specimen is reproduced (Coin Pl. B, 22), and we observe that in the second century B. C. the Apollo head on the coin of Myrina (Coin Pl. B, 3) is modelled very closely after the features of the city-goddess of Smyrna (Coin Pl. B, 23) [b].

A salient example of this later style is a statue in the Museum of Constantinople from Tralles, which appeared to me to be a good Roman copy of a Hellenistic original of the third century. It represents an Apollo in the pose examined

[a] For further discussion of this head see Prof. Gardner's article in *Hell. Journ.* 1903, p. 117, &c.

[b] Vide *Brit. Mus. Cat.* 'Ionia,' Pl. 25. 5.

PLATE XLVI

Plate XLVII

a

b

above, with his right arm resting over his head; the face is a long oval, and the female character of the expression and forms is pronounced (Pl. XLVII[a]). We need not wonder then if a well-known head of Greek workmanship in the Museum of Vienna has been sometimes supposed to represent Apollo, sometimes a goddess[a]; for there is here no external mark to fix the interpretation. The earnest and poetic expression of the face, the large open eyes, the very deep eye-sockets, and the great breadth between them, the sideward inclination of the head certainly suggest the god, but the soft neck with its folds of flesh appears to be womanly. As the sculpture is of great beauty, it is all the more unfortunate that we must remain in doubt as to the personality, just as for the same reason we are often prevented distinguishing between a Bacchus and an Ariadne.

But it would be a serious mistake to suppose that the effeminate and 'sentimental' style alone prevailed in the Hellenistic representations of Apollo. Certain coin-types of the beginning of the third century and later preserve much of the virile and intellectual character in the conception of the god: a coin of Pellene[b] may show us the style of the early period of the Diadochi, representing Apollo's head with an almost violent protuberance of the frontal bone, and with a strongly marked intellectual expression (Coin Pl. B, 24); on Macedonian coins of the later period the bar across the forehead seems to survive as the sole characteristic trait[c]. And in the representations of Apollo in the glyptic art of the Hellenistic period, we find the languid 'Praxitelean' pose and expression combined sometimes with a system of forms that preserves the more vigorous and masculine style of the earlier period: for instance, a beautiful gem in the possession of Dr. Arthur Evans shows us the god leaning against a pillar and holding his bow, with the lyre resting at his feet, his head sunk, but the forms of his chest revealing the athletic ephebos[d].

[a] Vide Sacken, *Die antiken Sculpturen*, Taf. 5, also Von Schneider, *Kunstsamml. Wien*, Taf. 7.

[b] Vide Geogr. Reg. *s.v.* Achaea.

[c] *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Macedon*,' p. 11, no. 37.

[d] I owe the reproduction of the gem (Pl. XLVII[b]) to the kindness of the owner.

In the later sculpture the more vigorous type is represented by works such as the Belvidere Apollo, the Steinhäuser head, and the figure on the relief of the great altar of Pergamon. As regards the well-known Vatican figure, the many archaeological questions that have arisen concerning it cannot be here discussed. It only concerns us here because it helps to show the long continuance in art of the more masculine conception of the divinity, as the Helper in danger and need. It is true there are marks in it of a taste not wholly healthy; there is a slight strut in the gait, an affectation of high-bred elegance in the bearing. But whether this is the archer-god who has just discharged a shaft against the giants, or is shaking the aegis in the face of the enemy, or whether it is merely a typical representation of Apollo Boedromios, the god who 'speeds to aid,' there is vitality and the tense vigour of action impressed on the figure. The features are mobile, and the transition from the cheeks to the centre of the face is rather sudden; the expression is excited and somewhat disdainful. The Steinhäuser head, in Bâle, though only a good Roman copy, is of better workmanship (Pl. XLVIII). Its expression, though on the whole the same, is not so pronounced; but there is more tension and strain in the face and neck. The raising of the upper eyelids in the centre adds to the look of disdainful surprise in the countenance. The upper lip is highly arched and not very full, the chin is rather large. There is nothing in the features or form that vividly reminds us of any of the better known masters of the great age. But the new theory that affiliates the statue to Leochares is strongly supported by its resemblance to his figure of Ganymede[a].

As the Pergamene altar-frieze was the last great achievement in art of a free Greek state, so among the works of the Pergamene School that have come down to us the Apollo-figure in the Gigantomachy may take rank as its masterpiece of religious sculpture (Pl. XLIX). The god is represented with

[a] The Apollo-type of which the Belvidere and Steinhäuser works are examples must have been well established: an Apollo head on a gem in Freiburg, though it has the same large frontlet of hair as the Pourtales head, is very near to the Belvidere in expression and forms.

PLATE XLVIII

Plate XLIX

his left arm outstretched and holding the bow, and enveloped in the himation which sweeps down from it to the ground: while his right hand is half-raised towards the quiver at his back. The representation is dramatically vivid and, as there is a momentary pause in the action, it gains the effect of collectedness. The whole form is instinct with life, and with the assurance of victory; and the impression of young divine power is given without the violent massing of the flesh that is seen in the other figures of the frieze, but with the fluent treatment of sculpture, which depicts the one course of muscles passing over into the other with facile gradations. Save for the traces of his long locks, the countenance is lost to us. But enough of the whole is preserved to reveal to us that here at the close of the long cycle of pure Greek art there was a return to the conception of the vigorous ephebos-Apollo of the older generations[a].

Reviewing this monumental evidence, which has merely presented the broadest phases of religious expression, we observe that the relics of fifth-century art contribute most to our knowledge of the development of the Apolline ideal, while the numismatic evidence suggests that this attained its highest realization in the earlier part of the fourth century.

[a] The popularity of the Pergamene Apollo is shown by the reproduction of the figure in the frieze of the temple of Hekate at Lagina in the early Roman period (vide *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1895, Pl. 15). As regards the connexion between the Pergamene figure and the Belvidere Apollo, vide my article in *Hell. Journ.* 1885, p. 26.

[1] Plut. *De def. Orac.* p. 413 A (Pind. *Fr.* 116) *κατεκρίθη δὲ θνατοῖσιν ἀγανώτατος ἔμμεν.* Serv. *Aen.* 1. 329 hunc deum et ad uberum (? puberum) custodiam et ad divinationem et ad medicinam et ad res urbanas quae placidae sunt et ad bella pertinere longinqua: cui laurum ideo sacratam quia haec arbor suffimentis purgationibusque adhibeatur ut ostendatur nullum templum eius nisi purum ingredi debere. Cautum enim est ne sacerdos eius domum ingrediatur in qua ante quintam diem funus fuerit.

[2] ? Apolline cult of northern origin: Hom. *Od.* 9. 197:

Μάρων, Εὐάνθεος υἱός,
ἱρεὺς Ἀπόλλωνος, ὃς Ἴσμαρον ἀμφιβεβήκει.

Paus. 5. 7, 8 *πρῶτος μὲν ἐν ὕμνῳ τῷ ἐς Ἀχαιΐαν ἐποίησεν Ὠλὴν Λύκιος, ἀφικέσθαι τὴν Ἀχαιΐαν ἐς Δῆλον ἐκ τῶν Ὑπερβορέων τούτων.* Cf. Artemis, R. 79[a]. Paus. 10. 5, 7 *Βοιὼ δὲ ἐπιχωρία γυνὴ ποιήσασα ὕμνον Δελφοῖς ἔφη κατασκευάσασθαι τὸ μαντεῖον τῷ θεῷ τοὺς ἀφικομένους ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων τούς τε ἄλλους καὶ Ὠλῆνα· τοῦτον δὲ καὶ μαντεύσασθαι πρῶτον, καὶ ᾆσαι πρῶτον τὸ ἑξάμετρον· πεποίηκε δὲ ἡ Βοιὼ τοιάδε·*

ἔνθα τοι εὔμνηστον χρηστήριον ἐκτελέσαντο
παῖδες Ὑπερβορέων Παγασὸς καὶ δῖος Ἀγυιεύς.
. . . . . .
Ὠλὴν δ', ὃς γένετο πρῶτος Φοίβοιο προφάτας,
πρῶτος δ' ἀρχαίων ἐπέων τεκτήνατ' ἀοιδάν.

(Cf. Hesych. *s. v.* Ὠλήν· Δυμαῖος ἢ Ὑπερβόρειος.) § 9 *ποιηθῆναι δὲ τὸν ναὸν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τὸ ἀρχαιότατον δάφνης φασί, κομισθῆναι δὲ τοὺς κλάδους ἀπὸ τῆς δάφνης τῆς ἐν τοῖς Τέμπεσι.* Cf. Hesych. *s. v.* Δυαρεία· *ἡ ἐν τοῖς Τέμπεσι δάφνη· τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ Δηλία.* Hesiod, *Scut.* 477:

τοῦ δὲ [Κύκνου] τάφον καὶ σῆμ' αἴδεσ ποίησεν Ἄναυρος,
ὄμβρῳ χειμερίῳ πλήθων· τὼς γάρ μιν Ἀπόλλων
Δηοΐδης ἤνωξ', ὅτι ῥα κλειτὰς ἑκατόμβας
ὅστις ἄγοι Πυθοῖδε βίῃ σύλασκε δοκεύων.

Stesich. *Frag.* 12, Bergk (Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 10. 19) *κακόξενος ἦν Κύκνος υἱὸς τοῦ Ἄρεος καὶ ἐν πυρόδῳ τῆς Θετταλίας οἰκῶν ἀπεκαρατόμει τοὺς παριόντας, ναὸν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι (? emend. τῷ Ἄρει) βουλόμενος ἐκ τῶν κεφαλῶν οἰκοδομῆσαι.* Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 3. 28 *ἐκλήθησαν δὲ Ὑπερβόρεοι ἀπὸ Ὑπερβοραίου τινὸς Ἀθηναίου, ὡς Φανόδημος· Φιλοστέφανος δὲ τὸν Ὑπερβόρεον*

Θεσσαλόν φησιν εἶναι· ἄλλοι ἀπὸ Ὑπερβορέου Πελασγοῦ τοῦ Φορωνέως καὶ Περιμήλης τῆς Αἰόλου. Schol. Ap. Rhod. 2. 675 *Μνασέας δέ φησι νῦν τοὺς Ὑπερβορείους Δελφοὺς λέγεσθαι. Ἑκαταῖος δὲ μέχρι τῶν αὐτοῦ χρόνων εἶναί φησι τὸ τῶν Ὑπερβορέων ἔθνος. ἔστι δὲ αὐτῷ βιβλία ἐπιγραφόμενα Περὶ τῶν Ὑπερβορέων . . . τρία δὲ ἔθνη τῶν Ὑπερβορέων, Ἐπιζεφύριοι καὶ Ἐπικνημίδιοι καὶ Ὀζόλαι.* Paroemiogr. Graec. p. 116 (Gaisford) *Ὑπερβερεταῖος· ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπερχρονίων εἴρηται· παρὰ γὰρ Μακεδόσιν ὁ τελευταῖος μὴν τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ Ὑπερβερεταῖος προσαγορεύεται.* Strab. p. 711 *περὶ δὲ τῶν χιλιετῶν Ὑπερβορέων τὰ αὐτὰ λέγει Σιμωνίδη καὶ Πινδάρῳ.*

[3] Apollo in the cave: Paus. 10. 32, 5 (at Themisonion near Laodikeia) *πρὸ τοῦ σπηλαίου σφίσιν ἀγάλματα οὐ μεγάλα ἐστὶν Ἡρακλέους καὶ Ἑρμοῦ τε καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος, Σπηλαῖται καλούμενοι. . . . § 6 ἔστι δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ ποταμῷ Ληθαίῳ Μάγνησι Ὕλαι καλούμενον χωρίον· ἐνταῦθα Ἀπόλλωνι ἀνεῖται σπήλαιον. . . . τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τὰ μάλιστα ἀρχαῖον καὶ ἰσχὺν ἐπὶ ἔργῳ παρέχεται παντί. καὶ αὐτῷ ἄνδρες ἱεροὶ κατὰ κρημνῶν τε ἀποτόμων καὶ πετρῶν πηδῶσιν ὑψηλῶν, καὶ ὑπερμήκη δένδρα ἐριπόντες ἐκ ῥιζῶν κατὰ τὰ στενώτατα τῶν ἀτραπῶν ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἄχθεσιν ὁδεύουσι*: cf. R. 20. Cf. *Geogr. Reg. s. v.* Athens, p. 438.

[4] Apollo Ὑλάτης. Collitz, *Dialect. Inschr.* 27. 28, private dedications *τῷ θεῷ τῷ Ὑλάτᾳ.* Cf. 31, 32, two inscriptions in grotto near Πάφος Νέα [ὁ δεῖνα] *ἔξβασιν τῶ σπέως τῶδε ἔκερσε Ἀπόλλωνι Ὑλάτᾳ.* Steph. Byz. *s. v.* *Ἀμαμασσός· πόλις Κύπρου, ἐν ᾗ τιμᾶται Ὑλάτης Ἀπόλλων. s. v.* *Ἐρύσθεια, πόλις Κύπρου, ἐν ᾗ Ἀπόλλων τιμᾶται Ὑλάτης. Διονύσιος Βασσαρικῶν τρίτῃ*:

οἵ τ' ἔχον Ὑλάταο θεοῦ ἕδος Ἀπόλλωνος
Τέμβρον Ἐρύσθειάν τε καὶ εἰναλίην Ἀμαμασσόν.

Hell. Journ. 1901, pp. 290–291, inscription from Egypt, ? Koptos, third century B.C. *Ἀπόλλωνι Ὑλάτῃ· Ἀρτέμιδι Φωσφόρῳ· Ἀρτέμιδι Ἐνοδίᾳ· Λητοὶ Εὐτέκνῳ· Ἡρακλεῖ Καλλινίκῳ· Ἀπολλώνιος διοικητής.*

[5] Apollo the hunter: Arrian, *Kynaeg.* 35 *τοὺς ἐπὶ θήρᾳ ἐσπουδακότας οὐ χρὴ ἀμελεῖν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Ἀγροτέρας οὐδὲ Ἀπόλλωνος οὐδὲ Πανὸς οὐδὲ Νυμφῶν οὐδὲ Ἑρμοῦ Ἐνοδίου καὶ Ἡγεμονίου οὐδὲ ὅσοι ἄλλοι ὄρειοι θεοί.* Xen. *de Ven.* 1 *τὸ μὲν εὕρημα θεῶν Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος ἄγραι καὶ κύνες. Ib.* 6, § 13 *εὐξάμενον τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι τῇ Ἀγροτέρᾳ μεταδοῦναι τῆς θήρας.*

[6] Apollo Ἀγραῖος: vide Artemis, R. 26[c] (cult at Megara). Aesch. *Προμ. Λυομ. frag.* 205 (Plut. *Moral.* 757[d]):

ἀγρεὺς δ' Ἀπόλλων ὀρθὸν ἰθύνοι βέλος.

Cf. Soph. *O. C.* 1091. Inscription on bronze hare in the British Museum, *τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Πριηνῇ μ' ἀνέθηκεν Ἡφαιστίων*, Roehl, *I. G. A.* 385. Apollo Ἀγρέτης in Chios: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1879, 322;

ment inscribed Ἀπόλλωνος Ἀγρετέω. Apollo Λάφριος: vide *Geogr. Reg. s. v.* Kalydon, p. 434.

[7] Apollo Λύκειος, Λύκιος, Λυκωρεύς.

[a] At Delphi: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1895, p. 12, l. 37 τὰ τῷ Λυκείῳ δάρματα· fifth century B.C. inscription concerning the ritual of the Labyadai phratry. Paus. 10. 14, 7 Δελφῶν δὲ ἀνάθημά ἐστιν αὐτῶν πλησίον τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου λύκος χαλκοῦς. λέγουσι δὲ τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ χρημάτων συλήσαντα ἄνθρωπον. . . . λύκον δὲ ἐπιθέσθαι οἱ καθεύδοντι, καὶ ἀποθανεῖν τε ὑπὸ τοῦ λύκου τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ὡς ἐς τὴν πόλιν ὁσημέραι φοιτῶν ὠρύετο ὁ λύκος. Euseb. 3. 14, 5 (from Porphyry περὶ τῆς ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας):

ἀνὰ δ' ἐξέθορες, μάντι Λυκωρεῦ,
τόξοτα Φοῖβε.

[b] At Athens: Paus. 1. 19, 4 Λύκειον δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν Λύκου τοῦ Πανδίονος ἔχει τὸ ὄνομα, Ἀπόλλωνος δὲ ἱερὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τε εὐθὺς καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐνομίζετο, Λύκειός τε ὁ θεὸς ἐνταῦθα ὠνομάσθη πρῶτον· λέγεται δὲ ὅτι καὶ Τερμίλαις, ἐς οὓς ἦλθεν ὁ Λύκος φεύγων Αἰγέα, καὶ τούτοις αἴτιός ἐστι Λυκίους ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καλεῖσθαι. Lucian, *Anachars.* 7 ὁ μὲν χῶρος οὗτος, ὦ Ἀνάχαρσι, γυμνάσιον ὑφ' ἡμῶν ὀνομάζεται καὶ ἔστιν ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Λυκείου· καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα δὲ αὐτοῦ ὁρᾷς, τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ στήλῃ κεκλιμένον, τῇ ἀριστερᾷ μὲν τὸ τόξον ἔχοντα, ἡ δεξιὰ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀνακεκλασμένη ὥσπερ ἐκ καμάτου μακροῦ ἀναπαυόμενον δείκνυσι τὸν θεόν. Harpokr. *s. v.* Λύκειον· ἔν τῶν παρ' Ἀθηναίοις γυμνασίων ἐστὶ τὸ Λύκειον, ὃ Θεόπομπος μὲν ἐν τῇ κα' Πεισίστρατον ποιῆσαι, Φιλόχορος δ' ἐν τῇ δ' Περικλέους φησὶν ἐπιστατοῦντος αὐτὸ γενέσθαι. (Cf. Hesych. *s. v.* Λύκειοι.) *C. I. A.* 3. 89 Διονύσιος ἐπιμελητὴς Λυκείου Ἀπόλλωνι (early imperial). *Ib.* 292 ἱερέως Ἀπόλλωνος Λυκείου (on a seat in theatre at Athens). Cf. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 2. 124 τίμιον τὸ ζῷον [ὁ λύκος] παρ' Ἀθηναίοις· ὁ γὰρ ἀποκτείνας λύκον ἀγείρει αὐτῷ τὰ πρὸς τὴν ταφήν· . . . ὡς Φιλοστέφανός φησι. Schol. Demosth. 24, § 114 πρὸ τῶν ἐξόδων ἐξοπλίσεις τινὲς ἐγένοντο ἐν τῷ Λυκείῳ. Cf. Aristoph. *Pax* 355:

καὶ γὰρ ἱκανὸν χρόνον ἀ-
πολλύμεθα καὶ κατατε-
τρίμμεθα πλανώμενοι
ἐς Λύκειον κἀκ Λυκείου σὺν δόρει σὺν ἀσπίδι.

Xen. *Hipp.* 3, § 6, cavalry manœuvres there. Hesych. *s. v.* Λυκιάδες· κόραι τὸν ἀριθμὸν τριάκοντα αἱ τὸ ὕδωρ κομίζουσαι ἐς τὸ Λύκειον.

[c] In Megara: *C. I. G. Sept.* 1. 35 Ἀπόλλωνος Λυκείου (sixth century B.C.).

[d] In Sikyon: Paus. 2. 9, 6 πλησίον δὲ Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστιν ἱερὸν Λυκίου, κατερρυηκός τε ἤδη καὶ ἥκιστα θέας ἄξιον. φοιτώντων γὰρ λύκων σφίσιν ἐπὶ τὰς ποίμνας ὡς μηδένα εἶναι καρπὸν ἔτι ἀπ' αὐτῶν, ὁ θεὸς τόπον τινὰ εἰπὼν ἔνθα

ἔκειτο αὖον ξύλον, τούτου φλοιὸν ἔχρησε τοῦ ξύλου καὶ κρέας ὁμοῦ προθεῖναι τοῖς θηρίοις. καὶ τοὺς μὲν αὐτίκα ὡς ἐγεύσαντο, διέφθειρεν ὁ φλοιός· τὸ ξύλον δὲ ἐκεῖνο ἔκειτο μὲν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Λυκίου.

e In Epidauros: *Eph. Arch.* 1883, p. 89, inscription second century B. C., ἐν τῷ Λυκείῳ.

f In Argos: Paus. 2. 19, 3 Ἀργείοις τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει τὸ ἐπιφανέστατόν ἐστιν Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν Λυκίου· τὸ μὲν οὖν ἄγαλμα τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν Ἀττάλου ποίημα ἦν Ἀθήναίου, τὸ δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς Δαναΐδου ὁ ναὸς καὶ τὸ ξόανον ἀνάθημα ἦν. § 5 (in the temple) ἐξῆς δὲ τῆς εἰκόνος ταύτης [Βίτωνος] πῦρ καίουσιν, ὀνομάζοντες Φορωνέως εἶναι. Schol. Soph. *Electr.* 6 τοῦ ἱεροῦ τυῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, ὅπερ ἀρχαιότατόν ἐστιν κατὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ Ἄργει ἀγοράν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ πῦρ ἀπόκειται. . . . Λυκοκτόνον δὲ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα, οἱ μὲν διὰ τὸ νόμιον εἶναι (?) τοὺς ἐπιβούλους αὐτῶν φονεύειν· διὸ καὶ λύκους αὐτῷ φασὶ θύεσθαι ἐν Ἄργει· οἱ δὲ διὰ τὸ ἱερὸν εἶναι τὸ ζῷον, ὡς καὶ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τὰς ἐλάφους· ὅθεν καὶ τῷ νομίσματι τῶν Ἀργείων ἐγχαράττεσθαί φασι λύκον. Plut. *Pyrrh.* 31 ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν Ἀργείων ἡ τοῦ Λυκείου προφῆτις Ἀπόλλωνος ἐξέδραμε βοῶσα νεκρῶν ὁρᾶν καὶ φόνου κατάπλεω τὴν πόλιν. Cf. Hesych. *s. v.* Λύκειος· ἀγορά, ἡ τῶν Ἀργείων.

g In Laconia: month Λύκειος mentioned in inscription of Epidauros Limera, second century B. C., *Eph. Arch.* 1884, p. 86.

h ? At Delos: Aristot. p. 580 a 17 ἐν τοσαύταις ἡμέραις τὴν Λητὼ παρεκόμισαν οἱ λύκοι ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων εἰς Δῆλον, λύκαιναν φαινομένην διὰ τὸν τῆς Ἥρας φόβον. At Paros: *Ath. Mitth.* 1901, p. 213 Διὸς Βασιλέως· Ἀπόλλωνος Λυκείου· Ἀφροδίτης. At Amorgos: *Rev. d. Ét. Gr.* 1903, p. 155 πῦρ μηδένα καίειν ἐν τῷ Ἡραίῳ . . . πρὸς τοῦ Λυκείου, fifth century B. C.

i At Eresos in Lesbos: *C. I. G. Inscr. Mar. Aeg.* 2. 526 λάβεσθαι . . . συναγόροις τὰν πόλιν δέκα, οἵτινες ὀμόσσαντες Ἀπόλλωνα Λύκειον (fourth century B. C.). At Chryse: Hesych. *s. v.* Λυκαῖον· καὶ Θυμβραῖον· τὸν Πύθιον καὶ τὸν ἐν Χρύσῃ Λυκαῖον.

k At Kalymna: Collitz, *Dialect. Inschr.* 3591 ναὶ τὸν Δία καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω τὸν Λύκιον καὶ τὰν Γᾶν. ? Rhodes: vide R. 7[n].

l At Erythrai: Dittenb. *Syll.* 370, 20 [ἱερητεῖαι] . . . Ἀπόλλωνος Λυκείου καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος Δηλίου (circ. 270 B. C.).

m ? At Miletos: Anton. Liber. *Transf.* 30 [Ἱστορεῖ Νίκανδρος] Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀκακαλλίδος τῆς Μίνω θυγατρὸς ἐγένετο παῖς ἐν Κρήτῃ Μίλητος· τοῦτον ἡ Ἀκακαλλὶς δείσασα Μίνω ἐξέβαλλεν εἰς τὴν ὕλην, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιφοιτῶντες λύκοι βουλῇ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐφύλαττον καὶ ὤρεγον παρὰ μέρος γάλα.

n In Lycia: Bode, *Script. Rerum. Myth.* nam Apollo apud Delphos humana effigie, apud Lyciam lupina fingitur, apud Delon vero formam

habet draconinam. Diod. Sic. 5. 56 Λύκον δὲ ἐκ τούτων [τῶν Τελχίνων] παραγενόμενον εἰς τὴν Λυκίαν Ἀπόλλωνος Λυκίου ἱερὸν ἱδρύσασθαι παρὰ τὸν Ξάνθον ποταμόν (from Xeno Rhodius). Cf. Anton. Liber. 35 λύκοι δὲ συναντόμενοι [τῇ Λητοῖ] καὶ σήναντες ὑφηγήσαντο τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ ἀπήγαγον ἄχρι πρὸς τὸν ποταμὸν αὐτὴν τὸν Ξάνθον.

o At Tarsos: Coin with wolves by Apollo's idol, *Hell. Journ.* 1898, p. 171.

p ? In Egypt: Macr. *Sat.* 1. 17, 40 Lycopolitana Thebaidis civitas, Apollinemque itemque lupum hoc est λύκον colit, in utroque solem venerans.

q At Metaponton: *C. I. G. Sic. It.* 647 Ἀπόλλωνος Λυκ[είου] εἰμί (sixth century B. C.).

r Ael. *Nat. Hist.* 10. 26 χαίρειν δὲ αὐτῷ [τῷ λύκῳ] καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω λόγος (story of Leto's transformation). Philostrat. *Heroic.* 10. 1 (p. 310) τοὺς λύκους ὁ Ἀπόλλων προοίμιον λοιμοῦ ποιεῖται . . . εὐχώμεθα οὖν Ἀπόλλωνι Λυκίῳ τε καὶ Φυξίῳ. Serv. *Aen.* 4. 377 (Lycius Apollo) sive quod est λευκός a candore, idem enim et sol creditur: sive quod transfiguratus in lupum cum Cyrene concubuit: sive quod in lupi habitu Telchinas occiderit. . . . sive quod lupus ei primus post interemptum Pythonem ex eo loco qui appellatur Tempe laurum attulit. Aesch. *Sept.* 145:

Λύκει' ἄναξ, λύκειος γενοῦ στρατῷ δαΐῳ.

Apollo the shepherd-god.

s Apollo Νόμιος.

a At Epidauros: *Eph. Arch.* 1884, p. 27 Ἀπόλλωνος Νομίου Νίκων Διοκλέους πυροφορήσας (? second century B. C.).

b In Arcadia: Cic. *De Deor. Nat.* 3. 57 (Apollo) quem Arcades Νόμιον appellant, quod ab eo se leges ferunt accepisse. ? Corcyra: Apoll. Rhod. 4. 1215:

Μοιράων ἔτι κεῖσε θύη ἐπέτεια δέχονται
καὶ Νυμφέων Νομίοιο καθ' ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος
βωμοὶ τοὺς Μήδεια καθίσσατο.

Serv. Verg. *Ecl. Proem.* Alii non Dianae sed Apollini Nomio consecratum carmen hoc (Βουκολικόν) volunt, quo tempore Admeti regis pavit armenta.

t Apollo Ἀρισταῖος: vide Zeus, R. 53. Pind. *Pyth.* 9. 63:

θήσονταί τέ νιν ἀθάνατον
Ζῆνα καὶ ἁγνὸν Ἀπόλλων', ἀνδράσι χάρμα φίλοις ἄγχιστον, ὀπάονα μήλων,
Ἀγρέα καὶ Νόμιον, τοῖς δ' Ἀρισταῖον καλεῖν.

Serv. Verg. *Georg.* 1. 14 Aristaeum invocat, id est, Apollinis et Cyrenes filium, quem Hesiodus dicit Apollinem pastoralem . . . (Pindarus) qui eum ait de Cea insula in Arcadiam migrasse, illique vitam coluisse: nam apud Arcadas pro Iove colitur. At Keos: *C. I. G.* 2364, private dedication, *τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι Ἀριστα[ί]ῳ.* Cf. Athenag. *Pro Christ.* 14 *Κεῖοι Ἀριστα[ῖ]ον· τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ Δία καὶ Ἀπόλλω νομίζοντες.*

[10] *? Ὀπάων Μελάνθιος* in Cyprus: *Hell. Journ.* 1888, p. 261, nos. 2. 4–10, private dedications, nearly all of late period, *Ὀπάονι Μελανθίῳ.* No. 3 . . . *Ἀπόλλωνι Μελα[ν]θίῳ Φιλίαρχος.* Cf. *Rev. d. Ét. Grec.* 2, p. 226. Hogarth, *Devia Cypria*, p. 25.

[11] Apollo *Ἐπιμήλιος, Ναπαῖος, Ποίμνιος*: Macr. *Sat.* 1. 17, 43 aedes ut ovium pastoris (Apollinis) sunt apud Camirenses *Ἐπιμηλίου*, apud Naxios *Ποιμνίου*, itemque deus *Ἀρνοκόμης* colitur, et apud Lesbios *Ναπαῖος* . . . Quamobrem universi pecoris antistes et vere pastor agnoscitur. (Steph. Byz. *s. v. Νάπη· πόλις Λέσβου . . . ὁ πολίτης Ναπαῖος καὶ Ἀπόλλων Ναπαῖος.*)

[12] Apollo *Τράγιος* in Naxos: Steph. Byz. *s. v. Τραγία . . . ἔστι πόλις ἐν Νάξῳ ἐν ᾗ Τράγιος Ἀπόλλων τιμᾶται.*

[13] Apollo *Κερεάτας* in Arcadia on the Messenian border by the river Karnion: Paus. 8. 34, 5 *τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Κερεάτα τὸ ἱερόν.* Cf. statue of Apollo in temple at Patrai, Paus. 7. 20. 3 *Ἀπόλλων χαλκοῦς γυμνὸς ἐσθῆτος . . . τῷ ἑτέρῳ ποδὶ ἐπὶ κρανίου βέβηκε βοός.*

[14] Apollo *Γαλάξιος*: Plut. *De Pyth. Or.* 409 A *οἱ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸ Γαλάξιον τῆς Βοιωτίας κατοικοῦντες ᾔσθοντο τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ἀφθονίᾳ καὶ περιουσίᾳ γάλακτος.* Cf. R. 267. At Delos: month *Γαλαξιών* on slab containing temple-accounts, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1881, p. 26.

God of trees: vegetation: agriculture. Cf. R. 43. (Cf. Hesych. *s. v. Ἐριφύλλιον· τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ τὸν Ἑρμῆ.*)

[15] Apollo *Πλατανίστιος*: Paus. 2. 34, 6 (on the road from Troezen to Hermione) *ἔστι μὲν Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπίκλησιν Πλατανιστίου ναός.*

[16] Apollo *Μυρικαῖος*: vide R. 182. Cf. *Μυρτάτης*, R. 43.

[16 a] *Κυπαρίσσιος* at Kos: *Arch. Anz.* 1905, p. 11, decree of fourth century B. C., *ὅπως διαφυλάσσηται τὸ τέμενος τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Κυπαρισσίου.*

[17] Apollo *Δαφνηφόρος* at Chaironeia: *C. I. G. Sept.* 1. 3407. Artemis, R. 42. Eretria: *Eph. Arch.* 1892, p. 121, inscription third century B. C., *ἀναγράψαι τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ στῆσαι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Δαφνηφόρου.* Athens: *C. I. A.* 3. 298 *ἱερεὺς Ἀπόλλωνος Δαφνηφόρου* (on seat in the theatre, first century A. D.). *Id.* 720 A

ἱερεὺς διὰ βίου Ἀπόλλωνος Πατρῴου Πυθίου καὶ Δαφνηφόρου. Phlye: Plut. *Them.* 15 (in the battle of Salamis λαμβάνει ναῦν Λυκομήδης, . . . ἧς τὰ παράσημα περικόψας ἀνέθηκεν Ἀπόλλωνι Δαφνηφόρῳ Φλυῆσι. Cf. R. 241 m, 267. Apollo Δαφνίτης: Hesych. *s. v.* Ἀπόλλων· παρὰ Συρακοσίοις.

[18] Luc. *Anachars.* 9 Πυθοῖ μῆλα τῶν ἱερῶν τοῦ θεοῦ.

[19] Apollo Ὑάκινθος at Tarentum: Polyb. 8. 30 τοῦ τάφου τοῦ παρὰ μέν τισιν Ὑακίνθου προσαγορευομένου παρὰ δέ τισιν Ἀπόλλωνος Ὑακίνθου. At Amyklai: Paus. 3. 1, 3 Ὑακίνθου μνῆμά ἐστιν ἐν Ἀμύκλαις ὑπὸ τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. 19, 2 (the statue of Apollo at Amyklai) ἀρχαῖον καὶ οὐ σὺν τέχνῃ πεποιημένον· ὅτι γὰρ μὴ πρόσωπον αὐτῷ καὶ πόδες εἰσὶν ἄκροι καὶ χεῖρες, τὸ λοιπὸν χαλκῷ κίονί ἐστιν εἰκασμένον. ἔχει δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ κράνος, λόγχην δὲ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ καὶ τόξον. τοῦ δὲ ἀγάλματος τὸ βάθρον παρέχεται μὲν βωμοῦ σχῆμα, τεθάφθαι δὲ τὸν Ὑάκινθον λέγουσιν ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ Ὑακινθίοις πρὸ τῆς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος θυσίας ἐς τοῦτον Ὑακίνθῳ τὸν βωμὸν διὰ θύρας χαλκῆς ἐναγίζουσιν. (The month Hyakinthios at Byzantium, Rhodes, Thera, Kos, Kalymna, Syracuse, Gela, Eryx.) See R. 101, 246. *C. I. G.* 2338 [Ὑ]ακινθεύς, clan-name in Tenos.

[20] Apollo Ἕρσος: *Amer. Journ. Archaeol.* 1903, 3, inscriptions of fifth and fourth century B.C. on small rock-shrine in cave of Vari at Anaphlystos in Attica (cf. *C. I. A.* 1, 423–431) Ἀρχέδημος ὁ Θηραῖος ὁ νυμφόληπτος φραδαῖσι Νυμφῶν τἄντρον ἐξηργάξατο . . . Ἀπόλλωνος Ἕρσου.

[21] Apollo Νυμφηγέτης at Samos: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1880, 335, marble slab inscribed on one side Ἀπόλλωνος Νυμφηγέτεω, on the other Νυμφέων. Cf. inscription (Roman period) in Thrace, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1881, p. 128 Κυρίῳ Ἀπόλλωνι Σικερηνῷ καὶ Νύμφαις εὐχαριστοῦντες. In Attica: R. 274d. Thasos: 274g. ? Coin-legend of Hipponion, 'Head of Apollo, in front NYM': Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 85.

[22] Apollo Σιτάλκας: Paus. 10. 15, 2 (at Delphi) τὸ δὲ [ἄγαλμα Ἀπόλλωνος] Ἀμφικτυόνων ἐστίν, ὅτε Φωκεῦσιν ἐπεργαζομένοις τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν χώραν ἐπέβαλον χρημάτων ζημίαν. ὁ δὲ Ἀπόλλων οὗτος καλεῖται μὲν ὑπὸ Δελφῶν Σιτάλκας, μέγεθος δὲ πέντε πηχῶν καὶ τριάκοντά ἐστι. Cf. Πασπάριος ? = 'the god of meal' at Paros and Pergamon: see *Geogr. Reg. s. v.* Paros, p. 444.

[23] Apollo Ἐρυθίβιος: Strab. p. 613 Ῥόδιοι δὲ Ἐρυθιβίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἔχουσιν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἱερόν, τὴν ἐρυσίβην καλοῦντες ἐρυθίβην. Παρ' Αἰολεῦσι δὲ τοῖς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ μείς τις καλεῖται Πορνοπίων, οὕτω τοὺς πάρνοπας καλούντων Βοιωτῶν, καὶ θυσία συντελεῖται Πορνοπίωνι Ἀπόλλωνι. Cf. *C. I. G. Ins. Mar. Aeg.* 1. 732 ἱερεὺς Ἀπόλλωνος Ἐρεθιμίου καὶ Ἀρτάμιτος (? first century B.C.). Cf. 733, 735. Hesych. *s. v.* Ἐρεθύμιος· ὁ Ἀπόλλων παρὰ Λυκίοις καὶ ἑορτὴ Ἐρεθύμια. Ptolem. Hephaest. *Nov. Hist.* 7 (Wester-

mann, p. 198) *μετὰ τὸν Ἀδώνιδός φασι θάνατον περιερχομένη καὶ ζητοῦσα ἡ Ἀφροδίτη εὗρεν αὐτὸν ἐν Ἄργει πόλει τῆς Κύπρου, ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἐριθίου* (conj. *Ἐρυθιβίου*, Müller) *καὶ ἀνεῖλεν αὐτόν.*

[24] Apollo *Παρνόπιος*: R. 23. Paus. 1. 24, 8 (on the Athenian Acropolis) *τοῦ ναοῦ δέ ἐστι πέραν Ἀπόλλων χαλκοῦς, καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα λέγουσι Φειδίαν ποιῆσαι· Παρνόπιον δὲ καλοῦσιν, ὅτι σφίσι παρνόπων βλαπτόντων τὴν γῆν ἀποτρέψειν ὁ θεὸς εἶπεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας.*

[25] Apollo *Ὄριος* at Hermione: Paus. 2. 35, 2 *Ὄριον [Ἀπόλλωνα ὀνομάζουσι] . . . τὸν δὲ Ὄριον ἐφ' ὅτῳ καλοῦσιν, σαφῶς μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἔχοιμι εἰπεῖν, τεκμαίρομαι δὲ περὶ γῆς ὅρων πολέμῳ σφᾶς ἢ δίκῃ νικήσαντας ἐπὶ τῷδε τιμὰς Ἀπόλλωνι Ὁρίῳ νεῖμαι.*

[26] Strab. 264 (corn-tribute from Metapontum) *οὓς οὕτως ἀπὸ γεωργίας εὐτυχῆσαί φασιν ὥστε θέρος χρυσοῦν ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀναθεῖναι.* Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 19. 86 fertur in templo Apollinis Delphis adeo ceteris cibis praelatus raphanus ut ex auro dedicaretur, beta ex argento, rapam ex plumbo. Cf. Plut. *De Pyth. Or.* 402 A *ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ Μυριναίους ἐπαινῶ καὶ Ἀπολλωνιάτας θέρη χρυσᾶ δεῦρο πέμψαντας, ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον Ἐρετριεῖς καὶ Μάγνητας ἀνθρώπων ἀπαρχαῖς δωρησαμένους τὸν θεὸν ὡς καρπῶν δοτῆρα καὶ πατρῷον καὶ γενέσιον καὶ φιλάνθρωπον.*

[27] Apollo *Κάρνειος*, Hesych. *s. v. Κάρνος· βόσκημα, πρόβατον.* At Sparta and in Laconia: Callim. *H. Ap.* 72:

> *Σπάρτη τοι, Κάρνειε, τόδε πρώτιστον ἔδεθλον,*
> *δεύτερον αὖ Θήρη, τρίτατόν γε μὲν ἄστυ Κυρήνης.*

Paus. 3. 13, 3 *ὁ δὲ Κάρνειος, ὃν Οἰκέταν ἐπονομάζουσι, τιμὰς εἶχεν ἐν Σπάρτῃ καὶ πρὶν Ἡρακλείδας κατελθεῖν, ἵδρυτο δὲ ἐν οἰκίᾳ Κρίου τοῦ Θεοκλέους, ἀνδρὸς μάντεως. . . . § 4 Κάρνειον δὲ Ἀπόλλωνα Δωριεῦσι μὲν τοῖς πᾶσι σέβεσθαι καθέστηκεν ἀπὸ Κάρνου γένος ἐξ Ἀκαρνανίας, μαντευομένου δὲ ἐξ Ἀπύλλωνος· τοῦτον γὰρ τὸν Κάρνον ἀποκτείναντος Ἱππότου τοῦ Φύλαντος ἐνέπεσεν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῖς Δωριεῦσι μήνιμα Ἀπόλλωνος, καὶ Ἱππότης τε ἔφυγεν ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ καὶ Δωριεῦσιν ἀπὸ τούτου τὸν Ἀκαρνᾶνα μάντιν καθέστηκεν ἱλάσκεσθαι.* (Same legend in Konon. *Narr.* 26: referred to by Eusebius, *Praep. Ev.* 5. 20, quoting Oinomaos: ? derived from Theopompos, vide R. 27[h].) § 5 *λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ἐπ' αὐτῷ λόγος, ἐν τῇ Ἰδῃ τῇ Τρωικῇ κρανείας ἐν Ἀπόλλωνος ἵλασιν πεφυκυίας τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐκτεμεῖν ἐς τοῦ ἵππου τοῦ δουρείου τὴν ποίησιν· μαθόντες δὲ ὀργὴν σφισιν ἔχειν τὸν θεόν, θυσίαις ἱλάσκονται καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα ὀνομάζουσι Κάρνειον ἀπὸ τῶν κρανειῶν.*

[a] Temple of Apollo *Κάρνειος* at Sparta: vide Artemis, R. 67[c]. *C. I. G.* 1446 (inscription from Sparta, late Roman period) *τὴν θοιναρμοστρίαν . . . ἱερέαν κατὰ γένος Καρνείου Οἰκέτα καὶ Καρνείου Δρομαιέος*

καὶ Ποσειδῶνος Δωματείτα καὶ Ἡρακλέους Γενάρχα καὶ Κόρας καὶ Τεμενίου τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἔλει.

[b] Statue at Gythion: Paus. 3. 21, 8 ἑτέρωθι δὲ Ἀπόλλων Κάρνειος. Near Las: *id.* 3. 24, 8 πρὸς τῷ Κνακαδίῳ Κάρνειος καλούμενος Ἀπόλλων.

[c] At Oitylon on the south coast: *id.* 3. 25, 10 θέας δὲ ἄξια ἐν Οἰτύλῳ Σαράπιδός ἐστιν ἱερὸν καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ Καρνείου ξόανον Ἀπόλλωνος.

[d] At Leuktra: *id.* 3. 26, 5 Ἀπόλλωνος Καρνείου ξόανά ἐστι κατὰ ταὐτὰ καθὰ δὴ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων νομίζουσιν οἱ Σπάρτην ἔχοντες.

[e] At Kardamyle: *id.* 3. 26, 7 ἐν δὲ τῷ πολίσματι Ἀθηνᾶς τε ἱερὸν καὶ Ἀπόλλων ἐστὶ Κάρνειος, καθὰ Δωριεῦσιν ἐπιχώριον.

[f] On the road from Sparta to Arcadia: *id.* 3. 20, 9 καὶ Κρανίου τέμενος κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐπίκλησιν Στεμματίου, καὶ Μυσίας ἐστὶν ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος.

[g] In Messenia: *id.* 4. 31, 1 ὀλίγον δ' ἀπωτέρω Φαρῶν Ἀπόλλωνος ἄλσος ἐστὶ Καρνείου καὶ ὕδατος ἐν αὐτῷ πηγή. (Cf. R. 13.) *Id.* 4. 33, 4 τοῦ πεδίου [Στενυκληρικοῦ] ἐστὶν ἀπαντικρὺ καλουμένη τὸ ἀρχαῖον Οἰχαλία, τὸ δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν Καρνάσιον ἄλσος, κυπαρίσσων μάλιστα πλῆρες· θεῶν δὲ ἀγάλματα Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστι Καρνείου καὶ Ἑρμῆς φέρων κριόν. In the mysteries of Andania: Demeter, R. 246.

[h] At Argos: Schol. Theocr. 5. 83 Κάρνεα ἑορτὴ Ἀπόλλωνος Καρνείου . . . · ἡ δὲ ἱστορία παρὰ Θεοπόμπῳ· ὅτι τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ Δία καὶ Ἡγήτορα καλοῦσιν Ἀργεῖοι διὰ τὸ Κάρνον ἡγήσασθαι τὸν στρατόν. At Sikyon: Paus. 2. 10, 2 (in the peribolos of Asklepios' temple) διπλοῦν ἐστιν οἴκημα· . . . τὸ ἐνδοτέρω δὲ Ἀπόλλωνι ἀνεῖται Καρνείῳ, καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ οὐκ ἔστι πλὴν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἔσοδος. *Id.* 2. 11, 2 τοῦ δὲ ἱεροῦ τῆς Ἥρας ἣν ἱδρύσατο Ἄδραστος ὀλίγον ἀπωτέρω Καρνείου ναός ἐστιν Ἀπόλλωνος. (Cf. the mountain Καρνεάτης near Phlius, Strab. p. 382.) Euseb. *Chronic.* 2. 56 (Schoene) μετὰ τοὺς βασιλέας κατεστάθησαν ἱερεῖς τοῦ Καρνίου. ? At Megara: Paus. 1. 44, 2 ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ τῷ ἀρχαίῳ πλησίον πυλῶν καλουμένων Νυμφάδων λίθος παρεχόμενος πυραμίδος σχῆμα οὐ μεγάλης· τοῦτον Ἀπόλλωνα ὀνομάζουσι Καρινόν. Cf. Coin-type of Megara, obelisk between two dolphins, Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 330.

[i] At Kos: vide R. 233[b].

[k] At Thera: *Ath. Mitth.* 1896, p. 259 [(?) ἐπὶ ἱερέως] Ἀπόλλωνος Καρνείου. . . . [Βασιλέως Ἀν]τιόχου Θεοῦ. *C. I. G. Ins. Mar. Aeg.* 3. 868 ὁ δᾶμος ἀφηρώιξε καὶ ἐτείμασε τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Καρνείου διὰ γένους (? first century B.C.). Cf. 508, 519. Archaic inscription published by Hiller von Gärtringen, *Hermes*, 1901, 134:

Ἀγλωτέλης πράτιστος ἀγορὰν ἱκάδι
Καρνῆια θεὸν δείπνιξεν.

(*Rev. d. Ét. Grec.* 1903, p. 93.)

[l] In Rhodes. Kameiros: *C. I. G. Ins. Mar. Aeg.* 1. 705 ἱερεὺς Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθίου . . . Ἀπόλλωνος Καρνείου (third century B.C.). *Ib.* 697 ἱερεῖς Ἀπόλλωνος [Πυθίου καὶ Κα]ρνείου καὶ Μυλαντίου. Steph. Byz. Μυλαντία· ἄκρα ἐν Καμίρῳ τῆς Ῥόδου· Μυλάντειοι θεοί. (Cf. Hesych. *s. v.* Μύλας.) Loryma: *C. I. G. Ins. Mar. Aeg.* 1. 845 Ἀπόλλωνος Καρνείου τοῦ κατὰ Λώρυμα.

[m] At Knidos: Collitz, *Dialect. Inschr.* 3527 Γαῖον Ἰούλιον . . . Μᾶαρκος Αἰφίκιος . . . τὸν ἑαυτοῦ φίλον εὐνοίας ἕνεκα τᾶς εἰς αὐτὸν Ἀπόλλωνι Καρνείῳ.

[n] Month Καρνεῖος on handle of Rhodian Amphora: *Ath. Mitth.* 1896, p. 133. At Kalymna: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1884, p. 31. At Nisyros: Dittenberg. *Syll.* 195. ? Knossos in Crete: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1879, p. 293. Akragas: *C. I. G.* 5491. Gela: *ib.* 5475. Syracuse: Plut. *Nik.* 28 ἡμέρα δ' ἦν τετρὰς φθίνοντος τοῦ Καρνείου μηνός, ὃν Ἀθηναῖοι Μεταγειτνιῶνα προσαγορεύουσι. Tauromenion: *C. I. G.* 5640. Thuc. 5. 54 Καρνεῖος ἦν μήν, ἱερομηνία Δωριεῦσι.

[o] Κάρνεια ? at Thurii: Theocr. 5. 82 καὶ γὰρ ἔμ' ὠπόλλων φιλέει μέγα· καὶ καλὸν αὐτῷ κριὸν ἐγὼ βόσκω, τὰ δὲ Κάρνεα καὶ δὴ ὑφέρπει.

[p] At Kyrene: vide Ritual, R. 233.

Apollo as sky-god and deity of light.

[28] Apollo Προόψιος on Hymettos: vide Zeus, R. 33[a].

[29] Apollo Αἰγλήτης at Anaphe: Apollod. *Bibl.* 1. 26, 1 οἱ Ἀργοναῦται . . . πλέοντες νυκτὸς σφοδρῷ περιπίπτουσι χειμῶνι. Ἀπόλλων δὲ στὰς ἐπὶ τὰς Μελαντίους δείρας, τοξεύσας τῷ βέλει εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, κατήστραψεν· οἱ δὲ πλησίον ἐθεάσαντο νῆσον, τῷ δὲ παρὰ προσδοκίαν ἀναφανῆναι, προσορμισθέντες, Ἀνάφην ἐκάλεσαν. Ἱδρυσάμενοι δὲ βωμὸν Ἀπόλλωνος Αἰγλήτου, καὶ θυσιάσαντες ἐπ' εὐωχίαν ἐτράπησαν, δοθεῖσαι δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀρήτης Μηδείᾳ δώδεκα θεράπαιναι, τοὺς ἀριστέας ἔσκωπτον μετὰ παιγνίας· ὅθεν ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐν τῇ θυσίᾳ σύνηθές ἐστι σκώπτειν ταῖς γυναιξί. Strab. 484 καὶ πλησίον ταύτης Ἀνάφη, ἐν ᾗ τὸ τοῦ Αἰγλήτου Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν. λέγει δὲ καὶ Καλλίμαχος τότε μὲν οὕτως 'Αἰγλήτην Ἀνάφην τε Λακωνίδι γείτονα Θήρῃ.' *C. I. G. Ins. Mar. Aeg.* 3. 259 Εὐγνώμων ἀρχίατρος Ἀπόλλωνι Αἰγλήτῃ εὐχήν. *Ib.* 248 τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Ἀσγελάτα. *Ib.* 249 ἀνακαρύσσεσθαι . . . ὑπὸ τοῦ . . . ἱεροκάρυκος ἔν τε τᾷ παναγύρει τῶν Ἀσγελαίων ἐκ τοῦ βωμοῦ μετὰ τὰς θυσίας τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῖς Θευδαισίοις.

[30] Apollo ? Φαναῖος: vide Chios, Geogr. Reg. p. 445.

[31] Apollo = Ἥλιος.

[a] Eur. *Phaeth. Fr.* 781:

ὦ καλλιφεγγὲς Ἥλι' ὥς μ' ἀπώλεσας·
καὶ τόνδ' Ἀπόλλω δ' ἐν βροτοῖς ὀρθῶς καλεῖ
ὅστις τὰ σιγῶντ' ὀνόματ' οἶδε δαιμόνων.

[b] Cf. Plat. *Laws* 946 B Μαγνήτων ἡ κατὰ θεὸν πάλιν τυχοῦσα σωτηρίας πόλις, ἀποφήνασα αὐτῆς Ἡλίῳ ἄνδρας τοὺς ἀρίστους τρεῖς, ἀκροθίνιον Ἀπόλλωνι κατὰ τὸν παλαιὸν νόμον ἀνατίθησι κοινὸν καὶ Ἡλίῳ. . . . C οἰκοῦντων δὲ ὅσον ἂν εὐθύνωσι χρόνον, ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνός τε καὶ Ἡλίου τεμένει.

[c] Plut. *De Def. Orac.* p. 433 D οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ τῶν προγενεστέρων ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν θεὸν ἡγοῦντο Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ τὸν Ἥλιον. Cf. 1130 A τὸν μὲν Ἥλιον Ἀπόλλωνα κατὰ τοὺς πατρίους καὶ παλαιοὺς θεσμοὺς νομίζοντες Δήλιον καὶ Πύθιον προσαγορεύουσι. (Cf. Max. Tyr. 37 e.)

[d] Plut. *De Pyth. Or.* p. 402 A ὕστερον [οἱ Μεγαρεῖς] πλῆκτρον ἀνέθηκαν τῷ θεῷ χρύσουν ἐπιστήσαντες, ὡς ἔοικε, Σκυθίνῳ λέγοντι περὶ τῆς λύρας, 'ἣν ἁρμόζεται Ζηνὸς εὐειδὴς Ἀπόλλων, πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος συλλαβών, ἔχει δὲ λαμπρὸν πλῆκτρον ἡλίου φάος.'

[e] Aristot. p. 1409 A Χρυσεόκομε Ἑκατε, παῖ Διός.

[f] At Patara: *Hell. Journ.* 1889, p. 81, ex voto dedication, Θεοῦ Σωτῆρος Ἑδραίου Ἀσφαλοῦς καὶ Ποσειδῶνος Ἑδραίου καὶ Ἡλίου Ἀπόλλωνος (? early Roman period).

[g] At Thyateira: *C. I. G.* 3500 ἱερεὺς τοῦ προπάτορος θεοῦ Ἡλίου Πυθίου Ἀπόλλωνος Τυριμναίου. (Cf. *Ib.* 3497 ἱερέα τοῦ προπάτορος θεοῦ Τυριμναίου. 3493 ἀγωνοθετήσαντα τοῦ πρὸ πόλεως Τυριμναίου.)

[h] On coins of Tralles: Ἀπόλλων Ἥλιος (Roman period, Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 555).

[i] ? At Rhodes: Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31, *Rhodiac.* p. 570 R τὸν μὲν Ἀπόλλω καὶ τὸν Ἥλιον καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ἔνιοί φασιν εἶναι τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ ὑμεῖς οὕτω νομίζετε.

[k] At Smyrna: Μουσ. κ. Βιβλ. τ. Εὐαγγ. Σχολ. 1876, p. 48, n. 166, 26 Ἥλιος Ἀπόλλων Κισαυλοδδηνός. Cf. *Geogr. Reg. s. v.* Phrygia, p. 452.

[l] Callim. *Frag.* 48 [Schol. Pind. *Nem.* 1. 3 Καλλίμαχος ἐν Ἑκάλῃ] οἵ νυ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα παναρκέος Ἠελίοιο χῶρι διατμήγουσι καὶ εὔποδα Δηϊωίνην Ἀρτέμιδος. ? Helios = Apollo in the Thargelia at Athens, R. 241, in the Daphnephoria of Boeotia, R. 267.

[m] Φοῖβος, ? cult title at Carian Termessos: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1900, p. 342 τὸν πάτριον μέγαν θεὸν Φοῖβον Ἀπόλλωνα ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Τερμησσέων τῶν πρὸς Οἰνοάνδοις, ἀγωνοθετοῦντος διὰ βίου Λουκίου. . . . Cf. Plut. *De* EI *ap.*

Delph. p. 393 C–D Φοῖβον δὲ δήπου τὸ καθαρὸν καὶ ἁγνὸν οἱ παλαιοὶ πᾶν ὠνόμαζον, ὡς ἔτι Θεσσαλοὶ τοὺς ἱερέας ἐν ταῖς ἀποφράσιν ἡμέραις αὐτοὺς ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἔξω διατρίβοντας, οἶμαι, φοιβονομεῖσθαι λέγουσι.

[31] Athenae. 619 B ἡ εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα ᾠδὴ φιληλιάς, ὡς Τελέσιλλα παρέστησε. Cf. Pollux 9. 124.

[32] Apollo Ἑώϊος: Müller, *F. H. G.* vol. 2, p. 39, Herodor. *Frag.* 48 φησὶν ἑῷον τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα προσαγορεύεσθαι καὶ βωμὸν αὐτοῦ εἶναι ἐν τῇ νήσῳ (in the island called Thynias, near the Bithynian coast, cf. Pliny 6. 13 insulae in Ponto . . . Apollonia Thynias dicta). Apoll. Rhod. 2. 688:

> εἰ δ' ἄγε δὴ νῆσον μὲν Ἑωΐου Ἀπόλλωνος
> τήνδ' ἱερὴν κλείωμεν, ἐπεὶ πάντεσσι φαάνθη
> ἠῷος μετιών.

Plut. *De Pyth. Or.* p. 400 C ὥσπερ οὖν ὁ τὸν ἠλεκτρυόνα ποιήσας ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐωθινὴν ὑπεδήλωσεν ὥραν καὶ καιρὸν ἐπιούσης ἀνατολῆς.

[33] Apollo Ἔναυρος: Hesych. *s. v.* ὁ Ἀπόλλων· Ἐναύρῳ πρωΐ Κρῆτες.

Apollo connected with the water.

[34] Apollo Δελφίνιος.

[a] ? In Thessaly: vide Artemis, R. 79[c]; at Delphi, R. 111.

[b] At Chalkis: Plut. *Tit.* 16 οἱ Χαλκιδεῖς τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀναθημάτων τῷ Τίτῳ καθιέρωσαν . . . ὁ δῆμος Τίτῳ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι τὸ Δελφίνιον. At Oropos: Strab. p. 403 Ὠρωπὸς καὶ ὁ ἱερὸς λιμὴν ὃν καλοῦσι Δελφίνιον.

[c] At Athens: *C. I. A.* 3. 939 Ἀπόλλωνι Δελφινίῳ . . . τὴν ἱέρειαν. Paus. 1. 19, 1 ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλο ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπίκλησιν Δελφινίου. λέγουσι δὲ ὡς ἐξειργασμένου τοῦ ναοῦ πλὴν τῆς ὀροφῆς ἀγνὼς ἔτι τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀφίκοιτο Θησεὺς ἐς τὴν πόλιν. Plut. *Thes.* 12 ὅπου νῦν ἐν Δελφινίῳ τὸ περίφρακτόν ἐστιν, ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ὁ Αἰγεὺς ᾤκει, καὶ τὸν Ἑρμῆν τὸν πρὸς ἕω τοῦ ἱεροῦ καλοῦσιν ἐπ' Αἰγέως πύλαις. *Ibid.* 14 τὸν Μαραθώνιον ταῦρον . . . [Θησεὺς] τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Δελφινίῳ κατέθυσεν. Vide R. 212. Plut. *Thes.* 18 Γενομένου δὲ τοῦ κλήρου παραλαβὼν τοὺς λαχόντας ὁ Θησεὺς ἐκ τοῦ πρυτανείου καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς Δελφίνιον ἔθηκεν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τὴν ἱκετηρίαν. ἦν δὲ κλάδος ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐλαίας ἐρίῳ λευκῷ κατεστεμμένος. εὐξάμενος δὲ κατέβαινεν ἕκτῃ μηνὸς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἱσταμένου Μουνυχιῶνος, ᾗ καὶ νῦν ἔτι τὰς κόρας πέμπουσιν ἱλασομένας εἰς Δελφίνιον. Cf. Artemis, R. 79[b].

[d] At Aigina: Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 8. 88 ἄγεται δὲ ἐν Αἰγίνῃ Δελφίνια Ἀπόλλωνι. Schol. *Nem.* 5. 81 παρ' Αἰγινήταις Δελφίνιος μὲν ἄγεται Δελφινίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερός . . . καὶ εἴη ἂν ὁ μὴν οὗτος ἐν ᾧ θύουσιν Αἰγινῆται Ἀπόλ-

λωνι Οἰκιστῆι καὶ Δωματίτηι, καθά φησι Πυθαίνετος . . . [ἄλλως] μεὶς ἐπιχώριος ὁ Δελφίνιος μὴν καλούμενος, καθ' ὃν τελεῖται Ἀπόλλωνος ἀγὼν Ὑδροφόρια καλούμενος.

e Sparta: Collitz, *Dialect. Inschr.* 4465 . . . γεροντεύων ἀνέθηκε τῶι Δελφιδίωι.

f At Thera: *C. I. G. Ins. Mar. Aeg.* 3. 537 ναὶ [or καὶ] τὸν Δελφίνιον (very archaic).

g ? At Chios: Schol. Demosth. 23, § 74 Δελφίνιόν ἐστι μέν τι χωρίον ἐν Χίωι. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1879, p. 244, inscription from Chios (fourth century B. C.) l. 8 ἡ γῆ ἡ ἐν Δελφινίωι.

h In Crete: vide R. 111. Cauer, *Delect.*[2] 121 ὀμνύω τὸν Ἀπέλλωνα τὸν Δελφίνιον καὶ τὸν Ἀπέλλωνα τὸν Ποίτιον καὶ τὰν Λάτουν καὶ τὰν Ἄρτεμιν. *C. I. G.* 2554 (in treaty of alliance between Latus and Olus) θέμεν δὲ καὶ ἄλλαν στάλαν ἐν Κνωσσῶι ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τῶ Ἀπόλλωνος τῶ Δελφινίω. Cf. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1905, p. 205. Apollo Δελφίνιος associated with Artemis Dictynna, vide Artemis, R. 131[i].

i At Massilia: Strab. 179 τὸ τοῦ Δελφινίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν τοῦτο μὲν κοινὸν Ἰώνων ἁπάντων.

k ? At Miletos: Diog. Laert. (Thales) 1, § 29 Θαλῆς Ἐξαμίου Μιλήσιος Ἀπόλλωνι Δελφινίωι Ἑλλήνων ἀριστεῖον.

l At Olbia: Latyschef, *Inscr. Or. Sept. Pont. Eux.* 106 Ἀγρότας καὶ Ποσίδεος . . . τὸν πατέρα Διονύσιον Ἀπόλλωνι Δελφινίωι ἱερησάμενον. Cf. *Arch. Anz.* 1904, p. 102, vase circ. 450 B. C. found in grave in South Russia, not far from Kiew, with inscription Δελφινίου ξυνῆ Ἰητροῦ (dedicated to Apollo and 'Iatros').

[35] Apollo Ἐκβάσιος: Apoll. Rhod. 1. 966:

ἔνθ' οἵγ' Ἐκβασίωι βωμὸν θέσαν Ἀπόλλωνι.

(Schol. *ib.* Διόδωρος οὐκ Ἐκβασίου ἀλλὰ Ἰασωνίου Ἀπόλλωνός φησι τὸ ἱερὸν καλεῖσθαι· Σωκράτης δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἐπικλήσεσι Κυζικηνοῦ Ἀπόλλωνός φησι καλεῖσθαι.

[36] Apollo Ἐμβάσιος: Apoll. Rhod. 1. 404 (at Pagasai):

Νήιον αὐτόθι βωμὸν ἐπάκτιον Ἀπόλλωνος
Ἀκτίου Ἐμβασίοιό τ' ἐπώνυμον.

Apollo Ἐμβάσιος, on coins of Ephesos, Roman imperial period: Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 498.

[37] Apollo Ἄκτιος.

a Near Parion at the city of Adrasteia μαντεῖον of Apollo Ἀκταῖος and

Artemis, vide Artemis, R. 79[1]. Cf. Parion coin-type of second century B.C., Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 458 '*Ἀπόλλωνος Ἀκταίου Παριανῶν* Apollo Aktaios standing between a flaming altar and the omphalos.'

[b] Near Anaktorion: Dittenb. *Syll.* 321 *ἐπὶ ἱεραπόλου τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Ἀκτίῳ Θευδότου τοῦ Σώτωνος Ἀνακτοριέος* (circ. 220 B.C.). Cf. *C. I. G. Sept.* 513, 515, 517 (*τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων* date their decrees by the *ἱεραπόλος* and place them in the temple of Apollo *Ἄκτιος*). Thuc. 1. 29 *ἐν Ἀκτίῳ τῆς Ἀνακτορίας γῆς, οὗ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστι, ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ Ἀμβρακικοῦ κόλπου.* Strab. 325 *ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀκτίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἐνταῦθά ἐστι πλησίον τοῦ στόματος* [*τοῦ Ἀμβρακικοῦ κόλπου ἐν δεξιᾷ*] *λόφος τις ἐφ' ᾧ ὁ νεώς, καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῷ πεδίον ἄλσος ἔχον καὶ νεώρια, ἐν οἷς ἀνέθηκε Καῖσαρ τὴν δεκαναῦαν ἀκροθίνιον . . . ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ ἡ Νικόπολις . . . ἐκάλεσε δὲ* [*ὁ Σεβαστὸς ἐπώνυμον τῆς νίκης . . . ἡ μὲν οὖν Νικόπολις εὐανδρεῖ . . . ἔχουσα . . . τό τε κατασκευασθὲν τέμενος ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ τὸ μὲν εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν πεντετηρικὸν ἐν ἄλσει ἔχοντι γυμνάσιόν τε καὶ στάδιον, τὸ δὲ ἐν τῷ ὑπερκειμένῳ τοῦ ἄλσους ἱερῷ λόφῳ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. ἀποδέδεικται δ' ὁ ἀγὼν Ὀλύμπιος, τὰ Ἄκτια, ἱερὸς τοῦ Ἀκτίου Ἀπόλλωνος . . . ἦγετο δὲ καὶ πρότερον τὰ Ἄκτια τῷ θεῷ, στεφανίτης ἀγὼν ὑπὸ τῶν περιοίκων· νυνὶ δ' ἐντιμότερον ἐποίησαν ὁ Καῖσαρ.* Sueton. *Aug.* 18 quo Actiacae victoriae memoria celebratior et in posterum esset, urbem Nicopolim apud Actium condidit ludosque illic quinquennales constituit et ampliato vetere Apollonis templo locum castrorum quibus fuerat usus exornatum navalibus spoliis Neptuno ac Marti consecravit. Dio Cass. 51. 1 *ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ πόλιν τε ᾠκοδόμησεν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ καθ' ὃν ἐνίκησε, Νικόπολιν αὐτὴν ὀνομάσας, τό τε χωρίον ἐν ᾧ ἐσκήνωσε λίθοις τετραπέδοις ἐκρηπίδωσε καὶ τοῖς ἁλοῦσιν ἐμβόλοις ἐκόσμησεν, ἕδος τι ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ὑπαίθριον ἱδρυσάμενος.* Serv. *Aen.* 3. 274 (at Nicopolis) ibi et templum Actiaco Apollini constituit et ludos Actiacos. *C. I. A.* 3. 129 *τὰ Ἄκτια ἐν Νεικοπόλει* (circ. 250 A.D.). At Leukas: Plut. *Pomp.* 24 *τοῦ δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ ἐν Ἀκτίῳ καὶ Λευκάδι.* Ael. *Nat. An.* 2. 8 *ἐν τῇ Λευκάδι ἄκρα μέν ἐστιν ὑψηλή, νεὼς δὲ Ἀπόλλωνι ἵδρυται, καὶ Ἄκτιόν γε αὐτὸν οἱ τιμῶντες ὀνομάζουσι* (cf. 11. 8, sacrifice to the flies, cf. Clem. *Protrept.* p. 34 P.). Cf. Menand. *Frag.* Meinek. vol. 4, p. 158:

ἀλλὰ κατ' εὐχὴν
σήν, δέσποτ' ἄναξ, εὐφημείσθω
τέμενος περὶ Λευκάδος ἀκτῆς.

[c] ? At Tyre: *C. I. A.* 3. 129 *τὰ Ἄκτια* (circ. 250 A.D.).

[d] On coins of Alexandria, Roman imperial period: vide Head, *Hist. Num.* 719.

[38] Apollo *Ἐπιβατήριος* at Troezen: Paus. 2. 32, 2 (within the *τέμενος* of Hippolytos) *ναός ἐστιν Ἀπόλλωνος Ἐπιβατηρίου, Διομήδους ἀνάθημα ἐκφυγόντος τὸν χειμῶνα.*

[39] Apollo Εὐρύαλος: Hesych. *s. v.* ὁ Ἀπόλλων.

[40] Apollo Νασιώτας at Chaleion in Lokris: *C. I. G.* 1607 ἀπέδοτο Κλεογένης . . . σῶμα ἀνδρεῖον . . . ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Νασιώτᾳ . . . τᾶς ὠνᾶς τὸ ἀντίγραφον φυλάσσοντι οἱ θεοκόλοι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Νασιώτα.

[41] Apollo Θέρμιος at Olympia: Paus. 5. 15, 7 Ἀπόλλωνος πέμπτος [βωμὸς] Θερμίου· τὸν μὲν δὴ παρὰ Ἠλείοις Θέρμιον καὶ αὐτῷ μοι παρίστατο εἰκάζειν ὡς κατὰ Ἀτθίδα γλῶσσαν εἴη Θέσμιος. At Mitylene: *C. I. G. Ins. Mar. Aeg.* 2. 104 (late period) Ἀπόλλωνος Θερμίου (referring to hot springs). Cf. Artemis Θερμία, Artemis, R. 79[q]. Between Klazomenai and Smyrna: Strab. 645 ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ θερμὰ ὕδατα.

[42] a Apollo associated with Poseidon: cf. R. 31[f]. ? At Kolonos: *C. I. G.* 527 ὅρος τεμένους Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ποσειδῶνος Ἱππίου, boundary stone found at Athens, circ. 400 B.C., ? marking the boundary of a joint temple.

b Dio Chrys. *Or.* 33 (Dind. vol. 2, p. 1) at Tarsos, ἀκούσεσθαι οἰόμενοι δημόσιον ὕμνον τῆς πόλεως περί τε Περσέως καὶ Ἡρακλέους καὶ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τῆς τριαίνης. Cf. *ib.* p. 15 Dind. πρὸς τοῦ Ἡρακλέους καὶ τοῦ Περσέως καὶ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν οὓς τιμᾶτε. Cf. *C. I. A.* 3. 236 οἱ συμπλέοντες ναῦται Ἀπόλλωνι Ταρσίῳ χαριστήριον (Roman period).

[43] Apollo Μυρτῶος, inscription found at Cyrene: *C. I. G.* 5138 ὑπὲρ [τῆς Αὐτοκράτορος Τιβ. Κλαυ]δίου Καίσαρος νίκης καὶ σωτηρίας καὶ τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ παντὸς Ἀπόλλωνι Μυρτώῳ Μ. Ἀντώνιος Γέμελλος ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. Cf. Μυρτάτης in Cyprus: Hogarth, *Devia Cypria*, p. 25 (dedication of late Ptolemaic period).

Apollo of the household and clan. Cf. R. 269[b], 273[b].

[44] Apollo ? Κουροτρόφος: Hesiod, *Theog.* 346 (the nymphs of ocean):

αἳ κατὰ γαῖαν
ἄνδρας κουρίζουσι σὺν Ἀπόλλωνι ἄνακτι.

Hom. *Od.* 19. 86:

ἀλλ' ἤδη παῖς τοῖος Ἀπόλλωνός γε ἕκητι
Τηλέμαχος.

Schol. *ib.* τῶν ἀρρένων κουροτρόφος ὁ θεός. Eustath. *ib.* p. 1856, 33 τὸν καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις κουροτρόφον Ἀπόλλωνα, ὅθεν, φασί, καὶ ἡ δάφνη κουροθάλεια ἐλέχθη, διὰ τὸ κουροτρόφον τοῦ ἐραστοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. Aesch. *Supp.* 686:

εὐμενὴς δ' ὁ Λύκειος ἔστω πάσᾳ νεολαίᾳ.

[45] ? Κουρίδιος in Laconia: Hesych. *s. v.* Λάκωνες δὲ Κουρίδιον καλοῦσιν, παρὰ δὲ αὐτοῖς [? leg. τὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς] τετράχειρον Ἀπόλλωνα. Zenob. 1. 54 τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ὃν τετράχειρον καὶ τετράωτον ἱδρύσαντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ὥς φησι Σωσίβιος, ὅτι τοιοῦτος ὤφθη τοῖς περὶ Ἀμύκλαν μαχομένοις. Cf. Libanius, vol. 2, p. 371 (Morellus).

[46] Κούρεος at Teos: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1880, p. 168 (inscription, ? first century A. D.) Ἀπόλλωνος Κουρέου. Cf. *C. I. G.* 1716, inscription found near the temple of Delphi, Α. Μάριος Νέπως πατὴρ Κορίνθιος καὶ Ἰουλία Αἰγιάλη Δελφή, τὸν ἑαυτῶν υἱὸν Ἀπόλλωνι Πυθίῳ.

[47] *Anth. Pal.* 6. 278 (Rhianos):

παῖς Ἀσκληπιάδεω καλῷ καλὸν εἵσατο Φοίβῳ
Γοργὸς ἀφ' ἱμερτᾶς τοῦτο γέρας κεφαλᾶς.
Φοῖβε, σὺ δ' ἵλαος, Δελφίνιε, κοῦρον ἀέξοις
εὔμοιρον λευκὴν ἄχρις ἐφ' ἡλικίην.

[48] Apollo Ἀγυιεύς and Θυραῖος: Harpokr. *s. v.* Ἀγυιᾶς· Ἀγυιεύς ἐστι κίων ἐς ὀξὺ λήγων ὃν ἱστᾶσι πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν ἰδίους δὲ εἶναί φασιν αὐτοὺς Ἀπόλλωνος οἱ δὲ Διονύσου, οἱ δὲ ἄμφοιν. . . . φασὶ δ' αὐτὸ ἴδιον εἶναι Δωριέων, ὡς δῆλον ποιεῖ Διευχίδας ἐν τῇ γ' τῶν Μεγαρικῶν . . . εἶεν δ' ἂν οἱ παρὰ τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς λεγόμενοι Ἀγυιεῖς οἱ πρὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν βωμοί, ὥς φασι Κρατῖνος καὶ Μένανδρος, καὶ Σοφοκλῆς ἐν τῷ Λαοκόωντι, μετάγων τὰ Ἀθηναίων ἔθη ἐς Τροίαν, φησὶ λάμπει δ' ἀγυιεὺς βωμὸς ἀτμίζων πυρὶ σμύρνης σταλαγμούς, βαρβάρων εὐοσμίας. Photius, *Biblioth.* 535 τὸν Λοξίαν προσεκύνουν, ὃν πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν ἕκαστος ἱδρύοντο, καὶ πάλιν βωμὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ στρογγύλον ποιοῦντες καὶ μυρρίναις στέφοντες ἵσταντο οἱ παριόντες, τὸν δὲ βωμὸν ἐκεῖνον Ἀγυιὰν Λοξίαν ἐκάλουν τὴν τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῖς θεοῦ προσηγορίαν νέμοντες τῷ βωμῷ. Hesych. *s. v.* Ἀγυιεύς· ὁ πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν ἑστὼς βωμὸς ἐν σχήματι κίονος. Macrob. 1. 9, 6 sicut Nigidius refert, apud Graecos Apollo colitur qui Θυραῖος vocatur, eiusque aras ante fores suas celebrant, ipsum exitus et introitus demonstrantes potentem: idem Apollo apud illos et Ἀγυιεύς nuncupatur, quasi viis praepositus urbanis. Oracle quoted in Demosthenes, *Meidias*, vide Dionysos, R. 127[b].

[a] At Athens: *C. I. A.* 3. 159 Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Ἀγυιεῖ τὸν βωμὸν οἱ πυλωροί (circ. 50 A. D.). *C. I. G.* 464 Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ Ἀπόλλωνι Προστατηρίῳ Ἀποτροπαίῳ Ἀγυιεῖ. *C. I. A.* 3. 175 Ἀπόλλωνος Ἀγυιέως Προστατηρίου πατρῴου Πυθίου Κλαρίου Πανιονίου. At Acharnai: *C. I. A.* 3. 177 Ἀπόλλωνος Ἀγυιέως Ἀλεξικάκου. Paus. 1. 31, 6 ἔστι δὲ Ἀχαρναὶ δῆμος· οὗτοι θεῶν Ἀπόλλωνα τιμῶσιν Ἀγυιέα καὶ Ἡρακλέα. Aristoph. *Vesp.* 875:

ὦ δέσποτ' ἄναξ, γεῖτον Ἀγυιεῦ, τοὐμοῦ προθύρου προπύλαιε.

[b] At Tegea with Artemis: vide Artemis, R. 35. At Megalopolis:

vide Athena, R. 100f. Paus. 8. 53, 3 ἦλθε μάντευμα ἐκ Δελφῶν Σκέφρον θρηνεῖν καὶ ἄλλα τε ἐν τοῦ Ἀγυιέως τῇ ἑορτῇ δρῶσιν εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ Σκέφρου. 8. 53, 6 Τεγεάταις δὲ τοῦ Ἀγυιέως τὰ ἀγάλματα τέσσαρά εἰσιν ἀριθμόν, ὑπὸ φυλῆς ἓν ἑκάστης ἱδρυμένου· ὀνόματα δὲ αἱ φυλαὶ παρέχονται Κλαρεῶτις Ἱπποθοῖτις Ἀπολλωνιᾶτις Ἀθανεᾶτις.

c At Argos: 2. 19, 8 ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐστὶν Ἀπόλλων Ἀγυιεὺς καὶ βωμὸς Ὑετίου Διός (over the grave of Linos).

d At Korkyra: *Ath. Mitth.* 1894, p. 340, cone-shaped ἄγαλμα of Apollo Ἀγυιεύς.

e At Thera: *C. I. G. Ins. Mar. Aeg.* 3. 450, Ἀγυιεύς mentioned in ancient ritual-inscription.

f ? At Halikarnassos: *C. I. G.* 2261:

Νόσσος Μυρμόνιδος Κούραν Διὸς ἄνθετο παῖδα
Ἄρτεμιν Εὐόλβῳ τῷδε παρὰ προπύλῳ
Φοίβῳ Ἀγυιεῖ τάνδε νέμων χάριν.

g Cone-shaped ἄγαλμα of Apollo Ἀγυιεύς on coins of Ambrakia, third and second century B. C. (Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 270), and of Apollonia (Overb. *Kunst. Myth.* 3, Münztaf. 1. 4–5).

49 Apollo Προστατήριος at Athens, R. 48a: vide Artemis, R. 81. At Megara: vide Artemis, R. 79r. *C. I. G. Sept.* 1. 39 Ἀπόλλωνι Προστατηρίῳ θεαροὶ ἀνέθηκαν (circ. 300 B. C.). Cf. Coin-legend of Cremna in the Pisidian Tauros, 'Apollini Propylaeo,' Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 590 (Septimius Severus).

50 Apollo Προστάτης at Olbia: *C. I. G.* 2067 Ἀπόλλωνι Προστάτῃ οἱ περὶ Ἀμώμαιον Ἀμωθάστου στρατηγοί . . . ἀνέθηκαν στρεπτὸν χρύσεον ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ὑγιείας (first century A. D.). Cf. 2068–2075. Soph. *Trach.* 205:

Ἀνολολυξάτω δόμος ἐφεστίοις ἀλαλαγαῖς
ὁ μελλόνυμφος, ἐν δὲ κοινὸς ἀρσένων
ἴτω κλαγγὰ τὸν εὐφαρέτραν
Ἀπόλλω προστάταν.

51 Apollo Προφύλαξ at Amorgos: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1891, p. 597 Ἀπόλλωνος Προφύλακος (boundary-stone, late period).

52 Apollo Ἐπικώμαιος: Stobae. *Flor.* 44. 22 [ἐκ τῶν Θεοφράστου περὶ συμβολαίων] ἐν τοῖς Αἰνίων [νόμοις]. κελεύουσι γὰρ ἐὰν μέν τις οἰκίαν πρίηται, θύειν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Ἐπικωμαίου. Athenae. p. 149d παρὰ δὲ Ναυκρατίταις, ὥς φησιν Ἑρμείας ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν περὶ τοῦ γρυνείου Ἀπόλλωνος, ἐν τῷ πρυτανείῳ δειπνοῦσι γενεθλίοις Ἑστίας πρυτανίτιδος καὶ Διονυσίοις, ἔτι δὲ τῇ τοῦ κωμαίου Ἀπόλλωνος πανηγύρει, εἰσιόντες πάντες ἐν στολαῖς λευ-

καῖς, ἃς μέχρι καὶ νῦν καλοῦσι πρυτανικὰς ἑσθῆτας. καὶ κατακλιθέντες ἐπανίστανται εἰς γόνατα, τοῦ ἱεροκήρυκος τὰς πατρίους εὐχὰς καταλέγοντος συσπένδοντες. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα κατακλιθέντες λαμβάνουσιν ἕκαστος οἴνου κοτύλας δύο, πλὴν τῶν ἱερέων τοῦ τε Πυθίου Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ τοῦ Διονύσου· τούτων γὰρ ἑκατέρῳ διπλοῦς ὁ οἶνος μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων μερίδων δίδοται.

[53] Apollo Πάτριος ? at Patrae: Serv. *Aen.* 3. 332 alii 'patrias' Apollineas volunt a Patris, Achaiae civitate in qua Patrius Apollo colitur. . . . sunt qui dicunt ab Aesculapio aras Apollini statutas patrias nominatas.

[54] Apollo Πατρῷος at Athens: vide R. 17, 48[a]. Athena, R. 35[i]. Artemis, R. 76. Plat. *Euthyd.* p. 302 C *οὐκ ἔστιν, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, αὕτη ἡ ἐπωνυμία [Ζεὺς ὁ Πατρῷος] Ἰώνων οὐδενί, . . . ἀλλ' Ἀπόλλων πατρῷος διὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἴωνος γένεσιν.* Paus. 1. 3, 4, in the Kerameikos, *πλησίον ἐποίησεν ἐν τῷ ναῷ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα πατρῷον ἐπίκλησιν.* Demosth. 18. 141 *καλῶ δ' ἐναντίον ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς θεοὺς ἅπαντας καὶ πάσας . . . καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω τὸν Πύθιον, ὃς πατρῷός ἐστι τῇ πόλει. Id.* 57. 54 *παιδίον ὄντα με εὐθέως ἦγον εἰς τοὺς φράτορας, εἰς Ἀπόλλωνος πατρῴου ἦγον, εἰς τἆλλα ἱερά. Ib.* § 67 *τίς ἦν σοι πατήρ; . . . μαρτυροῦσι φράτερες, εἶτ' Ἀπόλλωνος πατρῴου καὶ Διὸς Ἑρκείου γεννῆται, εἶθ' οἷς ἠρία ταῦτα.* Ar. *Ath. Polit.* 55 *ἐπερωτῶσιν δ' ὅταν δοκιμάζωσιν [τοὺς ἄρχοντας] . . . εἰ ἔστιν αὐτῷ Ἀπόλλων πατρῷος καὶ Ζεὺς ἑρκεῖος καὶ ποῦ ταῦτα τὰ ἱερά ἐστιν.* Harpokr. *s. v.* Ἑρκεῖος Ζεύς· *Δείναρχος ἐν τῷ κατὰ Μοσχίωνος εἰ φράτορες αὐτῷ καὶ βωμοὶ Διὸς Ἑρκείου καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος Πατρῴου εἰσίν. . . . ὅτι δὲ τούτοις μετῆν τῆς πολιτείας οἷς εἶη Ζεὺς Ἑρκεῖος δεδήλωκε καὶ Ὑπερίδης.* Plut. *Sol.* 25 *ὤμνυεν . . . ἕκαστος τῶν θεσμοθετῶν ἐν ἀγορᾷ πρὸς τῷ λίθῳ, καταφατίζων, εἴ τι παραβαίη τῶν θεσμῶν, ἀνδριάντα χρυσοῦν ἰσομέτρητον ἀναθήσειν ἐν Δελφοῖς.* (Cf. Plat. *Phaedr.* 235 D.) Schol. Aesch. κ. Τιμαρχ. § 114 (Dind. p. 31) *τοὺς ὁρκίους Ἀπόλλωνα τὸν Πατρῷον καὶ Δήμητραν καὶ Δία, ὥς φησι Δείναρχος ὁ ῥήτωρ.* Cf. oath of the dikasts, Pollux 8. 122 (vide Demeter, R. 65). *C. I. A.* 3. 720[a] *ἱερέως διὰ βίου Ἀπόλλωνος Πατρῴο[υ Πυθίου].* 2. 1652 *ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλων[ος Πατρ]ῴου Φρατρίας [Θ]ερρικ . . . ων [? Θερρικιαδῶν].* *C. I. A.* 4. 1074[e] *ὅρος τεμένους Ἀπόλλωνος Πατρῴου Ἐλασιδῶν.* ? At Acharnai: Athen. 234[f] *κἂν τοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως δὲ νόμοις γέγραπται· θύειν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τοὺς Ἀχαρνέων παρασίτους.* 235[c] *τοὺς δὲ παρασίτους ἐκ τῆς βουκολίας ἐκλέγειν ἐκ τοῦ μέρους τοῦ ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστον ἑκτέα κριθῶν, δαίνυσθαί τε τοὺς ὄντας Ἀθηναίους ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια. τὸν δὲ ἑκτέα παρέχειν εἰς τὰ ἀρχεῖα τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τοὺς Ἀχαρνέων παρασίτους ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκλογῆς τῶν κριθῶν.* Cf. 'Delos,' Geogr. Reg. p. 443. At Tarsos: Ἀπόλλων Πατρῷος on imperial coins of Tarsos, *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Lycaonia*,' p. lxxxix. Cf. private dedication of altar found at Tarsos, Ἀπόλλωνι Πατρῴῳ Ῥουφεῖνος, Heberdey u. Wilhelm, *Reisen*, p. 4.

[55] Apollo Γενέτωρ at Delos: Diog. Laert. 8. 1, 13 *βωμὸν προσκυνῆσαι μόνον* [Πυθαγόραν] *ἐν Δήλῳ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Γενέτορος, ὅς ἐστιν ὄπισθε τοῦ Κερατίνου, διὰ τὸ πυροὺς καὶ κριθὰς καὶ πόπανα μόνα τίθεσθαι ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἄνευ πυρός.* Cf. R. 276.

[56] ? Apollo Πρόγονος in Thrace: Dumont. *Inscr. Thrace* 62[d] *Ἀπόλλωνι Ἀλσηνῷ θεῷ πρόγωνι (sic)* [? *προγόνῳ*].

[57] Apollo Μεταφρήτωρ: *Arch. Anz.* 1894, p. 124, inscription from Antiocheia, *πρὸς τῇ Πισιδίᾳ. στεφανηφορούντος τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ μεταφρήτορος.*

[58] Apollo Φιλήσιος at Miletos: Plin. 34. 75 Canachus Apollinem nudum qui Philesius cognominatur in Didymaeo . . . cervumque una vestigiis suspendit. Cf. Macr. *Sat.* 1. 17, 49. Konon. 33 *Ἀπόλλων εὑρὼν Βράγχον ποιμαίνοντα ἔνθα βωμὸς Ἀπόλλωνος Φιλίου ἵδρυται.* Cf. R. 200[f].

[59] Apollo Ξένιος at Chios: vide Dionysos, R. 30.

[60] Callim. *Hymn Apoll.* 55:

Φοίβῳ δ' ἑσπόμενοι πόλιας διεμετρήσαντο
ἄνθρωποι· Φοῖβος γὰρ ἀεὶ πολίεσσι φιλῆδεῖ
κτιζομένῃς· αὐτὸς δὲ θεμείλια Φοῖβος ὑφαίνει.

[61] Cic. *De Divin.* 1. 1 quam vero Graecia coloniam misit in Aeoliam, Ioniam, Asiam, Siciliam, Italiam, sine Pythio, aut Dodonaeo, aut Hammonis oraculo? Cf. R. 140.

[62] Herod. 5. 42 [Δωριεὺς] *αἰτήσας ληὸν Σπαρτιήτας, ἦγε ἐς ἀποικίην· οὔτε τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι χρηστηρίῳ χρησάμενος, ἐς ἥντινα γῆν κτίσων ἴῃ, οὔτε ποιήσας οὐδὲν τῶν νομιζομένων.*

The god of the city.

[63] Apollo Ἀρχηγός at Ilium: *C. I. G.* 3595 (decree in reign of Antiochus Soter, circ. B.C. 275) *εὔξασθαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἱερεῖς καὶ ἱερείας μετὰ τοῦ ἱερέως τοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου τῷ τε Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ ἀρχηγῷ τοῦ γένους καὶ τῇ Νίκῃ.* Cf. *C. I. G.* 3614[d] *Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Ἰλιέως.*

[64] Apollo Ἀρχηγέτης at Megara: Dittenb. *Syll.* 211 *ἡ πόλις ἡ Μεγαρέων δάφνης στεφάνῳ παρὰ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἀρχηγέτου* (gift of the Megarians to the temple of Apollo Smintheus in the Troad). Paus. 1. 42, 5 *τοῦ δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος πλίνθου μὲν ἦν ὁ ἀρχαῖος ναός· ὕστερον δὲ βασιλεὺς ᾠκοδόμησεν Ἀδριανὸς λίθου λευκοῦ. ὁ μὲν δὴ Πύθιος καλούμενος καὶ ὁ Δεκατηφόρος τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις μάλιστα ἐοίκασι ξοάνοις, ὃν δὲ Ἀρχηγέτην ἐπονομάζουσι, Αἰγινητικοῖς ἔργοις ἐστὶν ὅμοιος· ἐβένου δὲ πάντα ὁμοίως πεποίηται.* Theognis 773:

Φοῖβε ἄναξ, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπύργωσας πόλιν ἄκρην,
Ἀλκαθόῳ Πέλοπος παιδὶ χαριζόμενος.

[65] Erythrai: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1884, p. 350 [ἱερὸν] Ἀρχηγετεῦ, fourth century B. C. Attaleia: *id.* 1883, p. 263 ἱερέα διὰ βίου Ἀπόλλωνος Ἀρχηγέτου καὶ θεοῦ μεγάλου Διονύσου καὶ θεοῦ Ἀρέως καὶ θεᾶς Ἀρτέμιδος Ἐλαφηβόλου πρῶτον καὶ ἱερέα διὰ βίου θεᾶς Λητοῦς τῶν Περγαίων πόλεως (Roman period).

[66] Hierapolis in Phrygia: *C. I. G.* 3905 Ἀπόλλωνι Ἀρχηγέτῃ (Roman period). Same title on coins, Head, p. 565.

[67] Caria, Telmessos: *Hell. Journ.* 1894, p. 378 Ἀπόλλων . . . ἀρχηγέτης τοῦ γένους (circ. 200 B. C.).

[67a] ? At Kyzikos: *Geogr. Reg. s. v.* p. 447.

[68] Halikarnassos: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1881, p. 232 Ἀρχηγέσια performed there mentioned in inscription of Kos, Roman period. *C.I.G.* 2655, vide Poseidon, R. 91.

[69] Sicily: Thuc. 6. 3 Ἑλλήνων δὲ πρῶτοι Χαλκιδῆς ἐξ Εὐβοίας πλεύσαντες μετὰ Θεοκλέους οἰκιστοῦ Νάξον ᾤκισαν, καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος Ἀρχηγέτου βωμὸν ὅστις νῦν ἔξω τῆς πόλεώς ἐστιν, ἱδρύσαντο, ἐφ' ᾧ ὅταν ἐκ Σικελίας οἱ θεωροὶ πλέωσι, πρῶτον θύουσι. Ἀρχαγέτας on coins of Alaesa, Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 110 (circ. 340 B. C.). Of Tauromenion, from fourth century onward, Head, p. 165.

[70] Apollo Προκαθηγεμών at Kalymna: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1884, 28 ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Καλυμνίων ἐτείμησε τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Προκαθηγεμόνος Ἀπόλλωνος Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον.

[71] Apollo Προηγέτης in Lycia: vide Artemis, R. 79[cc].

[72] Cf. Ἀπ. Ἡγεμών, *Arch. Anz.* 1901, p. 56, inscription on silver 'phiale' found in South Russia, Ἀπόλλωνος Ἡγεμόνος εἰμὶ τῶμ Φάσι, fifth century B. C.

[73] Apollo Δωματίτης and Οἰκιστής at Aegina, R. 34.

[74] Apollo Κτίστης.

[a] At Apollonia in Epiros: Head, p. 266 Νέρωνι Ἀπόλλωνι Κτίστῃ. Paus. 5. 22, 3 (dedication from Apollonia at Olympia towards latter part of fifth century):

Μνάματ' Ἀπολλωνίας ἀνακείμεθα, τὰν ἐνὶ πόντῳ
Ἰονίῳ Φοῖβος ᾤκισ' ἀκερσεκόμας.

[b] At Thurii: Diod. Sic. 12. 36 τέλος δὲ τῶν Θουρίων πεμψάντων εἰς Δελφοὺς τοὺς ἐπερωτήσοντας τίνα χρὴ τῆς πόλεως οἰκιστὴν ἀγορεύειν, ὁ θεὸς ἔχρησεν αὐτὸν δεῖν κτίστην νομίζεσθαι.

[c] At Kyrene: *C. I. G.* 5141 M. Βαλέριος Ἀρίστων ἱερώμενος τοῦ κτίστου Ἀπόλλωνος. Cf. Herod. 4. 150 Χρεωμένῳ δὲ τῷ Γρίνῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ

τῶν Θηραίων περὶ ἄλλων χρᾷ ἡ Πυθίη κτίζειν ἐν Λιβύῃ πόλιν. 159 ἐπὶ τοῦ τρίτου Βάττεω τοῦ Εὐδαίμονος καλεομένου Ἕλληνας πάντας ὥρμησε χρήσασα ἡ Πυθίη πλέειν συνοικήσοντας Κυρηναίοισι Λιβύην.

Other colonization from Delphi.

[75] Magnesia on the Maiander: Athenae. p. 173[e] (from Aristotle or Theophrastus) Μάγνητες οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ Μαιάνδρῳ ποταμῷ κατοικοῦντες ἱεροὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, Δελφῶν ἄποικοι. παρέχουσι τοῖς ἐπιδημοῦσι στέγην ἅλας ἔλαιον ὄξος, ἔτι λύχνον κλίνας στρώματα τραπέζας. (Cf. *ib.* Σῆμος ἐν τετάρτῳ Δηλιάδος Δελφοῖς [φησί] παραγινομένοις εἰς Δῆλον παρεῖχον Δήλιοι ἅλας καὶ ὄξος καὶ ἔλαιον καὶ ξύλα καὶ στρώματα.) Cf. Parthen. *Erot.* 5 τῶν δεκατευθέντων ἐκ Φερῶν ὑπ' Ἀδμήτου (referring to Magnesia).

[76] Dryopes: vide R. 144, settlement in the Peloponnese.

[77] Settlement of the Ainianes in the valley of the Inachos: Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 13, p. 293 F ἐν Κίρρῃ καταλεύσαντες Οἴνοκλον τὸν βασιλέα, τοῦ θεοῦ προστάξαντος, εἰς τὴν περὶ τὸν Ἴναχον χώραν κατέβησαν. . . . ὅταν δὲ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τὴν ἑκατόμβην ἀποδιδῶσι, τῷ Διὶ βοῦν καθιερεύσαντες, μερίδα τοῖς Τέμωνος ἀπογόνοις ἐξαίρετον νέμουσι, καὶ πτωχικὸν κρέας ἐπονομάζουσι.

[78] Paus. 7. 3, 1 Ἀργείων ἑλόντων Θήβας, ἄλλοι τε αἰχμάλωτοι καὶ ἡ Μαντὼ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐκομίσθησαν ἐς Δελφούς . . . ἐκπέμψαντος δὲ σφᾶς ἐς ἀποικίαν τοῦ θεοῦ. . . .

[79] ? Apollonia, near the mouth of the Danube: Strab. 319 ἄποικος Μιλησίων τὸ πλέον τοῦ κτίσματος ἱδρυμένον ἔχουσα ἐν νησίῳ τινί, ὅπου ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, ἐξ οὗ Μ. Λεύκολλος τὸν κολοσσὸν ἦρε καὶ ἀνέθηκεν ἐν τῷ Καπετωλίῳ τὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, Καλάμιδος ἔργον.

[80] Diod. Sic. 8, *fr.* 23 οἱ ἐκ τῆς δεκάτης ἀνατεθέντες Χαλκιδεῖς ἦλθον χρησόμενοι περὶ ἀποικίας καὶ ἀνεῖλε [ἡ Πυθία]. . . . 'ἔνθα πόλιν οἴκιζε διδοῖ δέ σοι Αὔσονα χώραν.'

[81] Tarentum: Paus. 10. 10, 6 στελλομένῳ ἐς ἀποικίαν τῷ Φαλάνθῳ λόγιον ἦλθεν ἐκ Δελφῶν. Cf. Herod. 5. 43; Diod. Sic. 8, *fr.* 21.

[82] Rhegion: Strab. 257 κτίσμα δ' ἐστὶ τὸ Ῥήγιον Χαλκιδέων, οὓς κατὰ χρησμὸν δεκατευθέντας τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι δι' ἀφορίαν ὕστερον ἐκ Δελφῶν ἀποικῆσαι δεῦρό φασι παραλαβόντας καὶ ἄλλους τῶν οἴκοθεν.

[83] Kroton: Strab. 262 φησὶ δ' Ἀντίοχος τοῦ θεοῦ χρήσαντος Ἀχαιοῖς Κρότωνα κτίζειν. Cf. 260, and oracle quoted Diod. Sic. 12, *fr.* 17.

[84] Syracuse: Strabo 380 καὶ ἡ Τενέα ἐστὶ κώμη τῆς Κορινθίας, ἐν ᾗ τοῦ Τενεάτου Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν· λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ἀρχίᾳ τῷ στείλαντι τὴν εἰς Συρακούσας ἀποικίαν τοὺς πλείστους τῶν ἐποίκων ἐντεῦθεν συνεπακολουθῆσαι. Suidas *s. v.* Ἀρχίας· Ἀρχίας Συρακούσιος καὶ Μύσκελλος Ἀχαιὸς ἦκον ἐς

Δελφοὺς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τοῦ χρόνου, καὶ ᾔτουν ἄρα ὑπὲρ ὧν ἔμελλον οἰκίζειν πόλεων φήμην ἀγαθὴν λαβεῖν . . . λέγει δὲ ἡ Πυθία

> χώρας καὶ πόλεως οἰκήτορα λαὸν ἔχοντες
> ἦλθετ' ἐρησόμενοι Φοῖβον, τίνα γαῖαν ἵκησθε·
> ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ φράζεσθ' ἀγαθῶν πότερόν κεν ἕλοισθε,
> πλοῦτον ἔχειν κτεάνων, ἢ τερπνοτάτην ὑγίειαν.

[85] Diod. Sic. 8, *fr.* 23 Ἀντίφημος καὶ Ἔντιμος οἱ Γέλαν κτίσαντες ἠρώτησαν τὴν Πυθίαν καὶ ἔχρησε

> Ἔντιμ' ἠδὲ Κράτωνος ἀγακλέος υἱὲ δαΐφρον,
> ἐλθόντες Σικελὴν καλὴν χθόνα ναίετον ἄμφω,
> δειμάμενοι πτολίεθρον ὁμοῦ Κρητῶν Ῥοδίων τε
> πὰρ προχοὰς ποταμοῖο Γέλα συνομώνυμον ἄμφω.

13. 108 ἐχόντων τῶν Γελῴων ἐκτὸς τῆς πόλεως Ἀπόλλωνος ἀνδριάντα χαλκοῦν σφόδρα μέγαν.

[86] Xoanon of Zeus Βουλαῖος and Apollo in the βουλευτήριον at Athens : vide Zeus, R. 110[a]. Plat. *Laws ad init.* θεὸς ἤ τις ἀνθρώπων ὑμῖν, ὦ ξένοι, εἴληφε τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς τῶν νόμων διαθέσεως ; θεός . . . παρὰ μὲν ἡμῖν Ζεύς, παρὰ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὅθεν ὅδ' ἐστίν, οἶμαι φάναι τούτους Ἀπόλλωνα. Cf. Plut. *Lycurg.* 6 (in the ῥήτρα of Lykurgos) τὸ δὲ ἀπελλάζειν [λέγεται] ἐκκλησιάζειν· ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς πολιτείας εἰς τὸν Πύθιον ἀνῆψε. Max. Tyr. *Diss.* xi ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ Ἄπολλον, ἐθῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἐπίσκοποι. Cf. Hesych. *s. v.* Ἐπόψιος· Ζεὺς καὶ Ἀπόλλων.

Apollo in the formula of the state-oath at Athens : vide R. 54.

[87] *C. I. A.* 1. 9, oath of allegiance taken by Erythrai to Athens (period of Kimon), ὀμνύναι Δία καὶ Ἀπόλλω καὶ Δήμητρα. Cf. *C. I. A.* 2. 578; also in oath of alliance between Athens and Korkyra in fourth century, 2, Suppl. 49[b]. *C. I. G.* 3137, inscription in Oxford, period of Seleukos II, oath taken by Magnesia on Sipylon to Smyrna, Ὀμνύω Δία Γῆν Ἥλιον Ἄρη Ἀθηνᾶν Ἀρείαν καὶ τὴν Ταυροπόλον καὶ τὴμ μητέρα τὴν Σιπυληνὴν καὶ Ἀπόλλω τὸν ἐν Πάνδοις. *C. I. A.* 2. 549, treaty between Olus and Lyttos in Crete, second century B.C., ὀμνύω . . . Ἀπόλλωνα Πύτιον καὶ Λατὼ καὶ Ἄρτεμιν : cf. R. 34[h]. Cf. Plat. *Laws* 936 E τοὺς τρεῖς θεοὺς Δία καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ Θέμιν ἀπομόσας.

[88] Apollo as war-god.

Soph. *O. T.* 469 :

> ἔνοπλος γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐπενθρώσκει
> πυρὶ καὶ στεροπαῖς ὁ Διὸς γενέτας.

[89] Apollo Ἀμαζόνιος : vide Artemis, R. 79[u].

[90] Apollo Βοηδρόμιος: Callim. *Hymn Apoll.* 70:

Ἄπολλον πολλοί σε Βοηδρόμιον καλέουσι.

Βοηδρόμια at Athens: vide R. 270.

[91] At Thebes: Paus. 9. 17, 2 πλησίον δὲ [τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Εὐκλείας Ἀρτέμιδος] Ἀπόλλων τέ ἐστιν ἐπίκλησιν Βοηδρόμιος καὶ Ἀγοραῖος Ἑρμῆς καλούμενος, Πινδάρου καὶ τοῦτο ἀνάθημα.

[92] Apollo Ἐλελεύς: Macr. *Sat.* 1. 17, 46 Apollon Ἐλελεύς appellatur. Cf. Apollo Θούριος, *Geogr. Reg. s. v.* Chaironeia, p. 436.

[93] Apollo ? Ἐλευθέριος: inscription from Alabanda, Le Bas-Waddington 549 Ἀπόλλωνος Ἐλευθερίου Σεβαστοῦ.

[94] Apollo Ζωστήριος at Athens: *Vit. Eurip.* 1 γενέσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ πυρφόρον Ζωστηρίου Ἀπόλλωνος. ? local epithet from Zoster. Cf. Athena, R. 89[b].

[95] Apollo Στρατάγιος in Rhodes: *C. I. G. Ins. Mar. Aeg.* 1. 161:

τὸ κοινὸν Ἀπόλλωνος Στραταγίου.

[96] Apollo of Amyklai: vide R. 19. At Thornax in Laconia, Paus. 3. 10, 8 ἄγαλμά ἐστι Πυθαέως Ἀπόλλωνος κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ ἐν Ἀμύκλαις πεποιημένον. Cf. Herod. 1. 69.

[97] Plut. *De Pyth. Or.* p. 402 A αἰτιῶμαι Μεγαρεῖς, ὅτι μόνοι σχεδὸν ἐνταῦθα λόγχην ἔχοντα τὸν θεὸν ἔστησαν ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης, ᾗ Ἀθηναίους μετὰ τὰ Περσικὰ τὴν πόλιν ἔχοντας αὐτῶν νικήσαντες ἐξέβαλον.

[98] Thanksgiving to Apollo after victory. At Athens: Diod. Sic. 13. 102 (after Arginusai) τὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς νίκης εὐχὰς . . . τῷ Διὶ τῷ Σωτῆρι καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ ταῖς σεμναῖς θεαῖς ἀπόδοτε· τούτοις γὰρ εὐξάμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους κατεναυμαχήσαμεν. At Selinus: *C. I. G. Sic. It.* 268 διὰ τὼς θεὼς τώσδε νικῶντι τοὶ Σελινώντιοι . . . δι' Ἀπόλλωνα . . . τὰ δὲ ὀνύματα ταῦτα κολάψαντας ἐς τὸ Ἀπολλώνιον κάθθεμεν (fifth century B. C.). Arrian, *Ind.* 36 Ἀλέξανδρος σωτήρια τοῦ στρατοῦ ἔθυε Διὶ Σωτῆρι καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι Ἀλεξικάκῳ καὶ Ποσειδῶνι. Macr. 1. 17, 18 hanc vocem id est, ἴε Παιάν, confirmasse fertur oraculum Delphicum Atheniensibus petentibus opem dei adversus Amazonas Theseo regnante. Namque inituros bellum iussit his ipsis verbis semet ipsum auxiliatorem invocare hortarique. Suidas, *s. v.* Παιᾶνας· δύο παιᾶνας ᾖδον οἱ παλαιοὶ πρὸ μὲν τοῦ πολέμου τῷ Ἄρει, μετὰ δὲ τὸν πόλεμον τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι. Cf. Schol. Thuc. 1. 50.

God of the palaestra, vide Hermes, R. 60.

[99] Apollo Πύκτης, Δρομαῖος: Plut. *Quaest. Conv.* p. 724 C καὶ μὴν οὐδ' Ἀθηναίους εἰκός ἐστιν Ἀπόλλωνι καθιερῶσαι τὸ γυμνάσιον ἀλόγως καὶ αὐτομάτως·

ἀλλὰ παρ' οὗ τὴν ὑγίειαν ἔχομεν θεοῦ, τοῦτον εὐξίαν τε διδόναι καὶ ῥώμην ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ᾤοντο. κούφων δὲ καὶ βαρέων ἀγωνισμάτων ὄντων, Πύκτῃ μὲν Ἀπόλλωνι Δελφούς, Δρομαίῳ δὲ Κρῆτας ἱστοροῦσι θύειν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους. Cf. Hom. *Il.* 23. 661. Philostr. *Imag.* 2. 19 (Apollo boxing with Phlegyas) μειράκιον ἀκειροκόμης τὰς χαίτας ἀνειληφὼς καὶ μειδίαμα θυμῷ συγκεκραμένον ἡ παρειὰ πέμπει· . . . τὸ ἐμβεβληκὸς τῆς δεξιᾶς ἐνεργὸν ἔτι δηλοῖ τὴν χεῖρα καὶ οὔπω καταλύουσαν τὸ σχῆμα. Cf. Κάρνειος Δρομειεύς, R. 27[a]. Λύκειος at Athens, R. 7[b].

[100] Apollo Ἐναγώνιος at Erythrai: Dittenb. *Syll.* 370, l. 100 (inscription circ. 250 B. C. concerning sale of priesthoods) Ἀπόλλωνος Ἐναγωνίου.

[101] Hesych. *s. v.* Κυνακίας· ἱμάντες οἱ ἐκ βύρσης τοῦ σφαγιασθέντος τετράχειρι Ἀπόλλωνι βοὸς ἔπαθλα διδομένου. Cf. R. 45.

[102] Legal ideas in Apolline cults. Cf. R. 25, 222. The law-court ἐπὶ Δελφινίῳ at Athens: vide Artemis, R. 79[b]. Paus. 1. 28, 10 ἐπὶ Δελφινίῳ δὲ κρίσις καθέστηκεν ἐργάσασθαι φόνον σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ φαμένοις, ὁποῖόν τι καὶ Θησεὺς παρεχόμενος ἀπέφυγεν, ὅτε Πάλλαντα ἐπαναστάντα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἔκτεινε. πρότερον δὲ πρὶν ἢ Θησεὺς ἀφείθη, καθειστήκει πᾶσι φεύγειν κτείναντα ἢ κατὰ ταὐτὰ θνήσκειν μένοντα. Harpokr. *s. v.* Δελφίνιον . . . ἕτερον δ' ἐστὶ Δελφίνιον Ἀθήνησιν ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος, ἔνθα ἦν καὶ τὸ ἐν Δελφινίῳ δικαστήριον.

[103] Emancipation of slaves at Delphi: vide Collitz, *Dialect. Inschr.* 1684–2342 (Delphi), e. g. 1858 ἄρχοντος Κλευδάμου τοῦ Μαντία Μηνὸς Βυσίου, ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἀπέδοτο Ἐχέμηλος Ἀριστοτέλεος Δελφὸς τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Πυθίῳ σῶμα γυναικεῖον ᾧ ὄνομα Ἀφροδισία, τιμᾶς ἀργυρίου μνᾶν δύο, καὶ τὰν τιμὰν ἔχει, καθὼς ἐπίστευσε Ἀφροδισία τῷ θεῷ τὰν ὠνάν, ἐφ' ᾧτε ἐλευθέραν εἶμεν, καὶ ἀνέφαπτον ἀπὸ πάντων τὸμ πάντα βίον. βεβαιωτῆρες κατὰ τὸν νόμον. . . . παραμεινάτω δὲ Ἀφροδισία παρὰ Ἐχέμηλον ἄχρι κα ζώῃ Ἐχέμηλος. 1860 . . . ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἀπέδοτο Νικίας Κάλλωνος τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Πυθίῳ σῶμα ἀνδρεῖον ᾧ ὄνομα Σώσανδρος τὸ γένος Γαλάταν, τιμᾶς ἀργυρίου μνᾶν τεσσάρων, καθὼς ἐπίστευσε Σώσανδρος τῷ θεῷ τὰν ὠνάν, ἐφ' ᾧτε ἐλεύθερος εἶμεν κ.τ.λ. . . . ποέων ὅ κα θέλῃ καὶ ἀποτρέχων οἷς κα θέλῃ. . . . εἰ δέ τίς κα ἅπτηται Σωσάνδρου ἐπὶ καταδουλισμῷ, βέβαιον παρεχόντω τῷ θεῷ τὰν ὠνὰν ὅτε ἀποδόμενος Νικίας καὶ ὁ βεβαιωτήρ. . . . εἰ δέ κα μὴ παρέχωντι τὰν ὠνὰν βέβαιον τῷ θεῷ, πράκτιμοι ἐόντω κατὰ τὸν νόμον αὐτῷ τε Σωσάνδρῳ καὶ ἄλλῳ ὑπὲρ Σώσανδρον ὅν κα Σώσανδρος θέλῃ. . . . μάρτυρες· τοὶ ἱερεῖς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος . . . καὶ τοὶ ἄρχοντες . . . ἰδιῶται. 2071 Ἄσανδρος . . . ἀνατίθησι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Πυθίῳ ἐλευθέραν ἐμ παραθήκῃ Εὐπορίαν τὴν αὐτοῦ παιδίσκην καταβεβληκυῖαν δραχμὰς Ἀλεξανδρείας διακοσίας. ? At Larissa: vide *Geogr. Reg. s. v.* Tempe, p. 435. At Thespiai: *C. I. G. Sept.* 1. 1779 ἀφίειτι Σάων Ἀτέαν ἐλεύθερον ἐναντία τῶ Ἀσκληπιῶ κὴ τῶ Ἀπόλλωνος. Cf. R. 40, and Artemis, 79[e]. At

Bassai in Arcadia: *Eph. Arch.* 1903, p. 179 εἰ δέ τις ἐπιθίγανε τούτοις, ἱερὰ τὰ χρήματα ἔναι πάντα . . . τ' Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Βασσίτα καὶ τῷ Πανὶ τῷ Σινόεντι καὶ τ' Ἀρτέμᾳ τᾷ Κοτίλεοι καὶ τᾷ Φορθασίᾳ (fourth century B. C.).

The God of prophecy.

[104a] Hom. *Il.* 1. 69:

> Κάλχας Θεστορίδης, οἰωνοπόλων ὄχ' ἄριστος,
> ὃς ἤδη τά τ' ἐόντα τά τ' ἐσσόμενα πρό τ' ἐόντα,
> καὶ νήεσσ' ἡγήσατ' Ἀχαιῶν Ἴλιον εἴσω
> ἣν διὰ μαντοσύνην τήν οἱ πόρε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων.

Cf. *Od.* 15. 525.

[b] Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 658 P. ὁ Ἀπόλλων ὁ Πύθιος Λοξίας λέγεται. Plut. *De Pyth. Or.* 404 D τὸ παρ' Ἡρακλείτου λεγόμενον, ὡς ὁ ἄναξ, οὗ τὸ μαντεῖόν ἐστιν ἐν Δελφοῖς, οὔτε λέγει οὔτε κρύπτει ἀλλὰ σημαίνει.

[105] Apollo Ἀλευρόμαντις: Hesych. *s. v.* ὁ Ἀπόλλων· διὰ τὸ καὶ ἐν ἀλεύροις μαντεύεσθαι. Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 11 P. στῆσον δὲ ὁμοῦ παρὰ τὸν Πύθιον τοὺς ἀλευρομάντεις ἄγων καὶ κριθομάντεις καὶ τοὺς εἰσέτι παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς τετιμημένους ἐγγαστριμύθους.

[106] Apollo Μοιραγέτης at Delphi: Paus. 10. 24, 4 ἐν τῷ ναῷ . . . ἕστηκεν ἀγάλματα Μοιρῶν δύο· ἀντὶ δὲ αὐτῶν τῆς τρίτης Ζεύς τε Μοιραγέτης καὶ Ἀπόλλων σφίσι παρέστηκε Μοιραγέτης.

[107] Apollo Χρηστήριος at Epidauros; *Eph. Arch.* 1899, p. 20 πυροφορήσας Ἀπόλλωνος Χρηστηρίου. At Argos: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1903, p. 278 θεομναστὸς Ἀπόλλωνι Χρηστηρίῳ. ? Near Myrina: *C. I. G.* 3527 Ἀπόλλωνι Χρηστηρίῳ Φιλέταιρος Ἀττάλου (Cyriacus sole authority for inscription). At Aigai near Myrina: *Ath. Mitth.* 1885, p. 272 ὁ δᾶμος Ἀπόλλωνι Χρηστηρίῳ χαριστήριον σωθείσης τῆς πατρίδος ὑπὸ Ποπλίου Σεροιλίου υἱῶ Ἰσαυρικῶ τῶ ἀνθυπάτω (49 B. C.). Cf. R. 197.

? Oracle in Delos.

[108] Lucian, Δὶς Κατηγορ. C. 1 ὁ Ἀπόλλων πολυπράγμονα τὴν τέχνην ἐπανελόμενος ὀλίγου δεῖν τὰ ὦτα ἐκκεκώφηται πρὸς τῶν ἐνοχλούντων. κατὰ χρείαν τῆς μαντικῆς καὶ ἄρτι μὲν αὐτῷ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι, μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ ἐς Κολοφῶνα θεῖ, κἀκεῖθεν ἐς Ξάνθον μεταβαίνει, καὶ δρομαῖος αὖθις ἐς τὴν Κλάρον, εἶτα ἐς Δῆλον ἢ ἐς Βραγχίδας καὶ ὅλως ἔνθα ἂν ἡ πρόμαντις πιοῦσα τοῦ ἱεροῦ νάματος καὶ μασησαμένη τῆς δάφνης καὶ τὸν τρίποδα διασεισαμένη κελεύσῃ παρεῖναι. Hom. *Hymn Apoll.* 80:

> ἐνθάδε μιν πρῶτον τεύξειν περικαλλέα νηὸν
> ἔμμεναι ἀνθρώπων χρηστήριον.

Serv. *Aen.* 4. 143 constat Apollinem sex mensibus hiemalibus apud Pataram . . . dare responsa, sex mensibus aestivis apud Delum.

Himer. *Or.* 18. 1 ἔνθα [ἐν Δήλῳ] κατέχει λόγος . . . τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα τιμῇ τοῦ χωρίου μετὰ κλάδων ἐκεῖ τοὺς ἱεροὺς πηγνύμενον τρίποδας θεμιστεύειν ἐκεῖθεν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν. Cf. Max. Tyr. 41. 1 ἢ ἐπὶ Δῆλον καὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖ χοροὺς ἢ εἶπου ἄλλο τι μαντεῖον ἦν φθεγματικὸν τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

[109] At Pytho-Delphi: Plut. *De Def. Orac.* 46 (p. 435 D) πηλίκων ἀγαθῶν τουτὶ τὸ μαντεῖον αἴτιον γέγονε τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἔν τε πολέμοις καὶ κτίσεσι πόλεων ἔν τε λοιμοῖς καὶ καρπῶν ἀφορίαις.

[110] Hom. *Il.* 9. 404:

οὐδ' ὅσα λάϊνος οὐδὸς ἀφήτορος ἐντὸς ἐέργει,
Φοίβου Ἀπόλλωνος, Πυθοῖ ἔνι πετρηέσσῃ.

Od. 8. 79:

ὡς γάρ οἱ χρείων μυθήσατο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων
Πυθοῖ ἐν ἠγαθέῃ, ὅθ' ὑπέρβη λάϊνον οὐδὸν
χρησόμενος.

[111] Hom. *Hymn Apoll.* 388:

καὶ τότε δὴ κατὰ θυμὸν ἐφράζετο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων
οὕστινας ἀνθρώπους ὀργίονας εἰσαγάγοιτο
οἳ θεραπεύσονται Πυθοῖ ἔνι πετρηέσσῃ·
ταῦτ' ἄρα ὁρμαίνων ἐνόησ' ἐπὶ οἴνοπι πόντῳ
νῆα θοήν· ἐν δ' ἄνδρες ἔσαν πολέες τε καὶ ἐσθλοί,
Κρῆτες ἀπὸ Κνωσοῦ Μινωΐου, οἵ ῥά τ' ἄνακτι
ἱερά τε ῥέξουσι καὶ ἀγγέλλουσι θέμιστας
Φοίβου Ἀπόλλωνος χρυσαόρου ὅττι κεν εἴπῃ
χρείων ἐκ δάφνης γυάλων ὕπο Παρνησσοῖο.

399: . . . αὐτὰρ ὁ τοῖσι συνήνετο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων·
ἐν πόντῳ δ' ἐπόρουσε δέμας δελφῖνι ἐοικὼς
νηΐ θοῇ.

490: καὶ βωμὸν ποιήσατ' ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνι θαλάσσης
πῦρ ἐπικαίοντες, ἐπί τ' ἄλφιτα λευκὰ θύοντες.
εὔχεσθαι δὴ ἔπειτα παριστάμενοι περὶ βωμόν.
ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ τὸ πρῶτον ἐν ἠεροειδέϊ πόντῳ
εἰδόμενος δελφῖνι θοῆς ἐπὶ νηὸς ὄρουσα,
ὡς ἐμοὶ εὔχεσθαι δελφινίῳ· αὐτὰρ ὁ βωμὸς
αὐτὸς δέλφειος (var. lec. δελφίνιος) καὶ ἐπόψιος ἔσσεται αἰεί.

Cf. fragment of old Delphic poetry, Paus. 10. 6, 7 ἡ Φημονόη πρόμαντις τηνικαῦτα οὖσα ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ σφίσιν ἔχρησεν·

Ἀγχοῦ δὴ βαρὺν ἰὸν ἐπ' ἀνέρι Φοῖβος ἐφήσει
σίντῃ Παρνησσοῖ· φόνου δέ ἑ Κρήσιοι ἄνδρες
χεῖρας ἁγιστεύουσι· τὸ δὲ κλέος οὔποτ' ὀλεῖται.

Pind. *Pyth.* 5. 52:

ἀμφ' ἀνδριάντα σχεδόν,
Κρῆτες ὃν τοξοφόροι τέγεϊ Παρνασσίῳ
καθέσσαντο μονόδροπον φυτόν.

[112] Aesch. *Eumen.* 1:

Πρῶτον μὲν εὐχῇ τῇδε πρεσβεύω θεῶν
τὴν πρωτόμαντιν γαῖαν· ἐκ δὲ τῆς Θέμιν,
ἣ δὴ τὸ Μητρὸς δευτέρα τόδ' ἕζετο
μαντεῖον, ὡς λόγος τις· ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ
λάχει, θελούσης, οὐδὲ πρὸς βίαν τινός,
Τιτανὶς ἄλλη παῖς Χθονὸς καθέζετο,
Φοίβη· δίδωσι δ' ἣ γενέθλιον δόσιν
Φοίβῳ· τὸ Φοίβης δ' ὄνομ' ἔχει παρώνυμον.

[113] Eur. *Iph. Taur.* 1259:

Θέμιν δ' ἐπεὶ γᾶς ἰὼν
παῖδ' ἀπενάσσατο . . . ἀπὸ ζαθέων
χρηστηρίων, νύχια
Χθὼν ἐτεκνώσατο φάσματ' ὀνείρων,
οἳ πόλεσιν μερόπων τά τε πρῶτα
τά τ' ἔπειθ' ἃ τ' ἔμελλε τυχεῖν
ὕπνου κατὰ δνοφερὰς
γᾶς εὐνὰς ἔφραζον . . .
μαντεῖον δ' ἀφείλετο τιμὰν
Φοῖβον φθόνῳ θυγατρός.
ταχύπους δ' ἐς Ὄλυμπον ὁρμαθεὶς ἄναξ
χέρα παιδνὸν ἕλιξεν ἐκ Ζηνὸς θρόνων
Πυθίων δόμων
χθονίαν ἀφελεῖν μῆνιν νυχίους τ' ὀνείρους.

[114] Plut. *De Pyth. Or.* 402 C ἐπὶ τῶν μεσημβρινῶν καθεζόμεθα κρηπίδων [τοῦ] νεὼ πρὸς τὸ τῆς γῆς ἱερὸν τό τε ὕδωρ ἀποβλέποντες.

[115] Hygin. *Fab.* 140 Python ante Apollinem ex oraculo in monte Parnasso responsa dare solitus est . . . ossa eius in cortinam coniecit (Apollo) et in templo suo posuit. Cf. Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 29 (P.) Πυθοῖ ὁ δράκων ὁ Πύθιος θρησκεύεται. Hesych. *s. v.* Τοξίου βουνός· τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ ἐν Σικυῶνι· βέλτιον δὲ ἀκούειν τὴν ἐν Δελφοῖς Νάπην λεγομένην· ἐκεῖ γὰρ καὶ ὁ δράκων κατετοξεύθη καὶ ὁ ὀμφαλὸς τῆς γῆς τάφος ἐστὶ τοῦ Πυθῶνος. (Cf. Schol. Arist. *Nub.* 508 ἐν Λεβαδείᾳ ἱερόν ἐστι Τροφωνίου, ὅπου ὄφις ἦν ὁ μαντευόμενος, ᾧ οἱ κατοικοῦντες πλακοῦντας ἔβαλλον μέλιτι δεδευμένους.) Plut. *De Mus.* 15 (p. 1136 D) Ὄλυμπον γὰρ πρῶτον Ἀριστόξενος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περὶ μουσικῆς ἐπὶ τῷ Πύθωνί φησιν ἐπικήδειον αὐλῆσαι Λυδιστί.

[116] Apoll. *Bibl.* 1. 4 Ἀπόλλων δὲ τὴν μαντικὴν μαθὼν παρὰ τοῦ Πανὸς τοῦ Διὸς καὶ Ὑβρεως ἦκεν εἰς Δελφούς, χρησμῳδούσης τότε Θέμιδος. ὡς δὲ ὁ φρουρῶν τὸ μαντεῖον Πύθων ὄφις ἐκώλυεν αὐτὸν παρελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ χάσμα, τοῦτον ἀνελὼν τὸ μαντεῖον παραλαμβάνει.

[117] Plin. *N. H.* 7. 203 haruspicam Delphus (invenit) . . . interpretationem ostentorum et somniorum Amphictyon.

[118] Paus. 10. 5, 6 (in poem ascribed to Musaios) πεποιημένον ἐστὶν ἐν τούτοις Ποσειδῶνος εἶναι ἐν κοινῷ καὶ Γῆς εἶναι τὸ μαντεῖον, καὶ τὴν μὲν χρᾶν αὐτήν, Ποσειδῶνι δὲ ὑπηρέτην ἐς τὰ μαντεύματα εἶναι Πύρκωνα . . . χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον, ὅσον Γῇ μετῆν δοθῆναι Θέμιδι ὑπ' αὐτῆς λέγουσιν, Ἀπόλλωνα δὲ παρὰ Θέμιδος λαβεῖν δωρεάν. Ποσειδῶνι δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ μαντείου Καλαύρειαν ἀντιδοῦναί φασιν αὐτὸν τὴν πρὸ Τροιζῆνος. Ἥκουσα δὲ καὶ ὡς ἄνδρες ποιμαίνοντες ἐπιτύχοιεν τῷ μαντείῳ καὶ ἔνθεοί τε ἐγένοντο ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀτμοῦ καὶ ἐμαντεύσαντο ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος. (Cf. ch. 24. 4 ἐν δὲ τῷ ναῷ πεποίηται Ποσειδῶνος βωμός.)

[119] Strab. 422 (from Ephoros) ὑπολαμβάνουσι κατασκευάσαι τὸ μαντεῖον Ἀπόλλωνα μετὰ Θέμιδος ὠφελῆσαι βουλόμενον τὸ γένος ἡμῶν.

Administration of the Oracle and temple.

[120] Amphictyonic Assembly: Strab. 420 τοσαύτης τῆς εὐκαιρίας οὔσης τῆς περὶ τοὺς Δελφούς, συνῆεσάν τε ῥᾳδίως ἐκεῖσε, μάλιστα δ' οἱ ἐγγύθεν, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ Ἀμφικτυονικὸν σύστημα ἐκ τούτων συνετάχθη περί τε τῶν κοινῶν βουλευσόμενον καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἔξον κοινοτέραν, ἅτε καὶ χρημάτων ἀποκειμένων πολλῶν καὶ ἀναθημάτων φυλακῆς καὶ ἀγιστείας δεομένων μεγάλης. τὰ πάλαι μὲν οὖν ἀγνοεῖται. Ἀκρίσιος δὲ τῶν μνημονευομένων πρῶτος διατάξαι δοκεῖ τὰ περὶ τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας καὶ πόλεις ἀφορίσαι τὰς μετεχούσας τοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ ψῆφον ἑκάστῃ δοῦναι, τῇ μὲν καθ' αὑτήν, τῇ δὲ μεθ' ἑτέρας ἢ μετὰ πλειόνων, ἀποδεῖξαι δὲ καὶ τὰς Ἀμφικτυονικὰς δίκας ὅσαι πόλεσι πρὸς πόλεις εἰσίν . . . αἱ μὲν οὖν πρῶται δυοκαίδεκα συνελθεῖν λέγονται πόλεις· ἑκάστη δὲ ἔπεμπε πυλαγόραν, δὶς κατ' ἔτος οὔσης τῆς συνόδου ἔαρός τε καὶ μετοπώρου· ὕστερον δὲ καὶ πλείους προσῆλθον πόλεις. τὴν δὲ σύνοδον Πυλαίαν ἐκάλουν τὴν μὲν ἐαρινὴν τὴν δὲ μετοπωρινήν, ἐπειδὴ ἐν Πύλαις συνήγοντο, ἃς καὶ Θερμοπύλας καλοῦσιν· ἔθυον δὲ τῇ Δήμητρι οἱ Πυλαγόροι.

[121] Paus. 10. 8, 1 καταστήσασθαι δὲ συνέδριον ἐνταῦθα Ἑλλήνων οἱ μὲν Ἀμφικτύονα τὸν Δευκαλίωνος νομίζουσι . . . § 2 ὑπὸ μὲν δὴ Ἀμφικτύονος αὐτοῦ φασὶν ἐς συνέδριον κοινὸν τοσάδε γένη τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ συναχθῆναι, Ἴωνας, Δόλοπας, Θεσσαλούς, Αἰνιᾶνας, Μάγνητας, Μαλιέας, Φθιώτας, Δωριεῖς, Φωκέας, Λοκροὺς τῇ Φωκίδι ὁμόρους ὑπὸ τῷ ὄρει τῇ Κνήμιδι. Καταλαβόντων δὲ Φωκέων τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ὕστερον δεκάτῳ ἔτει λαβόντος πέρας τοῦ πολέμου, μεταβολὴν καὶ τὰ Ἀμφικτύονων ἔσχε. Μακεδόνες μὲν γὰρ τελεῖν ἐς Ἀμφικτύονας εὕραντο, Φωκέων δὲ τὸ ἔθνος καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Δωρικοῦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μετασχόντες ἐπαύσαντο Ἀμφικτυονίας, οἱ μὲν τοῦ τολμήματος ἕνεκα οἱ Φωκεῖς, οἱ δὲ συμμαχίας εὕραντο οἱ Λακεδαιμονίοι

τῆς Φωκέων ζημίαν. Βρέννου δὲ τὸν Γαλατῶν στρατὸν ἀγαγόντος ἐς Δελφοὺς προθυμίαν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον οἱ Φωκεῖς πλείστην τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ παρέσχοντο, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου μετασχεῖν Ἀμφικτυονίας αὖθις . . . βασιλεὺς δὲ Αὔγουστος μετεῖναι καὶ Νικοπολίταις τοῖς πρὸς τῷ Ἀκτίῳ συνεδρίου τοῦ Ἀμφικτυόνων ἠθέλησε. Μάγνητας μὲν οὖν καὶ Μαλιεῖς καὶ Αἰνιᾶνας καὶ Φθιώτας Θεσσαλοῖς συντελεῖν, τὰς ψήφους δὲ ὅσαι τούτων τε καὶ Δολόπων, οὐ γὰρ ἔτι ἦν Δολόπων γένος, Νικοπολίτας φέρειν. Οἱ δὲ Ἀμφικτύονες οἱ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ τριάκοντα ἀριθμῷ ἦσαν. Ἐκ Νικοπόλεως μὲν καὶ Μακεδονίας τε καὶ Θεσσαλῶν, ἀπὸ ἑκάστων ἀριθμῷ ἦσαν ἕξ, Βοιωτῶν δέ, Θεσσαλίαν γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι τὰ ἀρχαιότερα ᾤκησαν καὶ Αἰολεῖς τηνικαῦτα ἐκαλοῦντο, καὶ ἐκ Φωκέων τε καὶ Δελφῶν, παρὰ τούτων δύο ἑκάστων· εἷς δὲ ἐκ Δωρίδος τῆς ἀρχαίας. Πέμπουσι δὲ καὶ Λοκροὶ οἵ τε καλουμένοι Ὀζόλαι καὶ οἱ πέραν Εὐβοίας ἕνα ἑκάτεροι, καὶ Εὐβοεύς ἐστιν εἷς. Πελοποννησίων δὲ ἐξ Ἄργους καὶ Σικυῶνος καὶ Κορίνθου σὺν Μεγαρεῦσίν ἐστιν εἷς, καὶ εἷς Ἀθηναῖος. Αἱ μὲν δὴ πόλεις Ἀθῆναι καὶ Δελφοὶ καὶ ἡ Νικόπολις, αὗται μὲν ἀποστέλλουσι συνεδρεύσοντας ἐς Ἀμφικτυονίαν πᾶσαν· ἀπὸ δὲ ἐθνῶν τῶν κατειλεγμένων ἑκάστῃ πόλει ἀνὰ μέρος ἐς Ἀμφικτύονας καὶ ἐν χρόνου περιόδῳ συντελεῖν ἔστιν. Aeschin. *De Fals. Leg.* 115 ἔνορκον ν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις μηδεμίαν πόλιν τῶν Ἀμφικτυονίδων ἀνάστατον ποιήσειν μήθ' ὑδάτων ναματιαίων εἴρξειν μήτ' ἐν πολέμῳ μήτ' ἐν εἰρήνῃ, ἐὰν δέ τις ταῦτα παραβῇ, στρατεύσειν ἐπὶ τοῦτον καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἀναστήσειν, καὶ ἐάν τις ἢ συλᾷ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἢ συνειδῇ τι ἢ βουλεύσῃ τι κατὰ τῶν ἱερῶν, τιμωρήσειν καὶ χειρὶ καὶ ποδὶ καὶ φωνῇ καὶ πάσῃ δυνάμει. καὶ προσῆν τῷ ὅρκῳ ἀρὰ ἰσχυρά. . . . κατηριθμησάμην ἔθνη δώδεκα τὰ μετέχοντα τοῦ ἱεροῦ, Θετταλούς, Βοιωτούς [οὐ Θηβαίους μόνους], Δωριέας, Ἴωνας, Περραιβούς, Μάγνητας [Δόλοπας?], Λοκρούς, Οἰταίους, Φθιώτας, Μαλιεῖς, Φωκεῖς· καὶ τούτων ἔδειξα ἕκαστον ἔθνος ἰσόψηφον γενόμενον . . . δύο γὰρ ψήφους ἕκαστον φέρει ἔθνος.

[122] *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1897, p. 322, fourth-century Delphian inscription concerning the payment of the Phocian fine . . . ἐπὶ τούτων ἀπήνεγκαν οἱ Φωκεῖς πυλαίας ἠρινὰς τάλαντα τριάκοντα. Δευτέρα καταβολὰ τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων . . . ἱερομναμονεόντων τῶνδε· Θεσσαλῶν Κοττύφου, Κολοσίμμου· τῶμ παρὰ Φιλίππου, Εὐρυλόχου, Κλεάνδρου· Δελφῶν Δάμωνος, Μνασιδάμου· Δωριέων ἐγ Ματροπόλιος Νίκωνος, Ἀργείου Δεινομένεος· Ἰώνων Τιμώνδα, Μνησιλόχου Ἀθηναίου· Περραιβῶν Δολόπων . . . Βοιωτῶν . . . Λοκρῶν . . . Ἀχαιῶν . . . Μαγνήτων . . . Αἰνιάνων . . . Μαλιέων Ἀντιμάχου Ἡρακλειώτα, Δημοκράτους Λαμιέος. Aesch. *In Ctesiph.* § 115 ἱερομνήμονος ὄντος Διογνήτου Ἀναφλυστίου, πυλαγόρους ὑμεῖς εἵλεσθε Μειδίαν . . . Θρασυκλέα καὶ τρίτον δὲ μετὰ τούτων ἐμέ. § 124 τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ Κόττυφος ὁ τὰς γνώμας ἐπιψηφίζων ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίει τῶν Ἀμφικτύονων· ἐκκλησίαν γὰρ ὀνομάζουσιν, ὅταν μὴ μόνον τοὺς πυλαγόρους καὶ τοὺς ἱερομνήμονας συγκαλέσωσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς συνθύοντας καὶ χρωμένους τῷ θεῷ.

[123] Demosth. *De Cor.* §§ 154–155 Δόγμα Ἀμφικτυόνων. ἐπὶ ἱερέως

Κλειναγόρου, ἐαρινῆς Πυλαίας, ἔδοξε τοῖς Πυλαγόροις καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων καὶ τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων. The ἱερομνήμονες at Athens elected by lot, Aristoph. *Nub.* 623: the πυλαγόροι by show of hands, Dem. *De Cor.* § 149. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1903, p. 125, Delphian inscription, second century B. C., showing that each ἱερομνήμων was accompanied by two ἀγορατροί elected to advise him.

[124] Tac. *Ann.* 4. 14 Samii decreto Amphictyonum nitebantur, quis praecipuum fuit rerum omnium iudicium, qua tempestate Graeci conditis per Asiam urbibus ora maris potiebantur.

[125] Herod. 7. 213 καί οἱ [Ἐπιάλτῃ] φυγόντι ὑπὸ τῶν Πυλαγόρων, τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἐς τὴν Πυλαίην συλλεγομένων, ἀργύριον ἐπεκηρύχθη.

[126] *C. I. G.* 1688: Collitz, *Dial. Inschr.* 2501 (Delphic fragmentary inscription containing the Amphictyonic oath of the Amphictyones and the duties of the ἱερομνήμονες) δικαξέω τὰς δίκας ὡς καὶ δίκαιον . . . guardianship τῶν κοινῶν χρημάτων . . . τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Πυθίου καὶ τᾶς Λατοῦς καὶ τᾶς Ἀρτάμιτος—protection of the sacred land, repairs of the temple, &c. —τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Πυθίου καὶ τὰν αὐλὰν καὶ τὸν τᾶς Ἀρτάμιτος [? ναόν] . . . δρόμον καὶ τὰν κράναν τὰν ἐμ πεδίῳ τοὶ ἱερομνάμονες τοὶ Ἀμφικτιόνων . . . ἐφακείσθων. *C. I. G.* 1689: Collitz, 2509–2510, Amphictyonic decree, ἔδοξε τοῖς ἱερομνήμοσι καὶ τοῖς ἀγορατροῖς. . . . *C. I. A.* 2. 545, Amphictyonic decree, early fourth century B. C., ὀμνύω κατ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Πυθίου καὶ τᾶς Λατὸς καὶ τᾶς Ἀρτάμιτος.

The Ὅσιοι and Προφῆται.

[127] Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 9, p. 292 E Ὁσιωτῆρα καλοῦσι [Δελφοὶ] τὸ θυόμενον ἱερεῖον, ὅταν Ὅσιος ἀποδειχθῇ. Πέντε δέ εἰσιν Ὅσιοι διὰ βίου, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ μετὰ τῶν προφητῶν δρῶσιν οὗτοι καὶ συνιερουργοῦσιν, ἅτε γεγονέναι δοκοῦντες ἀπὸ Δευκαλίωνος: vide Dionysos, R. 89. Eurip. *Ion* 413:

A. τίς προφητεύει θεοῦ;
B. ἡμεῖς τά γ' ἔξω· τῶν ἔσω δ' ἄλλοις μέλει,
οἳ πλησίον θάσσουσι τρίποδος, ὦ ξένε,
Δελφῶν ἀριστῆς, οὓς ἐκλήρωσεν πάλος.

Herod. 8. 36 ὁ προφήτης. Ael. *Nat. An.* 10. 26 τῶν προφητῶν τινα τῆς ἐσθῆτος τῆς ἱερᾶς ἑλκύσας.

The Πυθία.

[128] a Eur. *Ion* 1322:

Φοίβου προφῆτις τρίποδος ἀρχαῖον νόμον
σώζουσα πασῶν Δελφίδων ἐξαίρετος.

b Plut. *De Frat. Amor.* p. 492 A πεμπόντων δὲ τῶν Θεσσαλῶν φρυκτοὺς περὶ βασιλέως πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εἰς Δελφούς, ἐνέβαλε κρύφα τοῦ πατρὸς ὁ θεῖος

ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀλεύα· καὶ τῆς Πυθίας τοῦτον ἀνελούσης. . . . Suidas, *s. v.* Πυθώ [τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος] ἐν ᾧ χαλκοῦς τρίπους ἵδρυτο καὶ ὕπερθεν φιάλη ἣ τὰς μαντικὰς εἶχε ψήφους· αἵτινες ἐρομένων τῶν μαντευομένων ἤλλοντο, καὶ ἡ Πυθία ἐμφορουμένη ἤτοι ἐνθουσιῶσα ἔλεγεν ἃ ἐξέφερεν ὁ Ἀπόλλων.

c Strab. p. 419 φασὶ δ' εἶναι τὸ μαντεῖον ἄντρον κοῖλον κατὰ βάθους οὐ μάλα εὐρύστομον, ἀναφέρεσθαι δὲ ἐξ αὐτοῦ πνεῦμα ἐνθουσιαστικόν, ὑπερκεῖσθαι δὲ τοῦ στομίου τρίποδα ὑψηλόν, ἐφ' ὃν τὴν Πυθίαν ἀναβαίνουσαν δεχομένην τὸ πνεῦμα ἀποθεσπίζειν ἔμμετρά τε καὶ ἄμετρα· ἐντείνειν δὲ καὶ ταῦτα εἰς μέτρον ποιητάς τινας ὑπουργοῦντας τῷ ἱερῷ, πρώτην δὲ Φημονόην γενέσθαι φασὶ Πυθίαν.

d Diod. Sic. 16. 26 θεσπιῳδεῖν δὲ τὸ ἀρχαῖον λέγεται παρθένους . . . τοὺς δὲ Δελφοὺς διὰ τὸ γεγενημένον πάθος εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν νομοθετῆσαι μηκέτι παρθένον χρηστηριάζειν, ἀλλὰ γυναῖκα πρεσβυτέραν πεντήκοντα ἐτῶν χρησμολογεῖν· κοσμεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτὴν παρθενικῇ σκευῇ, καθάπερ ὑπομνήματι τῆς παλαιᾶς προφήτιδος.

e Plat. *Phaedr.* 244 B ἥ τε γὰρ δὴ ἐν Δελφοῖς προφῆτις αἵ τε ἐν Δωδώνῃ ἱέρειαι μανεῖσαι μὲν πολλὰ δὴ καὶ καλὰ ἰδίᾳ τε καὶ δημοσίᾳ τὴν Ἑλλάδα εἰργάσαντο, σωφρονοῦσαι δὲ βραχέα ἢ οὐδέν.

f Plut. *De Def. Orac.* 9, p. 414 E Εὔηθές ἐστι καὶ παιδικὸν κομιδῇ τὸ οἴεσθαι τὸν θεὸν αὐτόν, ὥσπερ τοὺς ἐγγαστριμύθους, Εὐρυκλέας πάλαι, ἐνδυόμενον εἰς τὰ σώματα τῶν προφητῶν ὑποφθέγγεσθαι τοῖς ἐκείνων στόμασι καὶ φωναῖς χρώμενον ὀργάνοις.

g Paus. 10. 24, 7 Ἰοῦσι δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν ναὸν αὖθις μετὰ τοῦ λίθου τὴν θέαν ἔστιν ἡ Κασσοτὶς καλουμένη πηγή . . . ταύτης τῆς Κασσοτίδος δύεσθαί τε κατὰ τῆς γῆς λέγουσι τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀδύτῳ τοῦ θεοῦ τὰς γυναῖκας μαντικὰς ποιεῖν.

h Plut. *De Pyth. Or.* 397 A οὐδὲ χριομένη μύροις ἡ Πυθία οὐδὲ ἁλουργίδας ἀμπεχομένη κάτεισιν εἰς τὸ ἄδυτον, οὐδ' ἐπιθυμιᾷ κασίαν ἢ λήδανον ἢ λιβανωτὸν ἀλλὰ δάφνην καὶ κρίθινον ἄλευρον. *De Def. Orac.* p. 414 B ἐπεὶ δὲ ἥ τε Ἑλλὰς ἐρρώσθη πόλεσι καὶ τὸ χωρίον ἀνθρώποις ἐπλήθυνε, δυσὶν ἐχρῶντο προφήτισιν ἐν μέρει καθιεμέναις, καὶ τρίτη δὲ ἔφεδρος ἦν ἀποδεδειγμένη. Νῦν δ' ἐστὶ μία προφῆτις καὶ οὐκ ἐγκαλοῦμεν.

i Plut. *De Def. Orac.* p. 438 B κατέβη μὲν [ἡ Πυθιάς] ἐς τὸ μαντεῖον, ὥς φασιν, ἄκουσα καὶ ἀπρόθυμος, . . . τέλος δὲ παντάπασιν ἐκταραχθεῖσα καὶ μετὰ κραυγῆς φοβερᾶς φερομένη πρὸς τὴν ἔξοδον, ἔρριψεν ἑαυτήν· ὥστε φυγεῖν μὴ μόνον τοὺς θεοπρόπους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν προφήτην Νίκανδρον, καὶ τοὺς παρόντας τῶν ὁσίων. . . . τούτων ἕνεκα καὶ συνουσίας ἁγνὸν τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸν βίον ὅλως ἀνεπίμικτον ἀλλοδαπαῖς ὁμιλίαις καὶ ἄθικτον φυλάττουσι τῆς Πυθιάδος.

k Plut. *De Pyth. Or.* p. 405 D ἡ νῦν τῷ θεῷ λατρεύουσα γέγονε μὲν εἴ τις

ἄλλος ἐνταῦθα νομίμως καὶ καλῶς καὶ βεβίωκεν εὐτάκτως· τραφεῖσα δὲ ἐν οἰκίᾳ γεωργῶν πενήτων, οὔτ' ἀπὸ τέχνης οὐδὲν οὔτ' ἀπ' ἄλλης τινὸς ἐμπειρίας καὶ δυνάμεως ἐπιφερομένη κάτεισιν ἐς τὸ χρηστήριον.

l Cic. *De Div.* 2. 116 Pyrrhi temporibus iam Apollo versus facere desierat.

m Plut. *De Pyth. Or.* p. 407 B πολλῶν δ' ἦν ἀκούειν, ὅτι ποιητικοί τινες ἄνδρες ἐκδεχόμενοι τὰς φωνὰς καὶ ὑπολαμβάνοντες ἐπικάθηνται περὶ τὸ χρηστήριον, ἔπη καὶ μέτρα καὶ ῥυθμοὺς οἷον ἀγγεῖα τοῖς χρησμοῖς ἐκ τοῦ προστυχόντος περιπλέκοντες. . . . ὅθεν οὐχ ἥκιστα ἡ ποιητικὴ δοκοῦσα κοινὴν ἐμπαρέχειν ἑαυτὴν ἀπατεῶσι καὶ γόησιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ ψευδομάντεσιν, ἐξέπεσε τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τοῦ τρίποδος.

n Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 9, p. 292 F ἐν τῷ μηνὶ τούτῳ [τῷ Βυσίῳ] τὸ χρηστήριον ἐγένετο, καὶ ἑβδόμην ταύτην νομίζουσι τοῦ θεοῦ γενέθλιον . . . ὀψὲ γὰρ ἀνείθησαν αἱ κατὰ μῆνα μαντεῖαι τοῖς δεομένοις· πρότερον δὲ ἅπαξ ἐθεμίστευσεν ἡ Πυθία τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν ὡς Καλλισθένης καὶ Ἀναξανδρίδης ἱστορήκασι.

o Plut. *Alex.* 14 βουλόμενος τῷ θεῷ χρήσασθαι περὶ τῆς στρατείας ἦλθεν εἰς Δελφούς· καὶ κατὰ τύχην ἡμερῶν ἀποφράδων οὐσῶν, ἐν αἷς οὐ νενόμισται θεμιστεύειν.

p Plut. *Vit. Num.* c. 9 ἐπεί τοι τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὅπου πῦρ ἄσβεστόν ἐστιν, ὡς Πυθοῖ καὶ Ἀθήνησιν, οὐ παρθένοι, γυναῖκες δὲ πεπαυμέναι γάμων, ἔχουσι τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν· ἐὰν δὲ ὑπὸ τύχης τινὸς ἐκλίπῃ . . . οὗ φασι δεῖν ἀπὸ ἑτέρου πυρὸς ἐναύεσθαι, καινὸν δὲ ποιεῖν καὶ νέον ἀνάπτοντας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου φλόγα καθαρὰν καὶ ἀμίαντον.

129 Preliminary sacrifices.

q Eur. *Ion* 227 :

εἰ μὲν ἐθύσατε πέλανον πρὸ δόμων
καί τι πυθέσθαι χρῄζετε Φοίβου,
πάριτ' ἐς θυμέλας· ἐπὶ δ' ἀσφάκτοις
μήλοισι δόμων μὴ πάριτ' ἐς μυχόν.

418 : καὶ γὰρ ὡς ἐγὼ κλύω
χρηστήριον πέπτωκε τοῖς ἐπήλυσι
κοινὸν πρὸ ναοῦ· βούλομαι δ' ἐν ἡμέρᾳ
τῇδ', αἰσία γάρ, θεῶν λαβεῖν μαντεύματα.

r Plut. *De Def. Orac.* 46, p. 435 C [τί βούλεται] τὸ μὴ θεμιστεύειν, εἰ μὴ τὸ ἱερὸν ὅλον ἐξ ἄκρων σφυρῶν ὑπότρομον γένηται, καὶ κραδανθῇ κατασπενδόμενον; οὐ γὰρ ἀρκεῖ τὸ διασεῖσαι τὴν κεφαλήν, ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις θυσίαις, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι δεῖ τοῖς μέρεσι τὸν σάλον ὁμοῦ καὶ τὸν παλμὸν ἐγγενέσθαι μετὰ ψόφου τρομώδους· ἐὰν γὰρ μὴ τοῦτο γένηται, τὸ μαντεῖον οὔ φασι χρηματίζειν,

οὐδ' εἰσάγουσι τὴν Πυθίαν. Cf. *ib.* c. 49, p. 437 B οἱ γὰρ ἱερεῖς καὶ ὅσιοι θύειν φασὶ τὸ ἱερεῖον καὶ κατασπένδειν . . . δεῖ γὰρ τὸ θύσιμον τῷ τε σώματι καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ καθαρὸν εἶναι καὶ ἀσινὲς καὶ ἀδιάφθορον. Μήνυτρα μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸ σῶμα κατιδεῖν οὐ πάνυ χαλεπόν ἐστι· τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν δοκιμάζουσι, τοῖς μὲν ταύροις ἄλφιτα, τοῖς δὲ κάπροις ἐρεβίνθους παρατιθέντες· τὸ γὰρ μὴ γευσάμενον ὑγιαίνειν οὐκ οἴονται· τὴν δὲ αἶγα διελέγχειν τὸ ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ. Cf. Diod. Sic. 16. 26 Αἰξὶ μάλιστα χρηστηριάζονται μέχρι τοῦ νῦν οἱ Δελφοί.

[130] Hom. *Hymn Herm.* 543:

καὶ μὲν ἐμῆς ὀμφῆς ἀπονήσεται, ὅστις ἂν ἔλθῃ
φωνῇ τ' ἠδὲ ποτῇσι τεληέντων οἰωνῶν·
οὗτος ἐμῆς ὀμφῆς ἀπονήσεται, οὐδ' ἀπατήσω.
ὃς δέ κε μαψιλόγοισι πιθήσας οἰωνοῖσι
μαντείην ἐθέλῃσι παρὲκ νόον ἐξερεείνειν
ἡμετέρην, νοέειν δὲ θεῶν πλέον αἰὲν ἐόντων,
φήμ', ἁλίην ὁδὸν εἶσιν.

[131] Προμαντεία: Photius, *Lexic. s.v.* προμαντεία· τὸ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων χρῆσθαι τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖς μαντείῳ. Herod. 1. 54 Δελφοὶ δὲ ἀντὶ τούτων ἔδοσαν Κροίσῳ καὶ Λυδοῖσι προμαντηΐην καὶ ἀτελείην καὶ προεδρίην. Demosth. *Phil.* 3, § 32 ἔχει δὲ καὶ τὴν προμαντείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, παρώσας ἡμᾶς καὶ Θετταλοὺς καὶ Δωριέας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἀμφικτύονας, ἧς οὐδὲ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἅπασι μέτεστι. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1895, p. 12, inscription of the Labyadai, l. 39 πάντων τῶν βιδίων καὶ δαμοσίων τὸμ προθύοντα καὶ προμαντευόμενον παρέχεν τὰ γεγραμμένα Λαβυάδαις. Cf. Delphic inscription quoted *ib.* p. 60 [decree in favour of Sardis, circ. 230–200 B. C., Collitz, 2645] καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἀξιοῖ Ματροφάνης ἀποδεῖξαι τὸν προθύσοντα διὰ τὸ μὴ ὑπάρχειν πρόξενον τοῖς Σαρδιανοῖς οὐ δυνατῶν αὐτῶν πλείονος χρόνου παραγενέσσται εἰς τὸ μαντεῖον διὰ τὰς αἰτίας ἃς ἀπελογίσατο Ματροφάνης, προθύειν αὐτῷ τὰν πόλιν.

Eur. *Androm.* 1102:

ἐσχάραις τ' ἐφέσταμεν
σὺν προξένοισι μάντεσίν τε Πυθικοῖς.

Aesch. *Eumen.* 31:

κεἰ παρ' Ἑλλήνων τινές,
ἴτων πάλῳ λαχόντες, ὡς νομίζεται.

Cf. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 23, p. 517 (inscription circ. 370 B. C.) Δελφοὶ ἔδωκαν Θηβαίοις προμαντείαν μετὰ Δελφοὺς πράτοις.

[132] Schol. Aristoph. *Plut.* 39 οἱ μαντευόμενοι ἐγγράφῳ ἀνακοινώσει πρὸς τὸν θεὸν τὰς πεύσεις ἐποιοῦντο.

[132a] Plut. p. 385 C οἷον ἐπὶ τοῦ πυρὸς τοῦ ἀθανάτου, τὸ καίεσθαι μόνον αὐτόθι τῶν ξύλων ἐλάτην, καὶ δάφνην ἐπιθυμιᾶσθαι, καὶ τὸ δύο Μοίρας ἱδρῦσθαι, παντα-

χοῦ τριῶν νομιζομένων· καὶ τὸ μηδεμιᾷ γυναικὶ πρὸς τὸ χρηστήριον εἶναι προσελθεῖν.

[133] Influence of the Delphic oracle on religion.

[a] Propagation of Dionysiac cult: (vide Dionysos, R. 5, 68[a] (Magnesia on the Maiander); 16 (Lesbos); ? 29, ? 37, 41[e], 48, 69[b], 127[b] (Athens); 104[m] Peiraeus; 45[e] (Sikyon); ? 52 (Troezen); ? 76[a] (Corinth); 76[e] (Potniai); 88 (Patrai); 104[b] (*Διονύσου τεχνῖται* protected by oracles of Apollo); Laconia, Dionysos, *Geogr. Reg.*; Erythrai, Dionysos, *Geogr. Reg.*).

[b] *Ἀπαρχαί* to the *Ἐλευσινίαι θεαί* prescribed by the oracle: vide Demeter, R. 16, 180 (fifth century B.C.).

[c] Feast of *Ἐλευθέρια* instituted by *ὁ Πύθιος* after Plataea: vide Zeus, R. 131[b]. Cf. *C. I. G. Sept.* 1. 1672 *Βοιωτοὶ Διὶ Ἐλευθερίοι τὸν τρίποδα κατὰ τὰν μαντείαν τῶ Ἀπόλλωνος* (this formula very frequent in Boeotian inscriptions).

[d] Cult of *Δαμία* and *Αὐξησία* ordained by *ἡ Πυθία* at Epidauros: Demeter, R. 36.

[e] Festival of Artemis Leucophryene at Magnesia on the Maiander organized by Delphic oracle: *Arch. Anz.* 1894, p. 83.

[f] Consultation of the Ionians concerning the common worship of Poseidon: vide Poseidon, R. 87[c]. Aphrodite *Πυθόχρηστος*: Aphrodite, R. 49[b]. Kore *Πυθόχρηστος*: vide Demeter, R. 154[a].

[g] Demosth. *πρὸς Μακάρτ.* 1072 *Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. Ἐπερωτᾷ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων περὶ τοῦ σημείου τοῦ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ γενομένου, ὅ,τι ἂν δρῶσιν Ἀθηναίοις ἢ ὅτῳ θεῷ θύουσιν ἢ εὐχομένοις εἶη ἐπὶ τὸ ἄμεινον ἀπὸ τοῦ σημείου. συμφέρει Ἀθηναίοις περὶ τοῦ σημείου τοῦ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ γενομένου θύοντας καλλιερεῖν Διὶ Ὑπάτῳ, Ἀθηνᾷ Ὑπάτῃ, Ἡρακλεῖ, Ἀπόλλωνι Σωτῆρι, καὶ ἀποπέμπειν ἀμφὶ ὀνήσει· περὶ τύχας ἀγαθᾶς Ἀπόλλωνι Ἀγυιεῖ, Λατοῖ, Ἀρτέμιδι, καὶ τὰς ἀγυιᾶς κνισῆν, καὶ κρατῆρας ἱστάμεν καὶ χορὸς καὶ στεφανηφορεῖν κατὰ πάτρια θεοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις καὶ Ὀλυμπίαις πάντεσσι καὶ πάσαις, δεξιὰς καὶ ἀριστερὰς ἀνίσχοντας, μνασιδωρεῖν κατὰ πάτρια, ἥρῳ ἀρχηγέτᾳ, οὗ ἐπώνυμοί ἐστε, θύειν καὶ δωροτελεῖν κατὰ πάτρια· τοῖς ἀποφθιμένοις ἐν ἱκνουμένᾳ ἁμέρᾳ τελεῖν τοὺς ποθίκοντας κατὰ ἀγημένα.*

[h] Delphic deification of Heracles, Arr. *Anab.* 4. 11, 7. Delphic sanction of Hero-worship: 48[b]. Cf. Suid. *s. v.* Χοάς. Paus. 9. 38, 4. Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* p. 35 P. Konon, 19. Plutarch, *Quaest. Gr.* p. 293 E, 302 D. Paus. 1. 41, 1. Plut. *Thes.* 36. Herod. 1. 65, 67. Polyaen. Strat. 6. 53. Paus. 8. 9, 3: 1. 36, 1: 7. 1, 8. Herod. 1. 167. Plut. *Arat.* 53. Paus. 9. 38, 3. Arr. *Anab.* 7. 14. Plut. *Cim.* 19. Paus. 6. 9, 7: 1. 32, 5. Herod. 5. 67 *ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς Δελφοὺς* [Κλεισθένης] *ἐχρηστηριάζετο εἰ ἐκβάλοι τὸν Ἄδρηστον· ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οἱ χρᾷ φᾶσα '"Ἄδρηστον μὲν εἶναι Σικυωνίων βασιλέα, ἐκεῖνον δὲ λευστῆρα."*

i ? Sanction of foreign cults: Photius, *s.v.* Μητραγύρτης· ἐλθών τις εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐμύει τὰς γυναῖκας τῇ μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν ... οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπέκτειναν αὐτόν, ἐμβάλλοντες εἰς βάραθρον ἐπὶ κεφαλήν. λοιμοῦ δὲ γενομένου ἔλαβον χρησμὸν ἱλάσασθαι τὸν πεφονευμένον· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ᾠκοδόμησαν βουλευτήριον, ἐν ᾧ ἀνεῖλον τὸν μητραγύρτην· καὶ περιφράττοντες αὐτὸν καθιέρωσαν τῇ μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν, ἀναστήσαντες καὶ ἀνδριάντα τοῦ μητραγύρτου· ἐχρῶντο δὲ τῷ μητρείῳ ἀρχείῳ καὶ νομοφυλακίῳ.

134 Plat. *Rep.* 427 A τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖς τά τε μέγιστα καὶ κάλλιστα καὶ πρῶτα τῶν νομοθετημάτων [λοιπά] ... ἱερῶν τε ἱδρύσεις καὶ θυσίαι καὶ ἄλλαι θεῶν τε καὶ δαιμόνων καὶ ἡρώων θεραπεῖαι, τελευτησάντων τε αὖ θῆκαι, καὶ ὅσα τοῖς ἐκεῖ δεῖ ὑπηρετοῦντας ἵλεως αὐτοὺς ἔχειν ... οὗτος γὰρ δήπου ὁ θεὸς περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις πάτριος ἐξηγητὴς ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀμφαλοῦ καθήμενος ἐξηγεῖται. Cf. *Laws* 759 C.

135 Xen. *Mem.* 4. 3, 16 ὁρᾷς ὅτι ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖς θεὸς ὅταν τις αὐτὸν ἐπερωτᾷ πῶς ἂν τοῖς θεοῖς χαρίζοιτο, ἀποκρίνεται, 'Νόμῳ πόλεως.' Cf. Plat. *Laws* 738 C.

136 Porphyr. *De Abst.* 2. 16 and 17 (the oracle encourages simplicity in sacrifice).

137 Human victims prescribed by Delphi: vide Zeus, R. 25 (?); Dionysos, R. 76[e]; Athena, R. 1[b]; Artemis, R. 32 (?), 35. Schol. Demosth. 19, § 303 ὅτε ὁ Εὔμολπος ἐστράτευσε κατὰ Ἐρεχθέως ... ἔχρησεν ὁ Ἀπόλλων ἀπαλλαγήσεσθαι, ἐάν τις ἀνέλῃ ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως. ἡ τοίνυν Ἀγλαυρος ἑκοῦσα αὐτὴν ἐξέδωκεν εἰς θάνατον (cf. Apollod. 3. 15, 1). Paus. 9. 25, 1 Θηβαίοις δὲ τῶν πυλῶν ἐστὶν ἐγγύτατα τῶν Νηϊστῶν, Μενοικέως μνῆμα τοῦ Κρέοντος· ἀπέκτεινε δὲ ἑκουσίως αὐτὸν κατά τι μάντευμα ἐκ Δελφῶν. *Ib.* 33. 4 (in the country of Haliartos) ὕδατος οὐκ ὄντος ἐν αὐτῇ ἄνδρα τῶν δυναστευόντων ἐλθόντα ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπερέσθαι τρόπον ὅντινα ὕδωρ εὑρήσουσιν ἐν τῇ γῇ· τὴν δὲ Πυθίαν προστάττειν ὃς ἂν ἐπανήκοντι ἐς Ἁλίαρτον ἐντύχῃ οἱ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων, τούτου δεῖν φονέα γενέσθαι αὐτόν· ἐντυχεῖν τε δὴ αὐτῷ παραγενομένῳ τὸν υἱὸν Λόφιν, καὶ τὸν οὐ μελλήσαντα τῷ ξίφει τὸν νεανίσκον παῖσαι· καὶ τὸν μὲν ἔτι ἔμπνουν περιθεῖν, ὅπου δὲ ῥυῆναι τὸ αἷμα, ὕδωρ ἐντεῦθεν ἀνεῖναι τὴν γῆν. *Id.* 4. 9, 2 ἐδόκει [Μεσσηνίοις] θεωρὸν πέμψαι σφίσιν ἐς Δελφούς ... τοὺς δὲ Μεσσηνίους ἀθροίσας ὁ Εὐφάης ἐπεδείκνυ τὸν χρησμόν·

> Κόρην ἄχραντον νερτέροισι δαίμοσι
> κλήρῳ λαχοῦσαν Αἰπυτιδῶν ἀφ' αἵματος,
> θυηπολεῖτε νυκτέροισιν ἐν σφαγαῖς.
> Ἢν δὲ σφαλῆτε, καὶ παρ' ἀλλοίου τότε
> θύειν, διδόντος ἐς σφαγὴν ἑκουσίως.

138 Influence of the Delphic oracle on legislation: vide R. 86. Tyrtaios, *Frag.* 4 (Bergk):

> Φοίβου ἀκούσαντες Πυθωνόθεν οἴκαδ' ἔνεικαν
> μαντείας τε θεοῦ καὶ τελέεντ' ἔπεα.

[a] Plat. *Laws* 632 D ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Διὸς λεγομένοις νόμοις τοῖς τε τοῦ Πυθίου Ἀπόλλωνος οὓς Μίνως τε καὶ Λυκοῦργος ἐθέτην. Herod. 1. 65 οἱ μὲν δή τινες πρὸς τούτοισι λέγουσι καὶ φράσαι αὐτῷ [Λυκούργῳ] τὴν Πυθίην τὸν νῦν κατεστεῶτα κόσμον Σπαρτιήτῃσι, ὡς δὲ αὐτοὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι, Λυκοῦργον ἐκ Κρήτης ἀγαγέσθαι ταῦτα. Cf. Strab. 482. Xen. *Reipub. Laced.* 8. 5 ἐλθὼν [Λυκοῦργος] σὺν τοῖς κρατίστοις εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐπήρετο τὸν θεὸν εἰ λῷον καὶ ἄμεινον εἴη τῇ Σπάρτῃ πειθομένῃ οἷς αὐτὸς ἔθηκε νόμοις. Cf. Zeus, R. 156 o. Plut. *Lyc.* 13 τὰ μὲν οὖν τοιαῦτα νομοθετήματα ῥήτρας ὠνόμασεν, ὡς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ νομιζόμενα καὶ χρησμοὺς ὄντα.

[b] Paus. 1. 43, 3 Αἴσυμνος οὐδενὸς τὰ ἐς δόξαν Μεγαρέων δεύτερος παρὰ τὸν θεὸν ἦλθεν ἐς Δελφούς, ἐλθὼν δὲ ἠρώτα τρόπον ὅντινα εὐδαιμονήσουσι· καί οἱ καὶ ἄλλα ὁ θεὸς ἔχρησε καὶ Μεγαρέας εὖ πράξειν ἐὰν μετὰ τῶν πλειόνων βουλεύσωνται. τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος ἐς τοὺς τεθνεῶτας ἔχειν νομίζοντες βουλευτήριον ἐνταῦθα ᾠκοδόμησαν, ἵνα σφίσιν ὁ τάφος τῶν ἡρώων ἐντὸς τοῦ βουλευτηρίου γένηται.

[c] Diod. Sic. 7, frag. 12 :

> εἰσὶν ὁδοὶ δύο πλεῖστον ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἀπέχουσαι,
> ἡ μὲν ἐλευθερίας εἰς τίμιον οἶκον ἄγουσα,
> ἡ δ' ἐπὶ δουλείας φευκτὸν δόμον ἡμερίοισι.

[d] Lucian, *Phalar.* A 7 ἔγωγ' οὖν ἀκούω καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν τοῖς Ἕλλησι πολλοὺς γενέσθαι τυράννους σοφοὺς . . . ὧν ἐνίων καὶ λόγους εἶναι βραχεῖς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ὑμῶν ἀποκειμένους, ἀγάλματα καὶ ἀναθήματα τῷ Πυθίῳ.

[e] Herod. 4. 161 οἱ δὲ Κυρηναῖοι πρὸς τὴν καταλαβοῦσαν συμφορὴν ἔπεμπον ἐς Δελφούς, ἐπειρησομένους, ὅν τινα τρόπον καταστησάμενοι κάλλιστα ἂν οἰκέοιεν. Ἡ δὲ Πυθίη ἐκέλευε ἐκ Μαντινέης τῆς Ἀρκάδων καταρτιστῆρα ἀγαγέσθαι. αἴτεον ὧν οἱ Κυρηναῖοι, καὶ οἱ Μαντινέες ἔδοσαν ἄνδρα τῶν ἀστῶν δοκιμώτατον τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Δημώναξ.

[f] Plut. *De Pyth. Or.* p. 403 B Ἀθηναίοις περὶ τῆς ἐν Σικελίᾳ μαντευομένοις στρατιᾶς προσέταξε τὴν ἐξ Ἐρυθρῶν ἱέρειαν ἀνάγειν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Ἡσυχία τὸ γύναιον.

[g] *Ib.* p. 408 C τὰ δὲ νῦν πράγματα καθεστῶτα, περὶ ὧν ἐρωτῶσι τὸν θεόν, ἀγαπῶ μὲν ἔγωγε καὶ ἀσπάζομαι . . . εἰ γαμητέον, εἰ πλευστέον, εἰ δανειστέον· τὰ δὲ μέγιστα πόλεων μαντεύματα, φορᾶς καρπῶν πέρι, καὶ βοτῶν ἐπιγονῆς καὶ σωμάτων ὑγιείας.

[139] ? Influence of oracle on morality: cf. R. 153.

[a] Herod. 6. 86 ἐπειρωτῶντα δὲ αὐτὸν τὸ χρηστήριον εἰ ὅρκῳ τὰ χρήματα ληΐσεται, ἡ Πυθίη μετέρχεται τοῖσδε τοῖσι ἔπεσι,

> Γλαῦκ' Ἐπικυδείδη, τὸ μὲν αὐτίκα κέρδιον οὕτω
> ὅρκῳ νικῆσαι καὶ χρήματα ληΐσασθαι.

Ὄμνυ· ἐπεὶ θάνατός γε καὶ εὔορκον μένει ἄνδρα.
Ἀλλ' Ὅρκου παῖς ἐστὶν ἀνώνυμος, οὐδ' ἔπι χεῖρες
οὐδὲ πόδες· κραιπνὸς δὲ μετέρχεται, εἰσόκε πᾶσαν
συμμάρψας ὀλέσει γενεὴν καὶ οἶκον ἅπαντα.
Ἀνδρὸς δ' εὐόρκου γενεὴ μετόπισθεν ἀμείνων.'

ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Γλαῦκος συγγνώμην τὸν θεὸν παραιτέετο αὐτῷ ἴσχειν τῶν ῥηθέντων. Ἡ δὲ Πυθίη ἔφη τὸ πειρηθῆναι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὸ ποιῆσαι ἶσον δύνασθαι.

b Ael. *Var. Hist.* 3. 43 Συβαρῖται δὲ ἔπεμψαν ἐς Δελφούς. Ἡ δὲ Πυθία ἀπεκρίνατο

βαῖν' ἀπ' ἐμῶν τριπόδων, ἔτι τοι φόνος ἀμφὶ χέρεσσι
πουλὺς ἀποστάζων ἀπὸ λαΐνου οὐδοῦ ἐρύκει.
οὔ σε θεμιστεύσω· Μουσῶν θεράποντα κατέκτας,
Ἥρης πρὸς βωμοῖσι, θεῶν τίσιν οὐκ ἀλεείνας.
Τοῖς δὲ κακῶς ῥέξασι δίκης τέλος οὐχὶ χρονιστόν,
οὐδὲ παραιτητὸν οὐδ' εἰ Διὸς ἔγγονοι εἶεν.

c *Ib.* 3. 44 ἀνεῖλεν [ἡ Πυθία]:

ἔκτεινας τὸν ἑταῖρον ἀμύνων· οὔ σ' ἐμίανεν
αἷμα, πέλεις δὲ χέρας καθαρώτερος ἢ πάρος ἦσθα.

d *Anth. Pal.* 14. 71 χρησμὸς τῆς Πυθίας:

Ἁγνὸς εἰς τέμενος καθαροῦ, ξένε, δαίμονος ἔρχου
ψυχὴν νυμφαίου νάματος ἁψάμενος·
ὡς ἀγαθοῖς κεῖται βαιὴ λιβάς· ἄνδρα δὲ φαῦλον
οὐδ' ἂν ὁ πᾶς νίψαι νάμασιν Ὠκεανός.

Cf. No. 74 χρησμὸς τῆς Πυθίας:

Ἱρὰ θεῶν ἀγαθοῖς ἀναπέπταται, οὐδὲ καθαρμῶν
χρειώ· τῆς ἀρετῆς ἥψατο οὐδὲν ἄγος.
ὅστις δ' οὐλοὸν ἦτορ, ἀπόστιχε, οὔποτε γὰρ σὴν
ψυχὴν ἐκνίψει σῶμα διαινόμενον.

e Plut. *De Pyth. Or.* p. 404 B φοβούμενος οὖν καὶ ταραττόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ μαντεῖον κατέφυγε, καὶ περὶ τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἠρώτα τὸν θεόν, εἴ τις εἴη παράκλησις ἢ λύσις· ἔλαβε δὲ τόνδε τὸν χρησμόν· ἅπαντα τἀναγκαῖα συγχωρεῖ θεός.

f Plut. *Cicer.* 5 (Cicero consults the oracle) ὅπως ἂν ἐνδοξότατος γένοιτο· προσέταξεν ἡ Πυθία τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν ἀλλὰ μὴ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν δόξαν ἡγεμόνα ποιεῖσθαι τοῦ βίου.

g Stobaeus, *Floril.* iv, p. 201 (Meineke)—e Ms. Flor. Joann. Damasc. 89—Ἀθηναίοις ἐρομένοις ὅπως λῷον αὐτοῖς γίγνοιντο, ἔχρησεν ἡ Πυθία εἰ τὸ κάλλιστον εἰς τὸ δεξιὸν οὖς τῶν παίδων ἐντιθέναι βούλοιντο· οἱ δὲ τρήσαντες ἐς αὐτὸ χρυσίον ἔβαλλον, ἀγνοήσαντες ὅτι τὸν φιλόσοφον λόγον ἐμήνυσε.

Affiliated cults of Apollo Πύθιος.

[140] At Sparta: Isocrat. *Archidam.* 17 *ὁ θεὸς ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς [τοὺς Ἡρακλέους παῖδας] ἐπὶ τὴν πατρῴαν ἰέναι χώραν· σκοπούμενοι δὲ τὴν μαντείαν, εὗρισκον Ἄργος μὲν κατ' ἀγχιστείαν αὐτῶν γινόμενον . . . Λακεδαίμονα δὲ κατὰ δόσιν. . . . Μεσσήνην δὲ δοριάλωτον ληφθεῖσαν.* Apollo Πυθαεύς: vide Artemis, R. 79[h]. Herod. 6. 58 *Πυθίους αἱρέεσθαι [τοὺς βασιλέας] δύο ἑκάτερον· οἱ δὲ Πύθιοι εἰσὶ θεοπρόποι ἐς Δελφοὺς σιτεύμενοι μετὰ τῶν βασιλέων τὰ δημόσια, . . . τὰς δὲ μαντηΐας τὰς γινομένας τούτους [τοὺς βασιλέας] φυλάσσειν συνειδέναι δὲ καὶ τοὺς Πυθίους.* Agalma of Apollo Πυθαεύς at Thornax: R. 96.

[141] At Argos. Site of temple recently discovered with dedicatory inscriptions containing reference to the oracle: vide *Class. Rev.* 1903, p. 279. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1903, p. 271, inscription third century B.C., *προμάντιες ἄνεθεν Ἀπόλλωνι . . . προφῆται κατεσκεύασαν καὶ ἔσσαντο τὸν ἐκ μαντείας Γᾶς ὀμφαλόν.* Paus. 2. 24, 1 *Ἀνιόντων ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐστὶ ναὸς Ἀπόλλωνος, ὃν Πυθαεὺς πρῶτος παραγενόμενος ἐκ Δελφῶν λέγεται ποιῆσαι. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τὸ νῦν χαλκοῦν ἐστὶν ὀρθόν, Δειραδιώτης Ἀπόλλων καλούμενος, ὅτι καὶ ὁ τόπος οὗτος καλεῖται Δειράς. ἡ δέ οἱ μαντικὴ, μαντεύεται γὰρ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς, καθέστηκε τρόπον τοῦτον. γυνὴ μὲν προφητεύουσά ἐστιν, ἀνδρὸς εὐνῆς εἰργομένη· θυομένης δὲ ἐν νυκτὶ ἀρνὸς κατὰ μῆνα ἕκαστον, γευσαμένη δὴ τοῦ αἵματος ἡ γυνὴ κάτοχος ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ γίνεται.*

[142] At Epidauros: Thuc. 5. 53 *τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους Ἐπιδαυρίοις καὶ Ἀργείοις πόλεμος ἐγένετο, προφάσει μὲν περὶ τοῦ θύματος τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Πυθαέως, ὃ δέον ἀπαγαγεῖν οὐκ ἀπέπεμπον ὑπὲρ βοταμίων Ἐπιδαύριοι [κυριώτατοι δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἦσαν Ἀργεῖοι].* Cf. Diod. Sic. 12. 78 *Ἀργεῖοι ἐγκαλέσαντες τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ὅτι τὰ θύματα οὐκ ἀπέδοσαν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Πυθίῳ.*

[143] At Hermione: Paus. 2. 35, 2 *Ἀπόλλωνος δέ εἰσι ναοὶ τρεῖς καὶ ἀγάλματα τρία. καὶ τῷ μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπίκλησις, τὸν δὲ Πυθαέα ὀνομάζουσι, καὶ Ὅριον τὸν τρίτον. τὸ μὲν δὴ τοῦ Πυθαέως ὄνομα μεμαθήκασιν παρὰ Ἀργείων. τούτοις γὰρ Ἑλλήνων πρώτοις ἀφικέσθαι Τελέσιλλά φησι τὸν Πυθαέα ἐς τὴν χώραν Ἀπόλλωνος παῖδα ὄντα.*

[144] At Asine: [a] in Argolis. Paus. 2. 36, 5 *Ἀργεῖοι ἐς ἔδαφος καταβαλόντες τὴν Ἀσίνην καὶ τὴν γῆν προσορισάμενοι τῇ σφετέρᾳ, Πυθαέως τε Ἀπόλλωνος ὑπέλιπον τὸ ἱερόν, καὶ νῦν ἔτι δῆλόν ἐστι.* [b] in Messenia: Paus. 4. 34, 6 *Ἀσιναῖοι τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς Λυκωρείταις ὅμοροι περὶ τὸν Παρνασὸν ᾤκουν· ὄνομα δ' ἦν αὐτοῖς, ὃ δὴ καὶ ἐς Πελοπόννησον διεσώσαντο, ἀπὸ τοῦ οἰκιστοῦ Δρύοπες . . . μάχῃ οἱ Δρύοπες ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους ἐκρατήθησαν καὶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἀνάθημα ἤχθησαν ἐς Δελφούς. ἀναχθέντες δὲ ἐς Πελοπόννησον χρήσαντος Ἡρακλεῖ τοῦ θεοῦ, πρῶτα μὲν τὴν πρὸς Ἑρμιόνι Ἀσίνην ἔσχον, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἐκπεσόντες ὑπὸ Ἀργείων οἰκοῦσιν ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ Λακεδαι-*

μονίων δόντων. . . . § 11 Ἀσιναῖοι δὲ Δρύοπές τε τὰ μάλιστα χαίρουσι καλούμενοι, καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν τὰ ἀγιώτατά εἰσι δῆλοι κατὰ μνήμην πεποιημένοι τῶν ποτέ ἐν Παρνασῷ σφίσιν ἱδρυμένων. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστιν αὐτοῖς ναός, τοῦτο δὲ Δρύοπος ἱερὸν καὶ ἄγαλμα ἀρχαῖον, ἄγουσι δὲ καὶ παρὰ ἔτος αὐτῷ τελετήν, παῖδα τὸν Δρύοπα Ἀπόλλωνος εἶναι λέγοντες.

[145] At Troezen (Apollo Θεάριος): Paus. 2. 31, 6 τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Θεαρίου κατασκευάσαι μὲν Πιτθέα ἔφασαν, ἔστι δὲ ὧν οἶδα παλαιότατον. Cf. 32. 2 τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Πυθίων Διομήδην πρῶτον θεῖναί φασι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1893, p. 102, Troezenian decree granting citizenship, στᾶσαι ἐν τῷ ἰαρῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Θεαρίου. Cf. Cult of Θεάριος in Aegina: Pind. *Nem.* 3. 119 ὃς τάνδε νᾶσον εὐκλεΐ προσέθηκε λόγῳ καὶ σεμνὸν ἀγλααῖσι μερίμναις Πυθίου Θεάριον. Schol. *ib.* ἔστεγεν Αἰγίνη Πυθίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν ἐν ᾧ οἱ θεωροὶ διήτων οἱ τὰ θεῖα φυλάσσοντες.

[146] Apollo Πυθαεύς in Kynuria: Roehl, *Ins. Graec. Ant.* 59 Μενοίτιος ἀνέθηκε τῷ Πυθαεῖ (? sixth century).

[147] Apollo on the road from Argos to Tegea, near Tegea: Paus. 8. 54, 4 Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπίκλησιν Πυθίου καταλελυμένον ἐστὶν ἱερὸν καὶ ἐρείπια ἐς ἅπαν.

[148] At Megara: R. 64. Cf. Paus. 1. 43, 7 (legend of Koroibos and the tripod from Delphi). *C. I. G. Sept.* 1. 48, 106. Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 7. 157 ἐν Μεγάροισι τὰ Διόκλεια καὶ Πύθια καὶ Νέμεα. Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* p. 227 (Kayser) τὰ Πύθια τὰ μικρά.

[149] Sikyon: Schol. Pind. *Nem.* 10. 76 ἀπὸ Σικυῶνος καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖσε Πυθίων.

[150] At Megalopolis: *C. I. G.* 1534 τὸ Πύτιον. On Mount Lykaion: *Geogr. Reg. s. v.* Arcadia, p. 441.

[151] At Pheneos: vide Artemis, 79[g].

[152] Apollo Πύθιος in North Greece: Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Πύθιον. Μακεδονίας Πύθιον ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὰ Πύθια ἐπιτελεῖται. Cf. Plut. *Aemil. Paul.* 15:

> Οὐλύμπου κορυφῆς ἔπι Πυθίου Ἀπόλλωνος
> ἱερὸν ὕψος ἔχει . . .

[153] At Thessalonike: *C. I. G. Sept.* 1. 49 (inscription second century A. D. mentioning Πύθια).

[154] In Ambrakia: Ant. Liber. 4 [Ἀπόλλων] ἐν τῇ πόλει παῦσαι πλειστάκις ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον καὶ ἔριδας καὶ στάσιν, ἐμποιῆσαι δ' ἀντὶ τούτων εὐνομίαν καὶ θέμιν καὶ δίκην ὅθεν αὐτὸν ἔτι νῦν παρὰ τοῖς Ἀμβρακιώταις σωτῆρα Πύθιον ἐν ἑορταῖς καὶ εἰλαπίναις ἄδεσθαι. . . . Ἀμβρακιῶται δὲ Ἀπόλλωνι μὲν Σωτῆρι θύουσι, τὴν δὲ πόλιν Ἡρακλέους καὶ τῶν ἐκείνου παίδων νενομίκασι.

[155] At Korkyra: Roehl, *Inscr. Graec. Ant.* 347 ῥόος Πυθαῖος. ? River sacred to Apollo Πυθαεύς.

[155a] At Thebes: *Eph. Arch.* 1900, p. 109, inscription on rim of caldron from Thebes, sixth century B.C., ἱαρὸν τοῦ Πυθίου ϝισϝόδικος ἀνέθηκε. ? On Helikon and Kithairon: vide R. 257.

[156] At Athens: R. 54. Athena R. 36P.

[a] Thuc. 2. 15 τὰ γὰρ ἱερὰ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀκροπόλει καὶ ἄλλων θεῶν ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ ἔξω πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς πόλεως μᾶλλον ἵδρυται, τό τε τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου καὶ τὸ Πύθιον καὶ τὸ τῆς Γῆς. 6. 54 Πεισίστρατος ὁ Ἱππίου τοῦ τυραννεύσαντος υἱὸς . . . ὃς τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν βωμὸν τὸν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἄρχων ἀνέθηκε, καὶ τὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐν Πυθίου . . . τοῦ δὲ ἐν Πυθίου [τοὐπίγραμμα] ἔτι καὶ νῦν δῆλόν ἐστιν ἀμυδροῖς γράμμασι λέγον τάδε

μνῆμα τόδ' ἧς ἀρχῆς Πεισίστρατος Ἱππίου υἱὸς
θῆκεν Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθίου ἐν τεμένει.

[b] Suidas, *s. v.* Πύθιον. ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος Ἀθήνησιν ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου γεγονὸς εἰς ὃ τοὺς τρίποδας ἐτίθεσαν οἱ τῷ κυκλίῳ χορῷ νικήσαντες τὰ θαργήλια.

[c] Isaeus 5. 41 ἀνέθεσαν τοῦτο μὲν ἐν Διονύσου τρίποδας οὓς χορηγοῦντες καὶ νικῶντες ἔλαβον, τοῦτο δ' ἐν Πυθίου. Cf. Plato, *Gorgias* 472 A.

[d] Eur. *Ion* 283:

Μακραὶ δὲ χῶρός ἐστ' ἐκεῖ κεκλημένος;
. . . . . .
τιμᾷ δὲ Φοῖβος ἀστραπαί τε Πύθιαι.

[e] Strab. p. 404 τοῦ Ἄρματος τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Ἀττικήν, ὅ ἐστι περὶ Φυλην . . . ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἡ παροιμία τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔσχεν ἡ λέγουσα 'ὁπόταν δι' Ἄρματος ἀστράψῃ' ἀστραπήν τινα σημειουμένων κατὰ χρησμὸν τῶν λεγομένων Πυθαϊστῶν, βλεπόντων ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ Ἄρμα καὶ τότε πεμπόντων τὴν θυσίαν εἰς Δελφοὺς ὅταν ἀστράψαντα ἴδωσιν· ἐτήρουν ἐπὶ τρεῖς μῆνας καθ' ἕκαστον μῆνα ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσχάρας τοῦ Ἀστραπαίου Διός· ἔστι δὲ αὕτη ἐν τῷ τείχει μεταξὺ τοῦ Πυθίου καὶ Ὀλυμπίου.

[f] *Oed. Col.* 1047 ἢ πρὸς Πυθίαις ἢ λαμπάσιν ἀκταῖς. ? A Πύθιον between Eleusis and Athens near Daphni. Strab. 392 Φιλόχορος μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ Ἰσθμοῦ μέχρι τοῦ Πυθίου διήκειν αὐτοῦ [τοῦ Νίσου] φησι τὴν ἀρχήν. Schol. *Oed. Col.* 1047 λέγοι δ' ἂν Πυθίας ἀκτὰς τὸν τοῦ Πυθίου Ἀπόλλωνος βωμὸν τὸν ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι, ὅθεν καὶ τὴν θεωρίαν ἔπεμπον. Ἱστορεῖ περὶ τούτων Φιλόχορος ἐν τῇ Τετραπόλει . . . οὕτως· ὅταν δὲ σημεῖα γένηται παραδεδομένα ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς, τότε ἀποστέλλουσι τὴν θεωρίαν οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γένους, Πυθίαι τε καὶ Δηλιάδες, ὁπότερα ἂν καθήκῃ αὐτοῖς· θύει δὲ ὁ μάντις, ὅταν μὲν τὰ ἐς Δελφοὺς

πόμπιμα γένηται καὶ θεωρία πέμπηται, ἐν Οἰνόῃ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ Πυθίῳ· εἰ δὲ εἰς Δῆλον ἀποστέλλοιτο ἡ θεωρία, κατὰ τὰ προειρημένα θύει ὁ μάντις εἰς τὸ ἐν Μαραθῶνι Δήλιον, καὶ ἔστιν ἱεροσκοπία τῆς μὲν εἰς Δελφοὺς θεωρίας, ἐν τῷ ἐν Οἰνόῃ Πυθίῳ· τῆς δὲ εἰς Δῆλον, ἐν τῷ ἐν Μαραθῶνι Δηλίῳ.

g Schol. Demosth. 19, § 128 ἔθος ἦν κατὰ τὰ πάτρια πέμπειν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι τῶν Πυθίων τοὺς θεωρούς.

h *C. I. A.* 2. 550, Delphic decree second century B. C., ἐπειδὴ τοῦ δάμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ἀγαγόντος τὰν Πυθαΐδα τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Πυθίῳ μεγαλομερῶς καὶ ἀξίως τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τᾶς αὐτοσαυτοῦ ἀρετᾶς παρεγενήθη μετὰ τᾶς Πυθαΐδος καὶ ἀ τᾶς Ἀθάνας ἱέρεια.

i Vide general account of Delphic inscriptions concerning the Athenian Πυθαΐδες in *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1896, pp. 639–640.

k *C. I. A.* 4. 1190c, dedication at Athens of relief with figures of Apollo Artemis and Leto and names of Πυθαϊσταί beneath.

l *C. I. A.* 1. 212 (circ. 428 B. C.) Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθίου ἡ ἀπαρχή.

m Strabo, p. 422 (from Ephoros) Ἀπόλλωνα τὴν γῆν ἐπιόντα ἡμεροῦν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀπό τε τῶν ἡμέρων καρπῶν καὶ τῶν βίων ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ὁρμηθέντα ἐπὶ Δελφοὺς ταύτην ἰέναι τὴν ὁδὸν ᾗ νῦν Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν Πυθιάδα πέμπουσιν. Herod. 6. 35 τὴν ἱρὴν ὁδὸν διὰ Φωκέων τε καὶ Βοιωτῶν. Cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 9 :

> λιπὼν δὲ λίμνην Δηλίαν τε χοιράδα,
> κέλσας ἐπ' ἀκτὰς ναυπόρους τὰς Παλλάδος,
> ἐς τήνδε γαῖαν ἦλθε Παρνησοῦ θ' ἕδρας.
> πέμπουσι δ' αὐτὸν καὶ σεβίζουσιν μέγα
> κελευθοποιοὶ παῖδες Ἡφαίστου, χθόνα
> ἀνήμερον τιθέντες ἡμερωμένην.

For πυθόχρηστοι ἐξηγηταί at Athens: R. 222d.

n *C. I. A.* 2. 1388 κανηφορήσασαν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τὴν Πυθαΐδα (first century B. C.).

157 At Eleusis: *Eph. Arch.* 1895, p. 99 (inscription third century B. C.) ἑβδόμῃ ἱσταμένου Ἀπόλλωνι Πυθίῳ αἶξ . . . καὶ . . . τράπεζαν κοσμῆσαι τῷ θεῷ.

157a At Chalkis: vide *Geogr. Reg.* p. 437.

158 At Delos (cf. R. 75): Suidas, *s. v.* Πύθια καὶ Δήλια· φασὶ Πολυκράτην τὸν Σάμου τύραννον Πύθια καὶ Δήλια ποιήσαντα ἅμα ἐν Δήλῳ. Vide *Geogr. Reg. s. v.* Delos, p. 443.

159 In Crete: vide Artemis, R. 131a (ὁ Ποίτιος in oath of alliance between Knossos and Dreros). Cf. *C. I. G.* 2555 (oath of alliance between Priansos and Hierapytna) ὀμνύω Ἀπόλλωνα Πύθιον καὶ Λατὼ καὶ

Ἄρτεμιν. Cf. R. 34[h], 87. Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Πύθιον· τὸ πάλαι μεσαίτατον τῆς ἐν Κρήτῃ Γόρτυνος . . . ἐν ᾧ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν ἐστι. Eremopolis: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1885, p. 20 Ἀπόλλωνι Πυτίῳ ἱερατεύσας.

[160] At Keos (at Iulis): Dittenb. *Syll.* 79 στῆσαι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Πυθίου.

[161] At Paros: *C. I. G.* add. 2374[c], state-decree, ? third century B.C., ἀναγράψαι ἐς τὸ Πύθιον. Sixth-century inscription found there, vide Rubensohn, *Ath. Mitth.* 1902, p. 196; Apollo's temple adjacent to that of Asklepios. Ios: see *Geogr. Reg.* p. 444.

[162] At Amorgos: *C. I. G.* add. 2264[o] τῶν περὶ τὸν Πύθιον Ἀπόλλωνα Κορδάκων. Cf. 2264[l] ἀναγράψαι τὸ ψήφισμα εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος.

[163] At Sikinos: *C. I. G.* 2447[b], third century B. C., ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Πυθίου.

[164] At Thera: *C. I. G. Ins. Mar. Aeg.* 3. 322 τὸ ψάφισμα θέντων ἐς τὸ ἱαρὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Πυθίου.

[165] At Anaphe: vide Artemis, R. 79[f].

[166] At Syme: *C. I. G. Ins. Mar. Aeg.* 3, no. 1 ἱερεῖς Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθίου, ? second century B. C.

[167] At Telos: *ib.* 34 οἱ προάξαντες τὰν ἐνιαυσίαν ἐπὶ δαμιουργοῦ Φιλίσκου Ἀπόλλωνι Πυθίῳ (list of Πυθαϊσταί).

[168] At Rhodes: *ib.* 1. 67 καὶ ἱερατεύσαντα Τύχης, καὶ ἱεροθυτήσαντα Πυθαέως. Vide Artemis, R. 102. *Ath. Mitth.* 1895, p. 227 Γλαύκων Ἐτεοκλέους Ἀθηναῖος Πρόξενος Ἀπόλλωνι Πυθίῳ. At Lindos: *C. I. G. Ins. Mar. Aeg.* 1. 786 ἱερεὺς Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθίου (late period). At Kameiros: vide R. 27[l].

[168a] At Kos: *Rev. d. Ét. Grec.* 1902, p. 90, inscription (fifth century B. C.) referring to boundary of temple of Apollo Πύθιος. *Arch. Anz.* 1904, p. 197, inscription containing decree ordering sacrifice to Apollo Pythios with Zeus Soter and Nike on account of the defeat of the Gauls B. C. 279, out of gratitude for the ἐπιφάνεια of Apollo.

[169] At Thasos: *C. I. G.* 2161, public decree, ὃς δὲ ἂν παρὰ ταῦτα εἴπῃ . . . χιλίους στατῆρας ὀφειλέτω ἱεροὺς Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Πυθίῳ.

[170] ? At Chios: Herod. 6. 27 [Χίοισι] πέμψασιν ἐς Δελφοὺς χορὸν νεηνιέων ἑκατόν.

[171] In Samos: *C. I. G.* 2248 Ἀγαθόδωρος τοὺς ἱππικοὺς στεφάνους Ἀπόλλωνι Πυθίῳ. Paus. 2. 31, 6 ἀρχαῖος [ναὸς] Σαμίοις Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθίου.

[172] In Bithynia: Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Πύθιον· πλησίον τοῦ Ἀστακηνοῦ κόλπου. Cf. Plut. *Thes.* 26, legend concerning a Pythopolis in Bithynia connecting it with Theseus and the Delphic oracle. Πύθια in Chalkedon:

Arch. Epigr. Mitt. Oesterr. 8. 219, inscription of late Roman period from Perinthos mentioning Πύθια ἐν Χαρταγέννῃ, Ἄκτια ἐν Περίνθῳ, Πύθια ἐν Περίνθῳ, Πύθια ἐν Φιλιππoπόλει, Πύθια ἐν Τρωάδι, Πύθια ἐν Χαλκαδόνι. Cf. coin-type of third century, *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, '*Pontus*,' &c., Pl. xxvii. 12, Apollo seated on netted omphalos holding bow and arrow.

[173] Zeleia in the Troad: Dittenb. *Syll.* 113 *θεῖναι τὸ ψήφισμα ἐς τὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ* Πυθίου *τὸ ἱερόν* (third century B. C.).

[174] In Mysia, Πυθόπολις: Steph. Byz. *s. v.*

[174 a] ? At Thyateira: vide R. 31[g].

[175] Ionia: *C. I. G.* 2882 Ἀγωνοθετης *τῶν μεγάλων* Πυθίων Πανιωνίων. Cf. Apollo Πανίονιος, R. 48[a]. Tralles: *C. I. A.* 3. 129 Πύθια ἐν Τράλλεσι (circ. 250 A. D.). Magnesia on the Maiander: *Arch. Anz.* 1894, p. 83, inscription ordering sacrifice to Artemis Leucophryene and Apollo Πύθιος as *θεοὶ ὁμοβώμιοι* (Delphic oracle encourages worship of Artemis Leucophryene there). Miletos, Πύθια Πανιώνια: Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 505. *C. I. G. Sept.* 1. 49 Πύθια (second century A. D.). Ephesos: Athenae. 361 c Κρεόφυλος *ἐν τοῖς* Ἐφεσίων Ὥροις . . . *οἱ* Ἐφέσιοι *ἱδρύσαντο* Ἀπόλλωνος *τοῦ* Πυθίου *ἱερὸν ἐπὶ τῷ λιμένι.*

[176] Πυθόπολις in Caria, see Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Mylasa: Le Bas 415 *ἱερέως* Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθίου, second century B. C.

[176 a] Hierapolis in Phrygia, Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 564, coin-legends of imperial period Πύθια and Ἄκτια Πύθια.

[177] Pamphylia: Roehl, *Inscr. Graec. Ant.* 505 Ἀπέλλωνα Πυτίν. Πύθια at Side and Perge: *C. I. G. Sept.* 1. 49. Cf. *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, '*Lycia*,' &c., p. 145, Pl. xxvi. 7, Apollo pouring libation over lighted altar; behind him a raven: coin-type fourth century B. C. *Ib.* p. 158, inscription on late coin Πύθιος.

[178] ? Cilicia: *C. I. A.* 3. 129 Πύθια ἐν Ἱεροπόλει.

[179] Naukratis: R. 52. Alexandria: Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 719, coin-legend, Ἀπόλλων Πύθιος (imperial period).

Philippopolis: see 'Thrace,' *Geogr. Reg.* p. 433.

Other oracles of Apollo.

[180] Strab. 813 *τοῖς ἀρχαίοις μᾶλλον ἦν ἐν τιμῇ καὶ ἡ μαντικὴ καθόλου καὶ τὰ χρηστήρια, νυνὶ δὲ ὀλιγωρία κατέχει πολλή.*

[181] Phokis. Abai: Herod. 1. 46 [Κροῖσος] *ἀπεπειρᾶτο τῶν μαντηίων τῶν τε ἐν Ἕλλησι καὶ τοῦ ἐν Λιβύῃ. διαπέμψας ἄλλους ἄλλῃ τοὺς μὲν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἰέναι, τοὺς δὲ ἐς Ἄβας τὰς Φωκέων τοὺς δὲ ἐς Δωδώνην· οἱ δέ τινες ἐπέμποντο παρά τε Ἀμφιάρεων καὶ παρὰ Τροφώνιον· οἱ δὲ τῆς Μιλησίης ἐς Βραγχίδας.* 8. 33 Ἄβας *ἔνθα ἦν ἱρὸν Ἀπόλλωνος πλούσιον, θησαυροῖσί τε καὶ ἀναθήμασι πολλοῖσι κατεσκευασμένον· ἦν δὲ καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ χρηστήριον αὐτόθι.*

Steph. Byz. Ἄβαι πόλις ἐν τοῖς Φωκεῦσιν, ἔνθα ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος· ἦν δὲ τοῦτο τὸ μαντεῖον πρὸ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς. Soph. *Oed. Tyr.* 900:

οὐκέτι τὸν ἄθικτον εἶμι
γᾶς ἐπ' ὀμφαλὸν σέβων,
οὐδ' ἐς τὸν Ἄβαισι ναὸν
οὐδὲ τὰν Ὀλυμπίαν,
εἰ μὴ τάδε χειρόδεικτα
πᾶσιν ἁρμόσει βροτοῖς.

[182] Thessaly.

[a] At Korope: Nikand. *Theriaca* 612:

καὶ μυρίκης λάζοιο νέον πανακαρπέα θάμνον
μάντιν ἐν αἰζηοῖσι γεράσμιον· ἦ ἐν Ἀπόλλων
μαντοσύνας Κοροπαῖος ἐθήκατο καὶ θέμιν ἀνδρῶν.

Schol. *ib.* Μάγοι δὲ καὶ Σκύθαι μυρικίνῳ μαντεύονται ξύλῳ· καὶ γὰρ ἐν πολλοῖς τόποις ῥάβδοις μαντεύονται . . . καὶ ἐν Λέσβῳ ὁ Ἀπόλλων μυρίκης κλάδον ἔχει ὅθεν καὶ μυρικαῖος καλεῖται. *Ath. Mitth.* 1882, p. 71, inscription found (?) on the site of Korope (? first century B. C.) ἱερέως Κρίνωνος τοῦ Παρμενίωνος μηνὸς Ἀρείου δεκάτῃ Κρίνων Παρμενίωνος Ὁμολιεὺς ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἀκραίου καὶ Διονυσόδωρος . . . Αἰολεὺς ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Μαγνήτων καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ Αἰωλίων Παγασίτης . . . Ἀλεὺς . . . Αἰολεὺς καὶ οἱ νομοφύλακες Μενέλαος . . . Ἰώλκιος καὶ Μέναδρος . . . Κοροπαῖος εἶπαν. ἐπεὶ τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς εὐσεβῶς διακειμένης οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα τὸν Κοροπαῖον καὶ τιμώσης ταῖς ἐπιφανεστάταις τιμαῖς διὰ τὰς εὐεργεσίας τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ προδηλοῦντος διὰ τοῦ μαντείου καὶ κατὰ κοινὸν καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν ἑκάστῳ περὶ τῶν πρὸς ὑγίειαν καὶ σωτηρίαν ἀνηκόντων, δίκαιον δέ ἐστι καὶ καλῶς ἔχον ὄντος ἀρχαίου τοῦ μαντείου καὶ προτετιμημένου διὰ προγόνων, παραγινομένων δὲ καὶ ξένων πλειόνων ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον ποιήσασθαί τινα πρόνοιαν ἐπιμελεστέραν τὴν πόλιν περὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸ μαντῆον εὐκοσμίας, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, ὅταν συντελῆται τὸ μαντῆον πορεύεσθαι τὸν ἀεὶ ἱερέα τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τὸν εἰρημένον ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ νομοφυλάκων ἀφ' ἑκατέρας ἀρχῆς ἕνα καὶ πρυτάνων ἕνα καὶ ταμίαν καὶ τὸν γραμματέα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὸν προφήτην, . . . ὅταν δὲ παραγίνωνται οἱ προειρημένοι ἐπὶ τὸ μαντεῖον καὶ τὴν θυσίαν ἐπιτελέσωσι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια καὶ καλλιερήσωσι, ὁ γραμματεὺς τοῦ θεοῦ ἀποδεξάσθω τὰς ἀπογραφὰς τῶν βουλομένων χρηστηριασθῆναι καὶ τούτων ἀναγράψας τὰ ὀνόματα εἰς λεύκωμα παραχρῆμα προθέτω τὸ λεύκωμα πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ εἰσαγέτω κατὰ τὸ ἑξῆς ἑκάστης ἀναγραφῆς ἀνακαλούμενος, εἰ μή τισι συγκεχώρηται πρώτοις εἰσιέναι . . . καθήσθωσαν δὲ οἱ προγεγραμμένοι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ κοσμίως ἐν ἐσθῆσι λαμπραῖς ἐστεφανωμένοι στεφάνοις δαφνίνοις ἁγνεύοντες καὶ νήφοντες καὶ ἀποδεχόμενοι τὰ πινάκια παρὰ τῶν μαντευομένων· ὅταν δὲ συντελεσθῇ τὸ μαντεῖον ἐμβιλόντες ἐς ἀγγεῖον κατασφραγισάσθωσαν τῇ τε τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν τε νομοφυλάκων σφραγῖδι ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῇ τοῦ ἱερέως καὶ ἐάτωσαν μένειν ἐν τῷ

ἱερῷ· ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὁ γραμματεὺς τοῦ θεοῦ προσενέγκας τὸ ἀγγεῖον καὶ ἐπιδείξας τοῖς προειρημένοις τὰς σφραγῖδας ἀνοιξάτω καὶ . . . ἑκάστοις ἀποδιδόσθω τὰ πινάκια . . . τοὺς χρησμούς.

b ? At Pagasai: Schol. Tzetzes, Hesiod. *Scut.* 70 Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τῷ περὶ χρηστηρίων τὸν ἐν Παγάσαις Ἀπόλλωνα ὑπὸ Τροφωνίου ἱδρύσθαι φησί.

Boeotia.

183 Tegyra near Orchomenos: Plut. *Pelop.* 16 μικρὸν ὑπὸ τὰ ἕλη νεώς ἐστιν Ἀπόλλωνος Γεφυραίου καὶ μαντεῖον ἐκλελειμμένον οὐ πάνυ πολὺν χρόνον, ἀλλ' ἄχρι τῶν Μηδικῶν ἤκμαζε, τὴν προφητείαν Ἐχεκράτους ἔχοντος· ἐνταῦθα μυθολογοῦσι τὸν θεὸν γενέσθαι· καὶ τὸ μὲν πλησίον ὄρος Δῆλος καλεῖται (behind the temple two streams called Φοῖνιξ and Ἐλαία). Plut. *De Def. Orac.* p. 412 B ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς Μηδικοῖς Ἐχεκράτους προφητεύοντος, ἀνεῖλε νίκην καὶ κράτος πολέμου τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὁ θεός. Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Τέγυρα . . . Σῆμος ὁ Δήλιος· τὴν Ἀπόλλωνος γένεσιν οἱ μὲν ἐν Λυκίᾳ, οἱ δ' ἐν Δήλῳ, οἱ δ' ἐν Ζωστῆρι τῆς Ἀττικῆς, οἱ δὲ ἐν Τεγύρᾳ τῆς Βοιωτίας φασίν.

184 Ptoön.

a Herod. 8. 135 τοῦ Πτώου Ἀπόλλωνος τὸ τέμενος. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ἱρὸν καλέεται μὲν Πτῶον, ἔστι δὲ Θηβαίων, κέεται δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς Κωπαΐδος λίμνης πρὸς οὔρεϊ, ἀγχοτάτω Ἀκραιφίης πόλιος. ἐς τοῦτο τὸ ἱρὸν ἐπεί τε παρελθεῖν τὸν καλεόμενον τοῦτον Μῦν, ἔπεσθαί οἱ τῶν ἀστῶν αἱρετοὺς ἄνδρας τρεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ, ὡς ἀπογραψομένους τὰ θεσπιέειν ἔμελλε, καὶ πρόκα τε τὸν πρόμαντιν βαρβάρῳ γλώσσῃ χρᾶν . . . φάναι δὲ [Μῦν] Καρίῃ μιν γλώσσῃ χρᾶν.

b Paus. 4. 32, 5 φασὶ δὲ οἱ Θηβαῖοι μελλούσης τῆς μάχης ἔσεσθαί σφισιν ἐν Λεύκτροις ἐς ἄλλα τε ἀποστεῖλαι χρηστήρια καὶ ἐρησομένους τὸν ἐν Λεβαδείᾳ θεόν. λέγεται μὲν οὖν καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου καὶ τοῦ Πτῴου, πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἐν Ἄβαις τε χρησθέντα καὶ τὰ ἐν Δελφοῖς.

c *C. I. G. Sept.* 1. 2729 ἀνέθεικε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Πτωϊεῖ (very early dedication, sixth century B. C.). *Ib.* 2734 [Ἀκρα]ιφιεισσὶ Εἴρωι Πτωϊεῖ (fifth century B. C., vide *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1898, p. 244).

d *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1898, p. 243 Ἀκρηφιεῖς Εἴρωι Πτωίῳ, fourth century.

e Paus. 9. 23, 6 εἶναι δὲ Ἀθάμαντος καὶ Θεμιστοῦς παῖδα τὸν Πτῶον, ἀφ' οὗ τῷ τε Ἀπόλλωνι ἐπίκλησις καὶ τῷ ὄρει τὸ ὄνομα ἐγένετο, Ἄσιος ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν εἴρηκε.

f *C. I. G. Sept.* 1. 2724 Εὐμείλω ἄρχοντος Ἐπικουδείω Κορωνείως τὸι Ἀπόλλωνι τὸν τρίποδα ἀνέθειαν Βοιωτοί, μαντευσαμένω τῶ θεῶ καὶ ἀποδόντος τὰν ἀγαθὰν μαντείαν Βοιωτοῖς (circ. 300 B. C.). 2724 c Βοιωτὺ Ἀπόλλωνι Πτωΐυ κατ' τὰν μαντείαν Ἀπόλλωνος τῶ Πτωΐω. 4155 Θεσπιεῖες ἀνέθεαν Ἀπόλλωνι

Πτωΐοι (fourth century B. C.). Vide *Geogr. Reg. s. v.* Akraiphiai, p. 436. ? Oracle given by Ptoan Apollo to the Tanagraii: Demeter, R. 141.

185 Oracle of Apollo Ismenios: R. 184 b.

a *C. I. G. Sept.* 1. 2455 Πτωίων Μάστος τôι Ἰσμεινίοι ἀνέθεαν (archaic inscription on bronze statuette of warrior).

b Herod. 8. 134 καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Θήβας πρῶτα ὡς ἀπίκετο [Μῦς] τοῦτο μὲν τῷ Ἰσμηνίῳ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐχρήσατο· ἔστι δὲ κατά περ ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ ἱροῖσι αὐτόθι χρηστηριάζεσθαι.

c Schol. Soph. *Oed. Tyr.* 21 ἔστι παρὰ τῷ Ἰσμηνῷ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν. διό φησι [Σοφοκλῆς] μαντεία σποδῷ· τοῦτο δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ βωμῷ ὅτι διὰ τῶν ἐμπύρων ἐμαντεύοντο οἱ ἱερεῖς, ὥς φησι Φιλόχορος.

d Plut. *Lys.* 29 Λέγεται δὲ καὶ Θηβαίοις ὑπὸ τὸν Πελοποννησιακὸν πόλεμον ἐν Ἰσμηνίῳ γενέσθαι χρησμὸν ἅμα τήν τε πρὸς Δηλίῳ μάχην καὶ τὴν πρὸς Ἀλιάρτῳ ταύτην ἐκείνης ὕστερον ἔτει τριακοστῷ γενομένην προμηνύοντα. Ἦν δὲ τοιοῦτος

> Ἐσχατιὰν πεφύλαξο λύκους καμάκεσσι δοκεύων
> καὶ λόφον Ὀρχαλίδην, ὃν ἀλώπηξ οὔποτε λείπει.

e Paus. 9. 10, 2 ἔστι δὲ λόφος ἐν δεξιᾷ τῶν πυλῶν ἱερὸς Ἀπόλλωνος· καλεῖται δὲ ὅ τε λόφος καὶ ὁ θεὸς Ἰσμήνιος, παραρρέοντος τοῦ ποταμοῦ ταύτῃ τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου. πρῶτα μὲν δὴ λίθου κατὰ τὴν ἔσοδόν ἐστιν Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ Ἑρμῆς ὀνομαζόμενοι Πρόναοι· ποιῆσαι δὲ αὐτὸν Φειδίας, τὴν δὲ Ἀθηνᾶν λέγεται Σκόπας· μετὰ δὲ ὁ ναὸς ᾠκοδόμηται· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα μεγέθει τε ἴσον τῷ ἐν Βραγχίδαις ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ εἶδος οὐδὲν διαφόρως ἔχον. ὅστις δὲ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων τούτων τὸ ἕτερον εἶδε καὶ τὸν εἰργασμένον ἐπύθετο, οὐ μεγάλη οἱ σοφία καὶ τὸ ἕτερον θεασαμένῳ Κανάχου ποίημα ὃν ἐπίστασθαι. διαφέρουσι δὲ τοσόνδε· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐν Βραγχίδαις χαλκοῦ, ὁ δὲ Ἰσμήνιός ἐστι κέδρου. Ἔστι δ' ἐνταῦθα λίθος ἐφ' ᾧ Μαντώ φασι τὴν Τειρεσίου καθέζεσθαι. Cf. R. 267 b.

f Herod. 5. 59 ἴδον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς Καδμήϊα γράμματα ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου ἐν Θήβῃσι τῇσι Βοιωτῶν ἐπὶ τρίποσί τισι ἐγκεκολαμμένα, τὰ πολλὰ ὁμοῖα ἐόντα τοῖσι Ἰωνικοῖσι.

g Pind. *Pyth.* 11. 1

> . . . χρυσέων ἐς ἄδυτον τριπόδων
> θησαυρόν, ὃν περίαλλ' ἐτίμασε Λοξίας
> Ἰσμήνιον δ' ὀνύμαξε, ἀλαθέα μαντίων θῶκον.

h Paus. 4. 27, 6 (at the foundation of Megalopolis) Ἐπαμεινώνδας καὶ οἱ Θηβαῖοι Διονύσῳ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι ἔθυον Ἰσμηνίῳ.

1-6 Apollo Σπόδιος at Thebes: Paus. 9. 11, 7 ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸν Σωφρονιστῆρα λίθον βωμός ἐστιν Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπίκλησιν Σποδίου, πεποίηται δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς τέφρας τῶν ἱερείων· μαντικὴ δὲ καθέστηκεν αὐτόθι ἀπὸ κληδόνων, ᾗ δὴ καὶ Σμυρναίοις μάλιστα Ἑλλήνων χρωμένους οἶδα· ἔστι γὰρ καὶ Σμυρναίοις ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν

κατὰ τὸ ἐκτὸς τοῦ τείχους Κληδόνων ἱερόν. (Cf. Aristid. 1, p. 754 (Dind.) τοῖς μὲν τῆς Κληδόνος βωμοῖς προσιόντες βουλοίμεθ' ἂν ὡς εὐφημότατ' ἀκούειν). Pind. *Ol.* 6. 65 (at Olympia):

ἔνθα οἱ ὤπασε θησαυρὸν δίδυμον
μαντοσύνας, τόκα μὲν φωνὰν ἀκούειν
ψευδέων ἄγνωστον.

187 Oracle at Eutresis: Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Εὔτρησις· κώμη [Βοιωτίας] . . . κεῖται δὲ παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐκ Θεσπιῶν εἰς Πλαταιὰς ἀπάγουσαν . . . ἀφ' οὗ Ἀπόλλων Εὐτρησίτης· καὶ ἱερὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ μαντεῖον ἐνδοξότατον. Cf. dedication, second century B. C., found at Eutresis, Εὐτρειτιδιεῖες Ἀπόλλωνι, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1904, p. 430.

188 At Hysiai near Plataea: Paus. 9. 2, 1 νῦν ἔτι ἐν τοῖς ἐρειπίοις τῶν Ὑσιῶν ναός ἐστιν Ἀπόλλωνος ἡμίεργος καὶ φρέαρ ἱερόν· πάλαι δὲ ἐκ τοῦ φρέατος κατὰ τὸν Βοιωτῶν λόγον ἐμαντεύοντο πίνοντες.

189 In Euboea: Strab. 445 Ὀροβίας ἐν ᾧ μαντεῖον ἦν ἀψευδέστατον· ἦν δὲ μαντεῖον τοῦ Σελινουντίου Ἀπόλλωνος.

190 In Epiros: Ael. *Nat. Anim.* 11. 2 θύουσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλως οἱ Ἠπειρῶται τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ πᾶν ὅσον τῶν ξένων ἐπίδημόν ἐστι, καὶ τούτῳ δὴ τὴν μεγίστην ἑορτὴν ἄγουσι μιᾶς ἡμέρας τοῦ ἔτους σεμνήν τε καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῆ. ἔστι δὲ ἄνετον τῷ θεῷ ἄλσος, καὶ ἔχει κύκλῳ περίβολον, καὶ ἔνδον εἰσὶ δράκοντες, καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄθυρμα οὗτοί γε. ἡ τοίνυν ἱέρεια, γυνὴ παρθένος, πάρεισι μόνη, καὶ τροφὴν τοῖς δράκουσι κομίζει. λέγονται δὲ ἄρα ὑπὸ τῶν Ἠπειρωτῶν ἔκγονοι τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς Πυθῶνος εἶναι. ἐὰν μὲν οὖν οὗτοι παρελθοῦσαν τὴν ἱέρειαν προσηνῶς θεάσωνται καὶ τὰς τροφὰς προθύμως λάβωσι, εὐθένειάν τε ὑποδηλοῦν ὁμολογοῦνται καὶ ἔτος ἄνοσον. ἐὰν δὲ ἐκπλήξωσι μὲν αὐτήν, μὴ λάβωσι δὲ ὅσα ὀρέγει μειλίγματα, τἀναντία τῶν προειρημένων οἱ μὲν μαντεύονται, οἱ δὲ ἐλπίζουσι.

191 Oracle of Apollo Λύκειος at Argos: vide R. 7[f].

192 In Lesbos: Schol. Aristoph. *Nub.* 144 ἐν Λέσβῳ Ναπαίου Ἀπόλλωνος ὁ χρησμὸς δοθεὶς Πέλοπι, αἰτοῦντος αὐτὸν ἀνάθημα τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ἄρνα τὴν χρυσῆν, ἕτερα παρέχοντι κειμήλια 'ὁ βούλομαι δός, μὴ δίδου δ' ὁ μὴ θέλω.' φέρει δὲ τὸν χρησμὸν τοῦτον Ἀντικλείδης ἐν τοῖς νόστοις.

193 ? In Crete: Anton. Liber. 25 [ἱστορεῖ Νίκανδρος ἑτεροιουμένων δ' καὶ Κόρινναν ἑτεροίων α'] ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀονίαν ὅλην ἔλαβε λοιμὸς καὶ πολλοὶ ἀπέθνησκον, θεωροὺς ἀπέστειλαν παρὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα τὸν Γορτύνιον· καὶ αὐτοῖς εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς ἱλάσασθαι δύο τοὺς ἐριουνίους θεούς· ἔφη δὲ καταπαύσειν αὐτοὺς τὴν μῆνιν εἰ δύο δυσὶν ἑκοῦσαι παρθένοι θύματα γένοιντο. Cf. R. 159.

Asia Minor.

194 ? At Chalkedon: *C. I. G.* 3794, inscription from Chalkedon, pre-Roman period, προφήτης Ἀθαναίων Ἀπολλοφάν[εως]. Head, *Hist. Num.*

p. 438, coin, circ. 280–270 B. C., with type of 'Apollo naked, seated on omphalos.' Lucian, *Pseudomant.* 10 τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ὅπερ ἀρχαιότατόν ἐστι τοῖς Χαλκηδονίοις.

[195] Near Parion in the plain of Adrasteia, shrine and oracle: vide Artemis, R. 79[1].

[196] At Zeleia on Mount Ida: Strab. 588 τὸ δὲ μαντεῖον ἐν Ἀδραστείᾳ ἐξελείφθη, καθάπερ καὶ τὸ ἐν Ζελείᾳ. Cf. R. 173.

[197] At Gruneion near Myrina: Strab. 622 πολίχνιον Μυριναίων Γρύνιον καὶ ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ μαντεῖον ἀρχαῖον καὶ νεὼς πολυτελὴς λίθου λευκοῦ. (Cf. Hekataios, Müller, *F. G. H.* 211.) Paus. 1. 21, 7 ἐν Γρυνείῳ, ἔνθα Ἀπόλλωνος κάλλιστον ἄλσος δένδρων καὶ ἡμέρων καὶ ὅσα τῶν ἀκάρπων ὀσμῆς παρέχεταί τινα ἡ θέας ἡδονῆς. Serv. Verg. *Ecl.* 6. 72 Varro ait vincla detrahi solita . . . qui intrarunt in Apollinis Grynaei lucum et fixa arboribus. In quo loco aliquando Calchas et Mopsus dicuntur de peritia divinandi inter se habuisse certamen. Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 481, coin-type of Apollo with lustral branch and omphalos.

[198] Near Magnesia on the Maiander: Livy 38. 12–13 Transgressi Macandrum ad Hieran Comen pervenerunt: fanum ibi augustum Apollinis et oraculum: sortes versibus haud inconditis dare vates dicuntur.

[199] At Klaros near Kolophon: vide Artemis, R. 79[dd].

[a] Paus. 7. 5, 4 δύο [ἱερὰ] οὐκ ἐξειργασμένα Ἀπόλλωνος, τό τε ἐν Βραγχίδαις τῆς Μιλησίας καὶ ἐν Κλάρῳ τῇ Κολοφωνίων.

[b] *Id.* 7. 3, 1 Κολοφώνιοι τὸ μὲν ἱερὸν ἐν Κλάρῳ καὶ τὸ μαντεῖον ἐκ παλαιοτάτου γενέσθαι νομίζουσιν· ἐχόντων δὲ ἔτι τὴν γῆν Καρῶν ἀφικέσθαι φασὶν ἐς αὐτὴν πρώτους τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Κρῆτας.

[c] Strab. p. 642 ἡ Κολοφὼν πόλις Ἰωνικὴ καὶ τὸ πρὸ αὐτῆς ἄλσος Ἀπόλλωνος, ἐν ᾧ καὶ μαντεῖον ἦν παλαιόν (Meineke, corr. ἐστι).

[d] Bergk, *Anacreontea* 11:

οἱ δὲ Κλάρου παρ' ὄχθαις
Δαφνηφόροιο Φοίβου
λάλον πιόντες ὕδωρ
μεμηνότες βοῶσιν.

[e] Iambl. *De Myst.* 3. 11 οἱ δὲ ὕδωρ πιόντες καθάπερ ὁ ἐν Κολοφῶνι ἱερεὺς τοῦ Κλαρίου . . . οἱ δὲ ἐξ ὑδάτων ἀτμιζόμενοι καθάπερ αἱ ἐν Βραγχίδαις προφήτιδες . . . τὸ δὴ ἐν Κολοφῶνι μαντεῖον . . . εἶναι γὰρ πηγὴν ἐν οἴκῳ καταγείῳ καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς πιεῖν τὸν προφήτην . . . ἔν τισι τακταῖς νυξίν, ἱερουργιῶν πολλῶν γενομένων πρότερον πιόντα χρησμῳδεῖν, οὐκέθ' ὁρώμενον τοῖς παροῦσι θεωροῖς . . . καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πίνειν οὕτως ἀσιτεῖ τὴν ἡμέραν ὅλην καὶ νύκτα καὶ ἐν

ἱεροῖς τισὶν ἀβάτοις τῷ πλήθει καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀνακεχώρηκεν ἀρχόμενος ἐνθουσιᾶν. Cf. Dionysos, R. 41[a].

f Plin. 2, § 232 Colophone in Apollinis Clarii specu lacuna est cuius potu mira redduntur oracula, bibentium breviore vita.

g Tac. *Ann.* 2. 54 non femina illic, ut apud Delphos, sed certis e familiis et ferme Mileto accitus sacerdos numerum modo consultantium et nomina audit; tum in specum degressus, hausta fontis arcani aqua, ignarus plerumque litterarum et carminum, edit responsa versibus compositis super rebus quas quis mente concepit. Et ferebatur Germanico per ambages, ut mos oraculis, maturum exitium cecinisse.

h Ael. *Nat. Anim.* 10. 49 ἰδίᾳ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ Κλάρῳ τὸν Διὸς καὶ Λητοῦς τιμῶσιν οἱ Κλάριοι καὶ πᾶν τὸ Ἑλληνικόν. Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* 4. 2, 8 ποῦ σοι τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἱερόν; ποῦ ὁ Πύθιος; ὁ Κλάριος; ποῦ καὶ ὁ Δωδωναῖος;

i Ov. *Fast.* 1. 19

Pagina iudicium docti subitura movetur
Principis, ut Clario missa legenda Deo.

k Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 18, 19 Consultus Apollo Clarius quis Deorum habendus sit qui vocatur Iao ita effatus est

φράζεο τὸν πάντων ὕπατον θεὸν ἔμμεν Ἰαώ,
χείματι μέν τ' Ἀίδην, Δία δ' εἴαρος ἀρχομένοιο,
Ἥλιον δὲ θέρευς, μετοπώρου δ' ἄβρὸν Ἰαώ.

Huius oraculi vim, numinis nominisque interpretationem . . . exsecutus est Cornelius Labeo in libro cui titulus est de Oraculo Apollinis Clarii.

l *C. I. L.* 3. 2880, inscription found at Corinium in Dalmatia: Dis Deabusque secundum interpretationem Clarii Apollinis. *Ib.* inscription in Museum at Newcastle almost identical.

m Tripod on fourth and third century coins of Kolophon, with head of Apollo Κλάριος, Head, *Hist. Num.* 493.

n Lucian, *Alexand.* § 29 εἰδὼς δὲ τοὺς ἐν Κλάρῳ καὶ Διδύμοις καὶ Μάλλῳ καὶ αὐτοὺς εὐδοκιμοῦντας ἐπὶ τῇ ὁμοίᾳ μαντικῇ ταύτῃ.

o At Corinth: Paus. 2. 2, 8 Ἀπόλλων ἐπίκλησιν Κλάριός ἐστι.

200 At Didyma or Branchidai near Miletos: vide R. 58, 199[a], 185[e], 273[d].

a Herod. 6. 19 ἱρὸν δὲ τὸ ἐν Διδύμοισι ὁ νηός τε καὶ τὸ χρηστήριον συληθέντα ἐνεπίμπρατο.

b *Id.* 1. 157 [ἐν Βραγχίδῃσι] ἦν γὰρ αὐτόθι μαντήϊον ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἱδρυμένον, τῷ Ἴωνές τε πάντες καὶ Αἰολέες ἐώθεσαν χρέεσθαι.

c Paus. 7. 2, 4 τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Διδύμοις τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ τὸ μαντεῖόν

ἐστιν ἀρχαιότερον ἢ κατὰ τὴν Ἰώνων ἐσοίκησιν. 5. 13, 11 ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐν Διδύμοις τῶν Μιλησίων βωμός, ἐποιήθη δὲ ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους τοῦ Θηβαίου, καθὰ οἱ Μιλήσιοι λέγουσιν, ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερείων τοῦ αἵματος.

d Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Δίδυμα· τόπος καὶ μαντεῖον Μιλήτου ἀφιερωμένον Διὶ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι.

e Strab. p. 634 μετὰ τὸ Ποσείδιον τὸ Μιλησίων ἑξῆς ἐστὶ τὸ μαντεῖον τοῦ Διδυμέως Ἀπόλλωνος τὸ ἐν Βραγχίδαις ἀναβάντι ὅσον ὀκτωκαίδεκα σταδίους· ἐνεπρήσθη δ' ὑπὸ Ξέρξου . . . ὕστερον δ' οἱ Μιλήσιοι μέγιστον νεὼν τῶν πάντων κατεσκεύασαν· διέμεινε δὲ χωρὶς ὀροφῆς διὰ τὸ μέγεθος· κώμης γοῦν κατοικίαν ὁ τοῦ σηκοῦ περίβολος δέδεκται καὶ ἄλσος ἐντός τε καὶ ἐκτὸς πολυτελές. ἄλλοι δὲ σηκοὶ τὸ μαντεῖον καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ συνέχουσιν.

f Konon 44 αὐτὸς τότε Βράγκος προυστήκει τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ καὶ τοῦ μαντείου . . . ποιεῖται δὲ αὐτὸν [παῖδα] ὁ Βράγχος καὶ ἄγγελον τῶν μαντευμάτων, Εὐάγγελον ὀνομάσας· οὗτος ἠβήσας τὸ Βραγχου μαντεῖον ἐξεδέξατο, καὶ ἀρχὴ γένους Εὐαγγελιδῶν παρὰ Μιλησίοις ἐγένετο. Cf. Lact. Plac. ad Stat. *Theb.* 8. 198 (from Varro) Templum ei (Brancho) factum est, quod Branchiadon nominatur. Et Apollini et filio pariter consecrata sunt templa, quae ab osculo Branchi sive certamine puerorum Philesia nuncupantur. Cf. R. 58.

g Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* 5. 16 (from Porphyry's περὶ τῆς ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας):

μύρια μὲν γαίης μαντήϊα θέσκελα νώτῳ
ἐβλύσθη, πηγαί τε καὶ ἄσθματα δινήεντα·
. . . . . .
μούνῳ δ' ἠελίῳ φαεσιμβρότῳ εἰσέτ' ἔασιν
ἐν Διδύμων γυάλοις Μυκαλήϊον ἔνθεον ὕδωρ,
Πυθῶνός τ' ἀνὰ πέζαν ὑπαὶ Παρνάσιον αἶπος,
καὶ κραναὴ Κλαρίη, τρηχὺ στόμα φοιβάδος ὀμφῆς.

h Iambl. *de Myst.* 3. 11 καὶ μὴν ἥγε ἐν Βραγχίδαις γυνὴ χρησμῳδός, εἴτε ῥάβδον ἔχουσα τὴν πρώτως ὑπὸ θεοῦ τινὸς παραδοθεῖσαν, πληροῦται τῆς θείας αὐγῆς, εἴτε ἐπὶ ἄξονος καθημένη προλέγει τὸ μέλλον, εἴτε τοὺς πόδας ἢ κράσπεδόν τι τέγγουσα τῷ ὕδατι, ἢ ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος ἀτμιζομένη δέχεται τὸν θεόν, ἐξ ἁπάντων τούτων ἐπιτηδεία παρασκευαζομένη πρὸς τὴν ὑποδοχὴν ἔξωθεν αὐτοῦ μεταλαμβάνει.

i Strab. p. 814 (at the oracle-shrine of Ammon) εἶναι δ' οὐχ ὥσπερ ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ Βραγχίδαις τὰς ἀποθεσπίσεις διὰ λόγων, ἀλλὰ νεύμασι καὶ συμβόλοις τὸ πλέον . . . προστραγῳδεῖ δὲ τούτοις ὁ Καλλισθένης ὅτι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τὸ ἐν Βραγχίδαις μαντεῖον ἐκλελοιπότος, ἐξ οὗπερ τὸ ἱερὸν ὑπὸ τῶν Βραγχιδῶν σεσύλητο ἐπὶ Ξέρξου περσισάντων, ἐκλελοιπυίας δὲ καὶ τῆς κρήνης, τότε ἥ τε κρήνη ἀνάσχοι καὶ μαντεῖα πολλὰ οἱ Μιλησίων πρέσβεις κομίσαιεν εἰς Μέμφω

περὶ τῆς ἐκ Διὸς γενέσεως τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τῆς ἐσομένης περὶ Ἄρβηλα νίκης, κ.τ.λ.

k Dittenb. *Syll.* 391 (oracle consulted by the Milesians in the fourth century B. C.) ἃ δὲ ἂν ὁ ἑὸς θεσπίσῃ, οἱ μὲν θεοπρόποι εἰσαγγειλάτωσαν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν, ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἀκούσας βουλευσάσθω ὅπως πάντα πραχθήσεται ἀκολούθως τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ συμβουλῇ.

l *C. I. G.* 2852, donations of Seleukos II to Apollo Didymaios: cf. 2855. Most inscriptions from Branchidai dated ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου τοῦ δεῖνα and προφητεύοντος τοῦ δεῖνα. *C. I. G.* 2881 προφήτης καὶ κωτάρχης καὶ πάλιν ἀγωνοθέτης τῶν μεγάλων Διδυμείων . . . βασιλεύς (Roman period). 2868 παίδων χορηγός . . . αὐλητής.

m Diod. Sic. 19. 90 ἐν Βραγχίδαις αὐτοῦ χρηστηριαζομένου τὸν θεὸν προσαγορεῦσαι Σέλευκον βασιλέα.

n Paus. 1. 16, 3 Σέλευκός ἐστιν ὁ Μιλησίοις τὸν χαλκοῦν καταπέμψας Ἀπόλλωνα ἐς Βραγχίδας, ἀνακομισθέντα ἐς Ἐκβάτανα τὰ Μηδικὰ ὑπὸ Ξέρξου.

o Plin. 5. 112 oppidum oraculum Branchidarum appellatum nunc Didymaei Apollinis. Tac. *Ann.* 3. 63 propiora Sardianos; Alexandri victoris id donum. Neque minus Milesios Dareo rege niti. Sed cultus numinum utrisque Dianam aut Apollinem venerandi.

p Conon 33 μέχρι νῦν χρηστηρίων Ἑλληνικῶν ὧν ἴσμεν μετὰ Δελφοὺς κράτιστον ὁμολογεῖται τὸ τῶν Βραγχιδῶν.

q Julian, *Epist.* 62 ἐπειδήπερ εἰμὶ κατὰ μὲν τὰ πάτρια μέγας ἀρχιερεύς, ἔλαχον δὲ νῦν καὶ τοῦ Διδυμαίου.

r Τὰ Διδύμεια, games at Miletos: Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 505.

201 Oracle at Patara in Lycia: Herod. 1. 182 ἐν Πατάροισι τῆς Λυκίης ἡ πρόμαντις τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐπεὰν γένηται· οὐ γὰρ ὧν αἰεί ἐστι χρηστήριον αὐτόθι· ἐπεὰν δὲ γένηται, τότε ὧν συγκατακληίεται τὰς νύκτας ἔσω ἐν τῷ νηῷ. Vide R. 108. Max. Tyr. *Diss.* 14. 1 Ἴωνα ἐν Κλάρῳ ἢ Λύκιον ἐν Ξάνθῳ, ἢ Βοιωτὸν ἐν Ἰσμηνίου, τούτους ἅπαντας οὐ θαυμάζεις τῷ δαιμονίῳ ὁσημέραι συγγιγνομένους. Coin-type of Patara showing 'Apollo Patareus, standing between the omphalos, on which is perched a crow, and the tripod round which the serpent twines': Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 578.

202 ? At Telmessos ? in Caria: Herod. 1. 78 αὐτίκα δὲ ἔπεμπε [Κροῖσος] θεοπρόπους ἐς τῶν ἐξηγητέων Τελμησσέων. Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 532, coin-type of Telmessos, ? Carian or Lycian, third century B.C., Apollo on omphalos holding arrow. *Hell. Journ.* 1896 (Carian inscription), p. 234 ἀποστείλαντος Ποσειδωνίου χρησαμένου τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι . . . ἔχρησεν ὁ θεὸς ἔσεσθαι λώιον καὶ ἄμεινον αὐτοῖς ἱλασκομένοις καὶ τιμῶσιν καθάπερ καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι, Δία Πατρῷον καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα Τελεμεσσοῦ μεδέοντα καὶ Μοίρας καὶ

θεῶν Μητέρα. . . . l. 36 τῇ δὲ δευτέρᾳ [μηνὸς Ἑρμαιῶνος] θύειν Διὶ Πατρῴῳ κριὸν καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι Τελεμεσσοῦ μεδέοντι κριὸν καὶ Μοίραις κριὸν καὶ θεῶν Μητρὶ αἶγα.

[203] At Κυανέαι in Lycia: Paus. 7. 21, 13 Κυανεῶν δὲ τῶν πρὸς Λυκίᾳ πλησιαίτατα χρηστήριον Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστι Θυρξέως, παρέχεται δὲ ὕδωρ τὸ πρὸς ταῖς Κυανέαις ἔσω ἐνιδόντα τινὰ ἐς τὴν πηγὴν ὁμοίως πάντα ὁπόσα θέλει θεάσασθαι.

[204] At Sura: Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Σοῦρα· μαντεῖον Λυκίας, περὶ οὗ Πολύχαρμός φησιν ἐν Λυκιακοῖς· 'ὅπου νῦν φρέαρ θαλάσσης τόπος Σούριος καλούμενος.' Plut. *De Solert. Anim.* p. 976 C περὶ Σοῦραν πυνθάνομαι κώμην ἐν τῇ Λυκίᾳ Φελλοῦ μεταξὺ καὶ Μύρων, καθεζομένους ἐπ' ἰχθύσιν, ὥσπερ οἰωνοῖς, διαμαντεύεσθαι τέχνῃ τινὶ καὶ λόγῳ ἑλίξεις καὶ φυγὰς καὶ διώξεις ἐπισκοποῦντας. Ael. *Nat. Anim.* 12. 1 Μυρέων τῶν ἐν Λυκίᾳ κόλπος ἐστὶ καὶ ἔχει πηγήν, καὶ ἐνταῦθα νεὼς Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστι, καὶ ὁ τοῦδε τοῦ θεοῦ ἱερεὺς κρέα μόσχεια διασπείρει τῶν τῷ θεῷ τεθυμένων, ὀρφοί τε οἱ ἰχθύες ἀθρόοι προσνέουσι, καὶ τῶν κρεῶν ἐσθίουσιν οἷα δήπου καλούμενοι δαιτυμόνες. καὶ χαίρουσιν οἱ θύσαντες, καὶ τὴν τούτων δαῖτα πιστεύουσιν εἶναί σφισιν ὅτταν ἀγαθήν, καὶ λέγουσιν ἵλεων εἶναι τὸν θεόν, διότι οἱ ἰχθύες ἐνεπλήσθησαν τῶν κρεῶν. εἰ δὲ ταῖς οὐραῖς αὐτὰ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐκβάλοιεν ὥσπερ οὖν ἀτιμάσαντες καὶ μυσαρὰ κρίναντες, τοῦτο δὴ τοῦ θεοῦ μῆνις εἶναι πεπίστευται. γνωρίζουσι δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἱερέως φωνὴν οἱ ἰχθύες, καὶ ὑπακούσαντες μὲν εὐφραίνουσι δι' οὓς κέκληνται, τοὐναντίον δὲ δράσαντες λυποῦσι. *C. I. G.* 4303[i, k] Ἀπόλλωνι Σουρίῳ (dedications of Roman period). Cf. Plin. *N. H.* 31. 18 fons Limyrae transire solet in loca vicina portendens aliquid mirumque quod cum piscibus transit: responsa ab his petunt incolae cibo quem rapiunt adnuentes: si vero eventum negent, caudis abigunt. Cf. inscription on imperial coin of Limyra, Λιμυρέων χρησμός, *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, '*Lycia*,' Pl. xiii. 7, 9 (head of Apollo on coins of Limyra second century B.C. *Ib.* 3–6).

[205] In Cilicia: Diod. Sic. (p. 519) *Excerp.* 32. 1 Ἀλεξάνδρου . . . χρηστηριαζομένου κατὰ τὴν Κιλικίαν ἔνθα φασὶν Ἀπόλλωνος Σαρπηδονίου ἱερὸν εἶναι. Cf. *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, '*Lycaonia*,' &c., p. li, fourth-century coins of Holmi, with type of Apollo Sarpedonios: the same on coins of Seleukia. *Ib.* p. lxiv.

[206] At Daphne near Antioch: Ammian. Marcell. 22. 12 Iulianus venas fatidicas Castalii recludere cogitans fontis, quem obstruxisse Caesar dicitur Hadrianus mole saxorum ingenti, veritus ne, ut ipse praecinentibus aquis capessendam rempublicam comperit, etiam alii similia docerentur.

[207] ? At Hybla in Sicily: Athenae. p. 672 E τῶν Καρῶν δεισιδαιμονίᾳ περισχεθέντων, ἐπὶ τὸ μαντεῖον τοῦ θεοῦ παραγενομένων εἰς Ὕβλαν.

[207a] At Leuke Akte in Libya: *Stad. Mar. Aeg.* § 14 *ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος, ἐπίσημον χρηστήριον καὶ ὕδωρ ἔχει παρὰ τὸ ἱερόν.*

Apollo as god of healing: vide R. 221[c, d]. *Geogr. Reg. s. v.* Laconia (Boiai), p. 441. Cf. Athena, R. 65.

[208a] *Παιάν* [*Παιήων, Παιών, Παιώνιος*]. Schol. Hom. *Od.* 4. 232 *Παιήων ἰατρὸς θεῶν, οὐχ ὁ αὐτὸς τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι, ἀλλὰ κεχωρισμένος· παρὰ μέντοι τοῖς νεωτέροις ὁ αὐτὸς νομίζεται εἶναι· καὶ Ἡσίοδος μάρτυς ἐστὶ τοῦ ἕτερον εἶναι τὸν Παιήονα τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος λέγων· εἰ μὴ Ἀπόλλων Φοῖβος ὑπὲκ θανάτοιο σαώσαι ἠ καὶ Παιήων ὃς ἀπάντων φάρμακα οἶδεν.* Schol. Aristoph. *Plut.* 636 *Παιὰν μὲν ὕμνος ἐστὶν εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα ἐπὶ παύσει λοιμοῦ ᾀδόμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ παύσει πολέμου.* *Et. Magn.* p. 131, 38 *ἐν τοῖς παιᾶσι, μέλλοντες ἀποπλεῖν.* Procl. *Chrestomath.* (Gaisford, p. 381) *τὸ παλαιὸν ἰδίως ἀπενέμετο* [*ὁ Παιὰν*] *τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ἐπὶ καταπαύσει λοιμῶν καὶ νόσων ᾀδόμενος.* Cf. R. 98. Plut. p. 745 B *τοὺς ἰατροὺς Ἀπόλλωνι Παιᾶνι χρωμένους πάντα.*

[b] *Παιών* at Athens: *C. I. A.* 1. 210 *Ἀπόλλωνος Παιῶνος* (temple accounts, circ. 428 B. C.).

[c] At Oropos: Paus. 1. 34, 3 *Ὠρωπίοις ναός τέ ἐστιν Ἀμφιαράου . . . παρέχεται δὲ ὁ βωμὸς μέρη· τὸ μὲν Ἡρακλέους καὶ Διὸς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστι Παιῶνος.* Cf. Athena, R. 111.

[d] At Selinus: *C. I. G. Sic. It.* 260 *Ἀπόλλωνος Παιᾶνος Ἀθαναίας* (fifth century B. C.).

[e] In Lydia: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887, p. 94 *ἱερεὺς γενόμενος Ῥώμης Ἀπόλλωνι Παιᾶνι* (first century B. C.).

[209] Dedications at Epidauros, *Ἀπόλλωνι Ἀσκληπιῷ* (? = *Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ Ἀσκληπιῷ*], Cavvad. *Fouilles* 20, 24, 112, 132. *Eph. Arch.* 1884, p. 26 *Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ Ἀσκληπιῷ συγγνώμοσιν ὁ ἱερεὺς Ἑλικών.* Collitz, *Dial. Insch.* 3301 *Στράτων Θιωνὶς Ἀργεῖοι τὸνς υἱόνς Ἀπόλλωνι Ἀσκλαπιῷ εὐχάν . . . Ἀργεῖοι ἐποίησαν.* Vide *Geogr. Reg. s. v.* Epidauros, p. 440.

[210] Apollo *Ἀκέσιος*: Paus. 6. 24, 6 *Ἠλείοις ἐν τῷ ὑπαίθρῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τὰ ἐπιφανέστατα ναός ἐστι καὶ ἄγαλμα Ἀπόλλωνος Ἀκεσίου· σημαίνοι δ' ἂν τὸ ὄνομα οὐδέν τι ἀλλοῖον ἢ ὁ καλούμενος Ἀλεξίκακος ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων.*

[211] Apollo *Ἀλεξίκακος*: vide R. 48[a], 98. Paus. 1. 3, 4 (at Athens) *πρὸ δὲ τοῦ νεὼ* [*τοῦ Πατρῴου Ἀπόλλωνος*] *τὸν μὲν Λεωχάρης, ὃν δὲ καλοῦσιν Ἀλεξίκακον Κάλαμις ἐποίησε. τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τῷ θεῷ γενέσθαι λέγουσιν ὅτι τὴν λοιμώδη σφίσι νόσον ὁμοῦ τῷ Πελοποννησίων πολέμῳ πιέζουσαν κατὰ μάντευμα ἔπαυσεν ἐκ Δελφῶν.* Cf. Paus. 10. 11, 5 *Κλεωναῖοι δὲ ἐπιέσθησαν μὲν κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ Ἀθηναίοις ὑπὸ νόσου τῆς λοιμώδους, κατὰ δὲ μάντευμα ἐκ Δελφῶν*

ἔθυσαν τράγον ἀνίσχοντι ἔτι τῷ ἡλίῳ, καί, εὗραντο γὰρ λύσιν τοῦ κακοῦ, τράγον χαλκοῦν ἀποπέμπουσι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι.

[212] ? Δελφίνιος, private dedication at Athens: *C. I. A.* 3. 138 Τύχων ὑγιείας Δελφινίῳ (circ. 100 A. D.).

[213] Apollo Ἐπικούριος at Phigaleia (cf. R. 103): Paus. 8. 41, 7 ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ χωρίον τέ ἐστι καλούμενον Βάσσαι καὶ ὁ ναὸς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Ἐπικουρίου, λίθου καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ ὄροφος . . . τὸ δὲ ὄνομα ἐγένετο τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐπικουρήσαντι ἐπὶ νόσῳ λοιμώδει. ? at Lykosura: see *Geogr. Reg. s. v.* Arcadia, p. 441.

[214] Apollo Ἰατρός: Lycoph. *Cass.* 1207:

χρησμοῖς Ἰατροῦ Λεψίου Τερμινθέως.

Aristoph. *Av.* 585:

εἶθ' ὅ γ' Ἀπόλλων ἰατρός γ' ὢν ἰάσθω· μισθοφορεῖ δέ.

In Apollonia Pontica: Dumont, *Mélanges d'Arch.* p. 459, n. 111, d. 7 κτίσας τὴν πόλιν μετὰ τὴν ἔκπτωσιν . . . Ἀπόλλωνι Ἰητρῷ. Cf. inscription on two coins (proved to belong to Apollonia) Ἀπόλλωνος Ἰατροῦ, *Jahrb. d. d. Inst.* 1898, p. 169. In Olbia: Latyschev, *Inscr. Or. Sept. Pont. Eux.* 1. 93 Ὁ[λβιοπολίτης] Ἀπόλλωνι Ἰ[ητρῷ]? *Id.* 2. 6, near Pantikapaion, Στρατοκλῆς ὑπὲρ πατρὸς τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ . . . ἱερησαμένου Ἀπόλλωνι Ἰητρῷ ἀνέθηκεν Λεύκωνος ἄρχοντος Βοσπόρου. Cf. *id.* 10, 15. Near Phanagoria: *id.* 2. 348.

[215] Apollo Κόρυδος in Messenia: Paus. 4. 34, 7 ἐκ Κορώνης δὲ ὡς ὀγδοήκοντα σταδίους προελθόντι Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστιν ἱερὸν πρὸς θαλάσσῃ τιμὰς ἔχον· ἀρχαιότατόν τε γὰρ λόγῳ τῷ Μεσσηνίων ἐστί, καὶ νοσήματα ὁ θεὸς ἰᾶται· Κόρυδον δὲ Ἀπόλλωνα ὀνομάζουσι· τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ξόανον, τοῦ Ἀργεῶτα δὲ χαλκοῦν ἐστὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα· ἀναθεῖναι δέ φασι τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀργοῖ πλεύσαντας.

[216] Apollo Μαλεάτας. (Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Μαλιεύς· πόλις ἐπώνυμος τῶν Μαλιέων . . . ἔστι καὶ Μαλιακὸς κόλπος. λέγεται καὶ Μαλεάτης.)

[a] ? At Athens: *Eph. Arch.* 1884, p. 83, inscription, ? circ. 400 B. C. on three stone fragments, Ἀσκληπιοῦ· Μαχάονος· Ἀπόλλωνος Μαλεάτου. In the Peiraeus: *Eph. Arch.* 1885, p. 87, inscription found near Zea:—Θεοί· κατὰ τάδε προθύεσθαι Μαλεάτῃ πόπανα τρία, Ἀπόλλωνι πόπανα τρία, Ἑρμῇ πόπανα τρία, Ἰασοῖ πόπανα τρία, Πανακείᾳ πόπανα τρία, κυσὶν πόπανα τρία, κυνηγέταις πόπανα τρία. . . . Εὐθύδημος Ἐλευσίνιος ἱερεὺς Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὰς στήλας ἀνέθηκε τὰς πρὸς τοῖς βωμοῖς ἐν αἷς τὰ πόπανα πρῶτος ἐξεικάσατο, ἃ χρὴ προθύεσθαι (? fourth century B. C.).

[b] At Trikka in Thessaly: *Eph. Arch.* 1885, p. 70, Isyllos-Inscr. l. 26:

πρῶτος Μᾶλος ἔτευξεν Ἀπόλλωνος Μαλεάτα
βωμὸν καὶ θυσίαις ἠγλάϊσεν τέμενος.
οὐδέ κε Θεσσαλίας ἐν Τρίκκῃ πειραθείης
εἰς ἄδυτον καταβὰς Ἀσκληπιοῦ, εἰ μὴ ἐφ' ἁγνοῦ
πρῶτον Ἀπόλλωνος βωμοῦ θύσαις Μαλεάτα.

[c] Epidauros: *ib.* l. 1 Ἴσυλλος Σωκράτευς Ἐπιδαύριος ἀνέθηκε Ἀπόλλωνι Μαλεάτα καὶ Ἀσκλαπιῷ (? fourth century B. C.). Cf. Demeter, R. 36. Paus. 2. 27, 7 Ὄρη δ' ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τὸ ἄλσος τό τε Τίτθιον καὶ ἕτερον ὀνομαζόμενον Κυνόρτιον, Μαλεάτου δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν ἐν αὐτῷ. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τῶν ἀρχαίων. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ὅσα περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Μαλεάτου καὶ ἔλυτρον κρήνης ἐς ὃ τὸ ὕδωρ συλλέγεται σφισι τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ, Ἀντωνῖνος καὶ ταῦτα Ἐπιδαυρίοις ἐποίησε. Cf. § 6 Ἀντωνῖνος ἀνὴρ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς ἐφ' ἡμῶν . . . ἐποίησε καὶ Ὑγιείᾳ ναὸν καὶ Ἀσκληπιῷ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐπίκλησιν Αἰγυπτίοις. *Eph. Arch.* 1883, p. 149, inscription of late period, Ἀπόλλωνι Μαλεάτᾳ Σωτῆρι ὁ ἱερεὺς Διογένης. Cf. *ib.* p. 237 Τιβ. Κλαυδ. . . . Ἀπόλλωνι Μαλεάτᾳ καὶ σωτῆρι Ἀσκληπιῷ. Cf. *ib.* 1899, p. 19.

[d] Sparta: Paus. 3. 12, 8 Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ ἔστι μὲν Ἀπόλλωνος Ἀκρείτα βωμός, ἔστι δ' ἐπονομαζόμενον Γάσηπτον ἱερὸν Γῆς· Ἀπόλλων δ' ὑπὲρ αὐτὸ ἵδρυται Μαλεάτης. Cf. *Geogr. Reg. s. v.* Laconia, p. 441 (Malea).

[e] Selinus east of Sparta: *Ath. Mitth.* 1878, pl. i, p. 17 Κάρμος (? Χάριλος, so Roehl, *I. G. A.* 57) ἀνέθηκε τῷ Μαλεάται, inscription on bronze figure of warrior of Peloponnesian style, sixth century B. C.

[f] ? At Prasiai, on east coast of Laconia: dedication found in the vicinity, small bronze goat with inscription Μαλεάτα, Roehl, *I. G. A.* 89.

[g] Thera: *C. I. G. Inscr. Mar. Aeg.* 3. 372 Ἀπόλλωνος Μαλεάτα Χαιριππιδᾶν, fourth century B. C.

[217] Apollo Λοίμιος: Macrob. 1. 17, 15 Lindii colunt Apollinem Λοίμιον, hoc cognomine finita pestilentia nuncupatum. Eadem opinio sospitalis et medici dei in nostris quoque sacris fovetur. Namque Virgines Vestales ita indigitant 'Apollo Medice, Apollo Paean.'

[218] Apollo Οὔλιος at Rhodes (? at Athens also): vide Artemis, R. 79[n], 102. At Miletos and Delos: Strab. 635 Οὔλιον Ἀπόλλωνα καλοῦσί τινα καὶ Μιλήσιοι καὶ Δήλιοι, οἷον ὑγιαστικὸν καὶ παιωνικόν.

[219] Apollo Σωτήρ in Ambrakia: vide R. 133[g], 154. At Athens: vide Zeus, R. 87[b]. At Epidauros: vide supra, R. 216[c]. At Ios: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1877, p. 136, no. 57 ἱερεῖς Σωτῆρος Ἀπόλλωνος (Roman period). With Zeus Soter at Eumeneia in Phrygia: Zeus, R. 128[v]. Cf. Zeus, R. 128[p].

[220] Apollo Ὑπερτελεάτης in Laconia: *Eph. Arch.* 1884, p. 81, inscription on bronze bands found in Laconia, near Epidauros-Limera and Asopos, Σωσάρων πυροφόρος Ἀπόλλωνος Ὑπερτελεάτου Ἐπιδαύριος. Cf. inscriptions in Collitz, *Dialect. Inschr.* 4537–4549. *Eph. Arch.* 1900, pp. 155–158 [decrees of ὁ δᾶμος τῶν Κοτυρτατᾶν] ἀναθέντω εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Ὑπερτελεάτα. Paus. 3. 22, 10 ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ καὶ ἱερὸν Ἀσκληπιοῦ στάδια ἀπέχον ὡς πεντήκοντα Ἀσωποῦ· τὸ δὲ χωρίον ἔνθα τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖον Ὑπερτελέατον ὀνομάζουσι.

[221] Apollo with Asklepios: cf. R. 27[h], 161, 209. *Geogr. Reg. s. v.* Achaia (Aegira), p. 442.

[a] At Megalopolis: Paus. 8. 32, 5 Ἀσκληπιοῦ Παιδὸς ἱερόν· τούτου μὲν δὴ τὸ ἄγαλμα ὀρθὸν πεποίηται πηχυαῖον μάλιστα, Ἀπόλλωνος δὲ ἐν θρόνῳ κάθηται ποδῶν ἓξ οὐκ ἀποδέον μέγεθος.

[b] At Kos: *Arch. Anz.* 1903, p. 10. inscription on base of statue found on site of temple of Asklepios, ἱέρεια Ἀσκλαπιοῦ Ὑγιείας Ἡπιόνας Ἀπόλλωνος Δαλίου Λατοῦς βασιλέως Εὐμένους.

[c] At Rhodes: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1880, p. 139, third century B. C., inscription of τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἐρανιστᾶν mentioning τὸ τέμενός τοῦ Ἀσκλαπιοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ τᾶς Ἀφροδίτας.

[d] Kyzikos: *Hell. Journ.* 1903, p. 89, joint-temple.

[e] ? At Syracuse: Cic. *Verr.* 2. 4, 127 signum Paeanis ex aede Aesculapii, praeclare factum, sacrum et religiosum, non sustulisti? . . . atque ille Paean sacrificiis anniversariis simul cum Aesculapio apud illos colebatur.

[f] Agrigentum: *ib.* § 93 Agrigenti nonne eiusdem P. Scipionis monumentum, signum Apollinis pulcherrimum, cuius in femine literulis minutis argenteis nomen Myronis erat inscriptum, ex Aesculapii religiosissimo fano sustulisti?

[222] The god of purification: vide R. 1.

[a] Achilles purified in Lesbos by Apollo Artemis and Leto: vide Artemis, R. 79[o].

[b] Apolline purification of Orestes and Theseus at Troezen: vide R. 273[c].

[c] Schol. Arist. *Pax* 1071 Θεόπομπος ἐν τῇ θ' τῶν Φιλιππικῶν ἄλλα τε πολλὰ περὶ τούτου τοῦ Βάκιδος ἱστορεῖ παράδοξα καὶ ὅτι ποτε τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τὰς γυναῖκας μανείσας ἐκάθηρε, Ἀπόλλωνος τούτοις τοῦτον καθαρτὴν δοντός. Cf. Paus. 2. 7, 8, at Sikyon, ὁ ναὸς [τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος] ἔστι μὲν ἐν τῇ νῦν ἀγορᾷ, τὸ δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς λέγουσιν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Προίτου ποιηθῆναι· τὰς γὰρ οἱ θυγατέρας ἐνταῦθα τῆς μανίας παύσασθαι. Cf. 264[i].

d Schol. Demosth. 47. 68 [Ἀθήνῃσι] τρεῖς γίνονται [ἐξηγηταὶ] Πυθόχρηστοι, οἷς μέλει καθαίρειν τοὺς ἐν ἄγει ἐνισχηθέντας. Cf. Demosth. 23. 73.

e Diog. Laert. 1, § 110 Ἀθηναίοις τῷ λοιμῷ· κατεχομένοις ἔχρησεν ἡ Πυθία καθῆραι τὴν πόλιν.

f Plat. *Laws* 865 A εἴ τις ἄκων ἀπέκτεινέ τινα φίλιον . . . καθαρθεὶς κατὰ τὸν ἐκ Δελφῶν κομισθέντα περὶ τούτων νόμον, ἔστω καθαρός.

g Paus. 2. 30, 3 φασὶ δὲ οἱ Κρῆτες . . . Καρμάνορος τοῦ καθήραντος Ἀπόλλωνα ἐπὶ φόνῳ τῷ Πυθῶνος παῖδα Εὔβουλον εἶναι. Cf. R. 264[i], 273.

h Aesch. *Eumen.* 62 :

ἰατρόμαντις δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τερασκόπος
καὶ τοῖσιν ἄλλοις δωμάτων καθάρσιος.

[223] Apollo ἀποτρόπαιος at Athens: R. 274[d]. Cf. Dionys. R. 127. Aristoph. *Av.* 61 :

Ἄπολλον ἀποτρόπαιε, τοῦ χασμήματος.

[224] Apollo Λιταῖος ? at Magnesia on the Maiander : on coin of Geta, *Mionnet* 3, p. 152.

The god of the arts and sciences. Cf. R. 256.

[225] Stesichor. *Frag.* 50 :

μάλα τοι μελιστᾶν
παιγμοσύνας τε φιλεῖ μολπάς τ' Ἀπόλλων·
κάδεα δὲ στοναχὰς Ἀΐδας ἔλαχεν.

Hom. *Hymn Apoll.* 20 :

πάντῃ γάρ τοι, Φοῖβε, νομοὶ βεβλήαται ᾠδῆς.

Pind. *Pyth.* 5. 59 :

βαρειᾶν νόσων
ἀκέσματ' ἄνδρεσσι καὶ γυναιξὶ νέμει
πόρεν τε κίθαριν δίδωσί τε
Μοῖσαν οἷς ἂν ἐθέλῃ
ἀπόλεμον ἀγαγὼν
ἐς πραπίδας εὐνομίαν.

Apollo Αὐλαιτής on Roman imperial coin of Magnesia on the Maiander, with a figure of Apollo Kitharoedos: Head, *Hist. Num.* 502. Paus. 2. 22, 9 (at Argos) Σάκαδα μνῆμά ἐστιν, ὃς τὸ αὔλημα τὸ Πυθικὸν πρῶτος ηὔλησεν ἐν Δελφοῖς· καὶ τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Ἀπόλλωνι διαμένον ἐς τοὺς αὐλητὰς ἔτι ἀπὸ Μαρσύου καὶ τῆς ἁμίλλης τοῦ Σιληνοῦ παυθῆναι διὰ τοῦτον δοκεῖ τὸν Σακάδαν. *Id.* 2. 7, 9, at Sikyon, αὐλοὺς ἀνατεθῆναί φασιν ἐνταῦθα [ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος] τοὺς Μαρσύου. *Id.* 9. 35, 3 καὶ Ἀγγελίων τε καὶ Τεκταῖος οἵ γε τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα ἐργαζόμενοι Δηλίοις τρεῖς ἐποίησαν ἐπὶ τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ Χάριτας. Plut. *De Mus.* 1136 A οὐ μόνη δὲ κιθάρα Ἀπόλλωνος, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐλητικῆς καὶ κιθαριστικῆς εὑρετὴς ὁ θεός. Δῆλον δ' ἐκ τῶν χορῶν καὶ τῶν

θυσιῶν, ἃς προσῆγον μετ' αὐλῶν τῷ θεῷ, καθάπερ ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἀλκαῖος ἔν τινι τῶν ὕμνων ἱστορεῖ. καὶ ἡ ἐν Δήλῳ δὲ τοῦ ἀγάλματος αὐτοῦ ἀφίδρυσις ἔχει ἐν μὲν τῇ δεξιᾷ τόξον, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀριστερᾷ Χάριτας, τῶν τῆς μουσικῆς ὀργάνων ἑκάστην τι ἔχουσαν· ἡ μὲν γὰρ λύραν κρατεῖ, ἡ δὲ αὐλούς, ἡ δὲ ἐν μέσῳ προσκειμένην ἔχει τῷ στόματι σύριγγα. . . . ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν θεὸν φασιν αὐλῆσαι, καθάπερ ἱστορεῖ ὁ ἄριστος μελῶν ποιητὴς Ἀλκμάν· ἡ δὲ Κόρινna καὶ διδαχθῆναί φησι τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα ὑπ' Ἀθηνᾶς αὐλεῖν. Athenae. p. 628a (from Philochoros) τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα μεθ' ἡσυχίας καὶ τάξεως μέλποντες. Plut. *De* EI. § 9, p. 389 C ᾄδουσι τῷ μὲν [Διονύσῳ] διθυραμβικὰ μέλη παθῶν μεστὰ καὶ μεταβολῆς, . . . τῷ δὲ παιᾶνα, τεταγμένην καὶ σώφρονα μοῦσαν. Cf. Proclus (Phot. *Bibl.* p. 320 (Bekk.) Χρυσόθεμις ὁ Κρὴς πρῶτος στολῇ χρησάμενος ἐκπρεπεῖ καὶ κιθάραν ἀναλαβὼν εἰς μίμησιν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος μόνος ᾖσε νόμον.

[226] Apollo Δονάκταν (?): Hesych. *s. v.* τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα Θεόπομπος.

[227] Apollo Ἐναγώνιος at Erythrai: R. 100. Apollo Μουσαῖος at Megara: Le Bas, *Mégar.* 25 Μουσῶν καὶ θεοῦ Καίσαρος, καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος, θεοῦ υἱοῦ, Σεβαστοῦ, Ἀπόλλωνος Μουσείου. Apollo ? Λεσχηνόριος: Photius, *s. v.* Λέσχαι· Κλεάνθης φησὶν ἀπονενεμῆσθαι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τὰς λέσχας . . . καὶ αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Ἀπόλλω παρ' ἐνίοις λέσχην ὄρειον [emend. λεσχηνόριον] ἐπικαλεῖσθαι.

[228] Apollo Μουσαγέτης: vide Dionysos, R. 90, 97. Arrian. *Venat.* 35 [χαριστήρια θύουσιν] οἱ ἀμφὶ παίδευσιν [πονούμενοι] Μούσαις καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι Μουσηγέτῃ καὶ Μνημοσύνῃ καὶ Ἑρμῇ. Himer. *Or.* 13. 7 [Μουσαγέτην] Σαπφὼ καὶ Πίνδαρος ἐν ᾠδῇ κόμῃ τε χρυσῇ καὶ λύραις κοσμήσαντες κύκνοις ἔποχον ἐς Ἑλικῶνα πέμπουσι Μούσαις Χάρισίν τε ὁμοῦ συγχορεύσαντα. Cf. Terpander, *Frag.* 3, Bergk τῷ Μωσάρχῳ Λατοῦς υἱεῖ.

[229] Paus. 10. 19, 4 (at Delphi) τὰ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀετοῖς, ἔστιν Ἄρτεμις καὶ Λητὼ καὶ Ἀπόλλων καὶ Μοῦσαι.

[230] Paus. 5. 18, 3 (on the chest of Kypselos) πεποίηνται δὲ καὶ ᾄδουσαι Μοῦσαι καὶ Ἀπόλλων ἐξάρχων τῆς ᾠδῆς· καί σφισιν ἐπίγραμμα γέγραπται. Aug. *De Civ. Dei* 6. 7 numquid scaenicus Apollo citharista est et ab hac arte Delphicus vacat? (πλῆκτρον dedicated by the Megarians at Delphi, R. 31[d].)

[a] Paus. 8. 32, 2 (at Megalopolis) τὸ τῶν Μουσῶν Ἀπόλλωνός τε ἱερὸν καὶ Ἑρμοῦ, κατασκευασθέν σφισιν ἐν κοινῷ, παρείχετο ἐς μνήμην θεμέλια οὐ πολλά.

[b] Paus. 7. 20, 6 (at Patrai) ἔχεται δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τὸ ᾠδεῖον καὶ Ἀπόλλων ἐνταῦθα ἀνάκειται θέας ἄξιος· ἐποιήθη δὲ ἀπὸ λαφύρων ἡνίκα ἐπὶ τὸν στρατὸν τῶν Γαλατῶν οἱ Πατρεῖς ἤμυναν Αἰτωλοῖς Ἀχαιῶν μόνοι.

Apolline Ritual and Festivals: vide R. 3, 7[a], 7[b], 12, 26, 27[a, h], 34[b], 52, 127, 129, 133[g], 141, 156, 157, 197, 200[r], 204, 216.

Summer and harvest festivals.

231 The Κάρνεια at Sparta: vide R. 27[a, h, o].

a Bekker's *Anecdota* 1, p. 305, 25 Σταφυλοδρόμοι· κατὰ τὴν τῶν Καρνείων ἑορτὴν στέμματά τις περιθέμενος τρέχει ἐπευχόμενός τι τῇ πόλει χρηστόν, ἐπιδιώκουσι δὲ αὐτὸν νέοι, σταφυλοδρόμοι καλούμενοι. καὶ ἐὰν μὲν καταλάβωσιν αὐτόν, ἀγαθόν τι προσδοκῶσι κατὰ τὰ ἐπιχώρια τῇ πόλει· εἰ δὲ μή, τοὐναντίον. Cf. Κάρνειος Στεμματίας, R. 27[f]; Apollo Δρομαιεύς, R. 99.

b Hesych. *s. v.* Σταφυλοδρόμοι· τινὲς τῶν Καρνεατῶν, παρορμῶντες τοὺς ἐπὶ τρύγῃ. *s. v.* Καρνεᾶται· οἱ ἄγαμοι· κεκληρωμένοι δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Καρνείου λειτουργίαν. πέντε δέ ἀφ' ἑκάστης [? φυλῆς] ἐπὶ τετραετίαν ἐλειτούργουν.

c Athenae. 141 e Δημήτριος δὲ ὁ Σκήψιος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τοῦ τρωικοῦ διακόσμου τὴν τῶν Καρνείων φησὶν ἑορτὴν παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις μίμημα εἶναι στρατιωτικῆς ἀγωγῆς· τόπους μὲν γὰρ εἶναι ἐννέα τῷ ἀριθμῷ, σκιάδες δὲ οὗτοι καλοῦνται, σκηναῖς ἔχοντες παραπλήσιόν τι· καὶ ἐννέα καθ' ἕκαστον ἄνδρες δειπνοῦσι, πάντα τε ἀπὸ προστάγματος κηρύσσεται· ἔχει τε ἑκάστη σκιὰς φρατρίας τρεῖς, καὶ γίνεται ἡ τῶν Καρνείων ἑορτὴ ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ἐννέα.

d Hesych. *s. v.* Ἀγητής· . . . ἐν δὲ τοῖς Καρνείοις ὁ ἱερωμένος τοῦ θεοῦ· καὶ ἡ ἑορτὴ Ἀγητορία: vide R. 27[h].

e Eurip. *Alc.* 445:

> πολλά σε μουσοπόλοι
> μέλψουσι καθ' ἑπτάτονόν τ' ὀρείαν
> χέλυν ἔν τ' ἀλύροις κλείοντες ὕμνοις,
> Σπάρτᾳ κυκλὰς ἁνίκα Καρνείου περινίσσεται ὥρα
> μηνὸς ἀειρομένου
> παννύχου σελάνας.

f Athenae. 635 E τὰ Κάρνεια πρῶτος πάντων Τέρπανδρος νικᾷ, ὡς Ἑλλάνικος ἱστορεῖ ἔν τε τοῖς ἐμμέτροις Καρνεονίκαις . . . ἐγένετο δὲ ἡ θέσις τῶν Καρνείων κατὰ τὴν ἕκτην καὶ εἰκοστὴν ὀλυμπιάδα, ὡς Σωσίβιός φησιν ἐν τῷ περὶ χρόνων.

g Bekk. *Anecdota* 1, p. 234 Γυμνοπαιδία· ἐν Σπάρτῃ παῖδες γυμνοὶ παιᾶνας ᾄδοντες ἐχόρευον Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Καρνείῳ κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ πανήγυριν. Cf. Paus. 3. 11, 9 (in the agora at Sparta) χοροὺς οὗτος ὁ τόπος καλεῖται πᾶς, ὅτι ἐν ταῖς γυμνοπαιδίαις, ἑορτὴ δὲ εἴ τις ἄλλη καὶ αἱ γυμνοπαιδίαι διὰ σπουδῆς Λακεδαιμονίοις εἰσίν, ἐν ταύταις οὖν οἱ ἔφηβοι χοροὺς ἱστᾶσι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι. Athenae. 678 b Θυρεατικοί· οὕτω καλοῦνται στέφανοί τινες παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὥς φησι Σωσίβιος ἐν τοῖς περὶ θυσιῶν . . . φέρειν δ' αὐτοὺς ὑπόμνημα τῆς ἐν Θυρέᾳ γενομένης νίκης τοὺς προστάτας τῶν ἀγομένων χορῶν ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ ταύτῃ, ὅτε καὶ τὰς γυμνοπαιδίας ἐπιτελοῦσι. χοροὶ δ' εἰσὶ τρεῖς, ὁ μὲν πρῶτος παίδων, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος ἐφήβων, ὁ δὲ τρίτος ἀνδρῶν, γυμνῶν ὀρχουμένων καὶ ᾀδόντων Θαλήτου

καὶ Ἀλκμᾶνος ᾄσματα καὶ τοὺς Διονυσοδότου τοῦ Λάκωνος παιᾶνας. *Et. Mag.* s. v. Γυμνοπαιδία· ἑορτὴ Λακεδαιμονίων· ἐν ᾗ παῖδες ᾖδον τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι παιᾶνας γυμνοὶ εἰς τοὺς περὶ Πυλαίαν πεσόντας.

[232] At Thurii, sacrifice of a ram at the Karneia: R. 270.

[233 a] At Thera: Pind. *Pyth.* 5. 74:

Σπάρτας . . . ὅθεν γεγενναμένοι
ἵκοντο Θήρανδε φῶτες Αἰγείδαι,
ἐμοὶ πατέρες οὐ θεῶν
ἄτερ, ἀλλὰ μοῖρά τις ἄγεν·
πολύθυτον ἔρανον
ἔνθεν ἀναδεξάμενοι,
Ἄπολλον, τεᾷ
Καρνήϊ' ἐν δαιτὶ σεβίζομεν
Κυράνας ἀγακτιμέναν πόλιν.

[b] At Kos: Paton and Hicks, no. 38 (Dittenb. *Syll.*[3] 617) Ζηνὶ Μαχανῆ βοῦς κρίνεται τὸ ἕτερον ἔτος ἐφ' οὗ κα ἐῶντι Καρνεῖαι.

[c] At Kyrene: Callim. *Hymn Apollo* 85:

ἦ ῥ' ἐχάρη μέγα Φοῖβος ὅτε ζωστῆρες Ἐνυοῦς
ἀνέρες ὠρχήσαντο μετὰ ξανθῇσι Λιβύσσης
τέθμιαι εὖτέ σφιν Καρνειάδες ἦλυθον ὧραι.

Plut. *Quaest. Conviv.* p. 717 D Ἀπόλλωνος γὰρ ἀμφοτέρους ἑορτὴ γενέσθαι· τὸν μὲν γὰρ Θαργηλίοις Ἀθήνησι, τὸν δὲ Κάρνεια Κυρηναίων ἀγόντων· ἑβδόμῃ δ' ἀμφοτέρους ἑορτάζουσι· καὶ τὸν θεόν, ὡς ταύτῃ γενόμενον, ὑμεῖς, εἶπεν, οἱ προφῆται καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς Ἑβδομαγένη καλοῦσι.

[234] Aesch. *Sept.* 800:

τὰς δ' ἑβδόμας ὁ σεμνὸς Ἑβδομαγέτης
Ἄναξ Ἀπόλλων εἵλετ'.

Hesiod. *Op.* 770:

πρῶτον ἔνη τετράς τε καὶ ἑβδόμη, ἱερὸν ἦμαρ,
τῇ γὰρ Ἀπόλλωνα χρυσάορα γείνατο Λητώ.

[235] Herod. 6. 57 (at Sparta) νεομηνίας δὲ πάσας καὶ ἑβδόμας ἱσταμένου τοῦ μηνὸς δίδοσθαι ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου ἰρήϊον τέλεον ἑκατέρῳ [τῶν βασιλέων] ἐς Ἀπόλλωνος.

[236] Schol. Aristoph. *Plut.* 1126 ἱεραί τινες τοῦ μηνὸς ἡμέραι νομίζονται Ἀθήνησι θεοῖς τισίν, οἷον νουμήνια καὶ ἑβδόμη Ἀπόλλωνι, τετρὰς Ἑρμῇ καὶ ὀγδόη Θησεῖ.

[237] Schol. Hom. *Od.* 24. 155 τοῦ δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος ταύτην εἶναι νομίζειν τὴν ἡμέραν εἰκότως . . . ἐκίλουν τε αὐτὸν καὶ Νεομήνιον· ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ Φιλοχόρῳ. Vide R. 268.

[238] At Delphi, the 7th of Busios, the first month of spring, the birthday of Apollo, R. 128[n]. Cf. inscription of the Labyadai, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1895, p. 11, D l. 6. At Delos, Athens, the 7th of Thargelion, R. 233, 242[h]. Sacrifice at Mykonos on the 7th of Hekatombaion, R. 253. Seven a sacred number in the ritual of Sikyon: vide *Geogr. Reg.*, Sikyon, p. 439. Attic Pyanopsia on the 7th of Pyanepsion R. 259.

[239] Zakynthos, the διχομηνία sacred to Apollo: Plut. *Dion.* 23 ἡ δὲ σελήνη διχομηνίαν ἦγε· τῷ δὲ Ἀπόλλωνι θυσίαν μεγαλοπρεπῆ παρασκευάσας ὁ Δίων . . .

[240] *Et. Mag. s. v.* Εἰκάδιος· ἔστι δὲ ὄνομα κύριον· ἐν τῇ εἰκάδι τοῦ μηνὸς ἑορτὴ ἐπετελεῖτο τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ ἐλέγετο ἡ ἱέρεια εἰκάς. (Cf. the guild of the εἰκαδεῖς mentioned *C. I. A.* 2. 609.) Paton and Hicks, *Inscr. of Kos* 369 θυέτω ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐν τῷ μηνὶ τῷ Πανάμῳ τᾷ ἑβδόμᾳ αἶγα τᾷ Ἀφροδίτᾳ . . . θυέτω δὲ ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τῇ εἰκάδι αἶγα.

[241] Θαργήλια at Athens: vide R. 156, 233; Artemis, R. 56.

[a] Hesych. *s.v.* Θαργήλια· Ἀπόλλωνος ἑορτή· καὶ ὅλως ὁ μὴν ἱερὸς τοῦ θεοῦ· ἐν δὲ τοῖς Θαργηλίοις τὰς ἀπαρχὰς τῶν φαινομένων [? leg. φυομένων] ποιοῦνται καὶ περικομίζουσι . . . καὶ τὴν ἱκετηρίαν ἐκάλουν Θάργηλον· καὶ Ἀρχίλοχός φησι . . . καὶ ὁ θάργηλος χύτρος ἐστὶν ἀνάπλεως σπερμάτων.

[b] Schol. Aristoph. *Plut.* 1055 Πυανεψίοις καὶ Θαργηλίοις Ἡλίῳ καὶ Ὥραις θύουσιν Ἀθηναῖοι· φέρουσι δὲ οἱ παῖδες τὰ προκατειλεγμένα ἀκρόδρυα, καὶ ταῦτα πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν κρεμῶσι. κατά τι δὲ χρηστήριον πρὸς ἀποτροπὴν λιμοῦ ταῦτα ἐποίουν. Cf. Porph. *De Abst.* 2. 9 πομπή and cereal offerings in honour of Helios and the Hours at Athens. Schol. Aristoph. *Equ.* 729 Πυανεψίοις καὶ Θαργηλίοις Ἡλίῳ καὶ Ὥραις ἑορτάζουσιν Ἀθηναῖοι. φέρουσι δὲ οἱ παῖδες τούς τε θαλλοὺς ἐρίοις περιειλημένους, ὅθεν εἰρεσιῶναι λέγονται καὶ τούτους πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν κρεμῶσι.

[c] Athenae. 114 a τὸν θάργηλον, ὅν τινες καλοῦσι θαλύσιον [Κράτης δ' ἐν δευτέρᾳ Ἀττικῆς διαλέκτου θάργηλον καλεῖσθαι τὸν ἐκ τῆς συγκομιδῆς πρῶτον γινόμενον ἄρτον].

[d] Harpokrat. *s. v.* Φαρμακός. δύο ἄνδρας Ἀθήνησιν ἐξῆγον καθάρσια ἐσομένους τῆς πόλεως ἐν τοῖς Θαργηλίοις, ἕνα μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἕνα δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν γυναικῶν. ὅτι δὲ ὄνομα κύριόν ἐστιν ὁ φαρμακός, ἱερὰς δὲ φιάλας τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος κλέψας ἁλοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα κατελεύσθη, καὶ τὰ τοῖς Θαργηλίοις ἀγόμενα τούτων ἀπομιμήματά ἐστιν, Ἴστρος ἐν α' τῶν Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπιφανειῶν εἴρηκεν.

[e] Lysias 6. 53 ἀπαλλαττομένους Ἀνδοκίδου τὴν πόλιν καθαίρειν καὶ ἀποδιοπομπεῖσθαι καὶ φαρμακὸν ἀποπέμπειν καὶ ἀλιτηρίου ἀπαλλάττεσθαι.

[f] Schol. Arist. *Equ.* 1133 ἔτρεφον γάρ τινας Ἀθηναῖοι λίαν ἀγεννεῖς καὶ ἀχρήστους καὶ ἐν καιρῷ συμφορᾶς τινος ἐπελθούσης τῇ πόλει, λοιμοῦ λέγω ἢ τοιούτου τινός, ἔθυον τούτους ἕνεκα τοῦ καθαρθῆναι τοῦ μιάσματος· οὓς καὶ ἐπωνόμαζον καθάρματα.

[g] Suidas, *s. v.* φαρμακούς· τοὺς δημοσίᾳ τρεφομένους, οἱ ἐκάθαιρον τὰς πόλεις τῷ ἑαυτῶν φόνῳ.

[h] Diog. Laert. 2. 44 ἐγεννήθη δὲ Σωκράτης . . . Θαργηλιῶνος ἕκτῃ, ὅτε καθαίρουσι τὴν πόλιν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν γενέσθαι Δήλιοί φασιν. (Cf. Artemis, R. 79[a] ad fin.)

[i] Phot. *Biblioth.* p. 534 (Bekker) ὁ μὲν καθαρμὸς τῶν ἀνδρῶν μέλαινας ἰσχάδας περὶ τὸν τράχηλον εἶχε, λευκὰς δὲ ἄτερος, σύμβακχοι [Paris MS. σύβακχοι] δέ φησιν ὠνομάζοντο. τὸ δὲ καθάρσιον τοῦτο λοιμικῶν νόσων ἀποτροπιασμὸς ἦν λαβὸν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ Ἀνδρόγεω τοῦ Κρητός.

[k] Hesych. *s. v.* Κραδίης νόμος· νόμον τινὰ ἐπαυλοῦσι τοῖς ἐκπεμπομένοις φαρμακοῖς, κράδαις καὶ θρίοις ἐπιραβδιζομένοις.

[l] Tzetzes, *Chiliad.* 5. 736 :

> εἴτ' οὖν λιμὸς εἴτε λοιμὸς εἴτε καὶ βλάβος ἄλλο,
> τῶν πάντων ἀμορφότερον ἦγον ὡς πρὸς θυσίαν,
> εἰς καθαρμὸν καὶ φάρμακον πόλεως τῆς νοσούσης.
> εἰς τόπον δὲ τὸν πρόσφορον στήσαντες τὴν θυσίαν,
> τυρόν τε δόντες τῇ χειρὶ καὶ μάζαν καὶ ἰσχάδας,
> ἑπτάκις γὰρ ῥαπίσαντες ἐκεῖνον εἰς τὸ πέος
> σκίλλαις συκαῖς ἀγρίαις τε καὶ ἄλλοις τῶν ἀγρίων,
> τέλος πυρὶ κατέκαιον ἐν ξύλοις τοῖς ἀγρίοις,
> καὶ τὸν σποδὸν εἰς θάλασσαν ἔρραινον εἰς ἀνέμους.

[m] Athenae. 424 e–f Θεόφραστος γοῦν ἐν τῷ περὶ μέθης φησί ' πυνθάνομαι δ' ἔγωγε καὶ Εὐριπίδην τὸν ποιητὴν οἰνοχοεῖν Ἀθήνησι τοῖς ὀρχησταῖς καλουμένοις. ὠρχοῦντο δ' οὗτοι περὶ τὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος νεὼν τοῦ Δηλίου, τῶν πρώτων ὄντες Ἀθηναίων, καὶ ἐνεδύοντο τὰ ἱμάτια τῶν Θηραικῶν. ὁ δὲ Ἀπόλλων οὗτός ἐστιν ᾧ τὰ Θαργήλια ἄγουσι καὶ διασώζεται Φλυῆσιν ἐν τῷ δαφνηφορείῳ γραφὴ περὶ τούτων.' Aristot. *Ath. Pol.* 56 ἐπιμελεῖται δὲ [ὁ ἄρχων] καὶ τῆς [πομπῆς] τῆς εἰς Θαργήλια καὶ τῆς τῷ Διῒ τῷ Σωτῆρι, διοικεῖ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Διονυσίων οὗτος καὶ τῶν Θαργηλίων. Cf. R. 156 ; Dionysos, R. 127[d].

[n] Isaeus 7. 15 ἐπειδὴ Θαργήλια ἦν ἤγαγέ με ἐπὶ τοὺς βωμοὺς εἰς τοὺς γεννήτας τε καὶ φράτορας.

[242] ? At Delos.

[a] Plut. *Sept. Sap. Conv.* p. 158 A θαυμάζω δέ σου τὸν ξένον, ὦ Σόλων,

εἰ Δηλίοις ἔναγχος ποιησάμενος τὸν μέγαν καθαρμὸν οὐχ ἱστόρησε παρ' αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν κομιζόμενα τῆς πρώτης ὑπομνήματα τροφῆς καὶ δείγματα, μετ' ἄλλων εὐτελῶν καὶ αὐτοφυῶν, μαλάχην καὶ ἀνθέρικον.

b Serv. *Aen.* 11. 858 Graeci tradunt ἀμαλλοφόρους ex Hyperboreis, qui et ipsi sunt Thraces, ad Latonam venisse.

c Porph. *De Abstin.* 2. 19 Σεμνὰ δ' ἦν τῶν πρὶν ὑπομνήματα ἐν Δήλῳ ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων ἀμαλλοφόρων.

d Cratin. Δηλιάδες (Meinek. vol. 2, p. 34) Ὑπερβορέους αἴθρια τιμῶντας στέφη. Herod. 4. 33 Δήλιοι λέγουσι φάμενοι ἱρὰ ἐνδεδεμένα ἐν καλάμῃ πυρῶν, ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων φερόμενα, ἀπικνέεσθαι ἐς Σκύθας· ἀπὸ δὲ Σκυθέων ἤδη δεκομένους αἰεὶ τοὺς πλησιοχώρους ἑκάστους κομίζειν αὐτὰ τὸ πρὸς ἑσπέρης ἑκαστάτω ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀδρίην· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην προπεμπόμενα πρώτους Δωδωναίους Ἑλλήνων δέκεσθαι· ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων καταβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸν Μηλιέα κόλπον καὶ διαπορεύεσθαι ἐς Εὔβοιαν· πόλιν τε ἐς πόλιν πέμπειν, μέχρι Καρύστου . . . Καρυστίους εἶναι τοὺς κομίζοντας ἐς Τῆνον· Τηνίους δὲ ἐς Δῆλον . . . πρῶτον δὲ τοὺς Ὑπερβορέους πέμψαι φερούσας τὰ ἱρὰ δύο κόρας τὰς οὐνομάζουσι Δήλιοι εἶναι Ὑπερόχην τε καὶ Λαοδίκην· ἅμα δὲ αὐτῇσι ἀσφαλίης εἵνεκεν πέμψαι τοὺς Ὑπερβορέους των ἀστῶν ἄνδρας πέντε πομπούς, τούτους οἳ νῦν Περφερέες καλέονται τιμὰς μεγάλας ἐν Δήλῳ ἔχοντες. Cf. Hesych. *s. v.* Περφέρες· Θεωροί. Cf. R. 264[e]; Artemis, R. 79[a].

e Callim. *in Del.* 278 :

> ἀλλά τοι ἀμφιετεῖς δεκατηφόροι αἰὲν ἀπαρχαὶ
> πέμπονται πᾶσαι δὲ χοροὺς ἀνάγουσι πόληες . . .
> . . . . . .
> οἳ μέν τοι καλάμην τε καὶ ἱερὰ δράγματα πρῶτοι
> ἀσταχύων φορέουσι

(the same route given).

f Paus. 1. 31, 2 ἐν δὲ Πρασιεῦσιν Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστι ναός. ἐνταῦθα τὰς Ὑπερβορέων ἀπαρχὰς ἰέναι λέγεται, παραδιδόναι δὲ αὐτὰς Ὑπερβορέους μὲν Ἀριμασποῖς, Ἀριμασποὺς δ' Ἰσσηδόσι, παρὰ δὲ τούτων Σκύθας ἐς Σινώπην κομίζειν, ἐντεῦθεν δὲ φέρεσθαι διὰ Ἑλλήνων ἐς Πρασιάς, Ἀθηναίους δὲ εἶναι τοὺς ἐς Δῆλον ἄγοντας· τὰς δὲ ἀπαρχὰς κεκρύφθαι μὲν ἐν καλάμῃ πυρῶν, γινώσκεσθαι δὲ ὑπ' οὐδένων.

g Plat. *Phaed.* p. 58 B τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ πλοῖον, ὥς φασιν Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐν ᾧ Θησεύς ποτε εἰς Κρήτην τοὺς δὶς ἑπτὰ ἐκείνους ᾤχετο ἄγων, καὶ ἔσωσέ τε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐσώθη. τῷ οὖν Ἀπόλλωνι εὔξαντο, ὡς λέγεται, τότε, εἰ σωθεῖεν, ἑκάστου ἔτους θεωρίαν ἀπάξειν εἰς Δῆλον. ἣν δὴ ἀεὶ καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἐξ ἐκείνου κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν τῷ θεῷ πέμπουσιν. ἐπειδὰν οὖν ἄρξωνται τῆς θεωρίας, νόμος ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ καθαρεύειν τὴν πόλιν καὶ δημοσίᾳ μηδένα ἀποκτινύναι, πρὶν ἂν εἰς Δῆλον [ἀφίκηται τὸ πλοῖον καὶ πάλιν δεῦρο . . . ἀρχὴ δ' ἐστὶ τῆς θεωρίας ἐπειδὰν

ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος στέψῃ τὴν πρύμναν τοῦ πλοίου. Cf. 156[f], 263[f]. (Theseus started on the 6th of Munychion: vide R. 34[c].)

[h] Diog. Laert. 3. 2 Θαργηλιῶνος ἑβδόμῃ καθ' ἣν Δήλιοι Ἀπόλλωνα γενέσθαι φασί. ? τὰ Ἀπολλώνια at Delos on the 7th of Thargelion (cf. 263[d]): *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1878, p. 331 ἀναγορεῦσαι τὸν ἱεροκήρυκα ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ὅταν οἱ χοροὶ τῶν παίδων ἀγωνίζωνται τόδε τὸ κήρυγμα. *ib.* 1880, pp. 328 and 351, 1904, p. 277 similar decrees; 1883, pp. 105–121, lists of οἱ χορηγοῦντες εἰς Ἀπολλώνια: παίδων from 286 to 171 B. C.

[243] Thargelia at Miletos: Parthen. 9 τοῖς Μιλησίοις ἑορτὴ . . . Θαργήλια ἐπῆει.

[244] At Ephesos: Hipponax, Bergk, *Frag.* 4 πόλιν καθαίρειν καὶ κράδῃσι βάλλεσθαι [φαρμακόν]. *Frag.* 5 βάλλοντες ἐν λειμῶνι καὶ ῥαπίζοντες | κράδῃσι καὶ σκίλλῃσιν, ὥσπερ φαρμακόν. *Frag.* 37 ὁ δ' ἐξολισθὼν ἱκέτευε τὴν κράμβην | τὴν ἑπτάφυλλον, ἣν θύεσκε Πανδώρῃ [Libr. ᾗ . . . Πανδώρη] Ταργηλίοισιν ἔγχυτον πρὸ φαρμάκου. *Frag.* 7 Κἀφῇ παρέξειν ἰσχάδας τε καὶ μᾶζαν καὶ τυρόν, οἷον ἐσθίουσι φαρμακοί.

[245] ? Thargelia at Massilia: Serv. *Aen.* 3. 57 Massilienses quotiens pestilentia laborabant, unus se ex pauperibus offerebat alendus anno integro publicis sumptibus, et purioribus cibis. Hic postea ornatus verbenis et vestibus sacris circumducebatur per totam civitatem cum execrationibus, ut in ipsum reciderent mala totius civitatis, et sic proiiciebatur (praecipitabatur *Stephanus*): hoc autem in Petronio lectum est. Cf. Lactant. Placid. Comment. Stat. *Theb.* 10. 793 Lustrare civitatem humana hostia Gallicus mos est. Nam aliquis de egentissimis proliciebatur praemiis, ut se ad hoc venderet. Qui anno toto publicis sumptibus alebatur purioribus cibis, denique certo et sollemni die per totam civitatem ductus ex urbe extra pomeria saxis occidebatur a populo.

[246] Τὰ Ὑακίνθια in Laconia: vide R. 19. Hesych. *s. v.* Ἑκατομβεύς· μὴν παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐν ᾧ τὰ Ὑακίνθια (early summer month, as proved by Xen. *Hell.* 4. 5). Strab. 362 τὸ παλαιὸν ἑκατόμπολίν φασιν αὐτὴν [Σπάρτην] καλεῖσθαι, καὶ τὰ ἑκατόμβαια διὰ τοῦτο θύεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς κατ' ἔτος· (ἑκατόμβαια at Argos also: vide Hesych. *s. v.*)

[247] Athenae. 139 d Πολυκράτης ἐν τοῖς Λακωνικοῖς ἱστορεῖ ὅτι τὴν μὲν τῶν Ὑακινθίων θυσίαν οἱ Λάκωνες ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας συντελοῦσι καὶ διὰ τὸ πένθος τὸ γενόμενον περὶ τὸν Ὑάκινθον οὔτε στεφανοῦνται ἐπὶ τοῖς δείπνοις οὔτε ἄρτον εἰσφέρουσι οὔτε πέμματα καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἀκόλουθα διδύασι. καὶ τὸν ἐς τὸν θεὸν παιᾶνα οὐκ ᾄδουσι, οὐδ' ἄλλοτι τοιοῦτον εἰσάγουσιν οὐδέν, καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις θυσίαις ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ μετ' εὐταξίας πολλῆς δειπνήσαντες ἀπέρχονται. τῇ δὲ μέσῃ τῶν τριῶν ἡμερῶν γίνεται θέα ποικίλη, καὶ πανήγυρις ἀξιόλογος καὶ μεγάλη· παῖδές τε γὰρ κιθαρίζουσιν ἐν χιτῶσιν ἀνεζωσμένοι, καὶ πρὸς αὐλὸν ᾄδοντες πάσας ἅμα τῷ πλήκτρῳ τὰς χορδὰς ἐπιτρέχοντες, ἐν ῥυθμῷ μὲν ἀναπαίστῳ μετ' ὀξέος

δὲ τόνου τὸν θεὸν ᾄδουσι, ἄλλοι δὲ ἐφ' ἵππων κεκοσμημένοι τὸ θέατρον διεξέρχονται, χοροί τε νεανίσκων παμπλήθεις εἰσέρχονται καὶ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων τινὰ ποιημάτων ᾄδουσιν, ὀρχησταί τε ἐν τούτοις ἀναμεμιγμένοι τὴν κίνησιν ἀρχαϊκὴν ὑπὸ τὸν αὐλὸν καὶ τὴν ᾠδὴν ποιοῦνται. τῶν δὲ παρθένων αἱ μὲν ἐπὶ κανάθρων, καμαρωτῶν ξυλίνων ἁρμάτων, φέρονται πολυτελῶς κατεσκευασμένων, αἱ δὲ ἐφ' ἁμίλλαις ἁρμάτων ἐζευγμένων πομπεύουσι· ἅπασα δ' ἐν κινήσει καὶ χαρᾷ τῆς θεωρίας ἡ πόλις καθέστηκεν, ἱερεῖά τε παμπλήθη θύουσι τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην καὶ δειπνίζουσιν οἱ πολῖται ἅπαντας τοὺς γνωρίμους καὶ τοὺς δούλους τοὺς ἰδίους.

[248] Paus. 3. 16, 2 ὑφαίνουσι δὲ κατὰ ἔτος αἱ γυναῖκες τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι χιτῶνα τῷ ἐν Ἀμύκλαις, καὶ τὸ οἴκημα ἔνθα ὑφαίνουσι Χιτῶνα ὀνομάζουσι.

[249] Xen. *Hell.* 4. 5, 11 οἱ Ἀμυκλαῖοι ἀεί ποτε ἀπέρχονται εἰς τὰ Ὑακίνθια ἐπὶ τὸν παιᾶνα, ἐάν τε στρατοπεδευόμενοι τυγχάνωσιν ἐάν τε ἄλλως πως ἀποδημοῦντες.

[250] Schol. Pind. *Isthm.* 6. 18 μεγάλων παρ' αὐτοῖς [τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις] ἠξιώθη τιμῶν [Τιμόμαχος ὁ Θηβαῖος]· καὶ τοῖς Ὑακινθίοις δὲ ὁ χάλκεος αὐτῷ θώραξ προτίθεται.

[251] *Eph. Arch.* 1892, p. 19 ἡ πόλις Πομπηίαν Πώλλαν Θευξένου τὴν ἀρχηΐδα καὶ θεωρὸν διὰ βίου τοῦ σεμνοτάτου ἀγῶνος τῶν Ὑακινθίων. Eur. *Hel.* 1469:

χρόνῳ συνελθοῦσα χοροῖς
ἢ κώμοις Ὑακίνθου, νυχίαν εὐφροσύναν.

Vide Dionysos, *Geogr. Reg. s. v.* Laconia.

[252] Athenae. 138 f (from Polemon) Εὔπολις ἐν Εἵλωσι

καὶ γένηται τοῖσδε σάμερον κοπίς

δεῖπνον δ' ἐστὶν ἰδίως ἔχον ἡ κοπίς . . . ἐπὴν δὲ κοπίζωσι, πρῶτον μὲν δὴ σκηνὰς ποιοῦνται παρὰ τὸν θεόν, ἐν δὲ ταύταις . . . τοὺς κατακλιθέντας εὐωχοῦσιν, οὐ μόνον τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἡμεδαπῆς ἀφικνουμένους ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐπιδημήσαντας τῶν ξένων. θύουσι δ' ἐν ταῖς κοπίσιν αἶγας, ἄλλο δ' οὐδὲν ἱερεῖον, καὶ τῶν κρεῶν διδόασι μοίρας πᾶσι καὶ τὸν καλούμενον φυσίκιλλον, ὅς ἐστιν ἀρτίσκος . . . ἐν δὲ τῇ πόλει κοπίδας ἄγουσι καὶ τοῖς τιθηνιδίοις καλουμένοις ὑπὲρ τῶν παίδων (cf. Artemis, R. 72). Cf. *id.* 140 A Ἐπίλυκος ἐν Κωραλίσκῳ λέγων οὕτως

Ποττὰν κοπίδ' οἰῶ σῶμαι
ἐν Ἀμυκλαῖον.

[253] Apollo Ἑκατόμβαιος at Athens: Hesych. *s. v.* Ἑκατόμβαιος. ὁ Ἀπόλλων παρ' Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Ζεὺς ἐν Γορτύνῃ καὶ παρὰ Καρσὶ καὶ Κρησί. Cf. *Et. Mag. s. v.* Ἑκατομβαιών. At Mykonos: Dittenb. *Syll.* 373 Ἑκατομβαιῶνος ἑβδόμῃ ἱσταμένου Ἀπόλλωνι Ἑκατομβίῳ ταῦρος καὶ δέκα ἄρνες.

[254] Apollo Μεταγείτνιος at Athens: Harpocrat. *s. v.* Μεταγειτνιών· ὁ βʹ μὴν παρ' Ἀθηναίοις οὕτω καλεῖται, ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Ἀπόλλωνι Μεταγειτνίῳ θύουσιν, ὡς Λυσιμαχίδης ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησι μηνῶν. Cf. Plut. 601 D Ἀθηναίων

οἱ μεταστάντες ἐκ Μελίτης εἰς Διωμίδα, ὅπου καὶ μῆνα Μεταγειτνιῶνα καὶ θυσίαν ἐπώνυμον ἄγουσι τοῦ μετοικισμοῦ τὰ Μεταγείτνια.

[255] ? Summer festival of Apollo Δήλιος at Kos: Paton and Hicks 367, Coan decree μηνὸς Ὑακινθίου to be proclaimed ἐν τῷ Δαλίῳ μηνὶ . . . ἀπὸ τᾶς τετράδος ἐς ὃ κα συντελεσθῶντι ταὶ παναγύρεις [Δάλιος = Σκιροφοριών ?].

[256] Πύθια at Delphi: cf. Dionysos, R. 66[1].

[a] *C. I. A.* 2. 545 Πύθια ἀγόντων τοῦ Βουκατίου μηνὸς τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς (389 B.C., decree of the Amphiktyones). Cf. inscription of the Labyadai: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1895, p. 12, l. 42 ταῖδε θυσίαι Λαβυαδᾶν τὠπελλαίου μηνὸς τῷ Διονύσῳ βουκατίοις, τῷ Δὶ Πατρωίῳ καὶ τῷπόλλωνι τὰν ἀκρόθινα. Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* ὑπόθεσις (Boeckh, p. 297) ἀγωνίζεται τὸν Πυθικὸν ἀγῶνα κατὰ ἑβδόμην ἡμέραν.

[b] Xen. *Hell.* 6. 4, 29 ἐπιόντων δὲ Πυθίων παρήγγειλεν Ἰάσων ταῖς πόλεσι βοῦς καὶ ὗς καὶ αἶγας καὶ ὗς παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς εἰς τὴν θυσίαν.

[c] Censor. *De die Nat.* c. 18 Delphis quoque ludi qui vocantur Pythia post annum octavum olim conficiebantur.

[d] Himer. *Or.* 14. 10 (Bergk, *Frag. Graec. Lyr.* 3, p. 147) Ἐθέλω ὑμῖν καὶ Ἀλκαίου τινὰ λόγον εἰπεῖν· ὃν ἐκεῖνος ᾖσεν ἐν μέλεσι παιᾶνα γράφων Ἀπόλλωνι . . . Δελφοὶ . . . παιᾶνα συνθέντες καὶ μέλος καὶ χοροὺς ἠϊθέων περὶ τὸν τρίποδα στήσαντες ἐκάλουν τὸν θεὸν ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων ἐλθεῖν. ὁ δὲ ἔτος ὅλον παρὰ τοῖς ἐκεῖ θεμιστεύσας, ἐπειδὴ καιρὸν ἐνόμιζε καὶ τοὺς Δελφικοὺς ἠχῆσαι τρίποδας αὖθις κελεύει τοῖς κύκνοις ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων ἀφίπτασθαι· ἦν μὲν οὖν θέρος καὶ τοῦ θέρους τὸ μέσον αὐτό, ὅτε ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων Ἀλκαῖος ἄγει τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα. (Diod. Sic. 2. 47 Apollo sojourns every ninth year with the Hyperboreans, ἀπὸ ἰσημερίας ἐαρινῆς ἕως Πλειάδος ἀνατολῆς.)

[e] Strab. 421 Ἀγὼν ὁ μὲν ἀρχαῖος ἐν Δελφοῖς κιθαρῳδῶν ἐγενήθη παιᾶνα ᾀδόντων εἰς τὸν θεόν· ἔθηκαν δὲ Δελφοί· μετὰ δὲ τὸν Κρισαῖον πόλεμον οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες ἱππικὸν καὶ γυμνικὸν ἐπ' Εὐρυλόχου διέταξεν στεφανίτην καὶ Πύθια ἐκάλεσεν. προσέθεσαν δὲ τοῖς κιθαρῳδοῖς αὐλητάς τε καὶ κιθαριστὰς χωρὶς ᾠδῆς, ἀποδώσοντάς τι μέλος ὃ καλεῖται νόμος Πυθικός. . . . βούλεται δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τὸν πρὸς τὸν δράκοντα διὰ μέλους ὑμνεῖν. Plut. *De Mus.* 7, p. 1133 E λέγεται γὰρ τὸν προειρημένον Ὄλυμπον, αὐλητὴν ὄντα τῶν ἐκ Φρυγίας ποιῆσαι νόμον αὐλητικὸν εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα τὸν καλούμενον πολυκέφαλον. (Cf. Pollux, 4. 84 for the supposed significance of the various parts of the νόμος αὐλητικός, a musical μίμησις of the combat.) Cf. Paus. 10. 7, 5 δευτέρᾳ δὲ Πυθιάδι . . . αὐλῳδίαν τε κατέλυσαν, καταγνόντες οὐκ εἶναι τὸ ἄκουσμα εὔφημον. ἡ γὰρ αὐλῳδία μέλη τε ἦν αὐλῶν τὰ σκυθρωπότατα καὶ ἐλεγεῖα προσᾳδόμενα τοῖς αὐλοῖς (his account differs from Strabo's in one or two details). Cf. R. 225.

f Plut. p. 674 D *παραδεξάμενοι γάρ, ἐπὶ τρισὶ καθεστῶσιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, αὐλητῇ Πυθικῷ καὶ κιθαριστῇ καὶ κιθαρῳδῷ, τὸν τραγῳδόν.* . . . 638 C *Σωσικλέα τὸν Κορωνῆθεν, Πυθίοις νενικηκότα ποιητάς, εἱστιῶμεν τὰ ἐπινίκια. τοῦ δὲ γυμνικοῦ ἀγῶνος ἐγγὺς ὄντος, ὁ πλεῖστος ἦν λόγος περὶ τῶν παλαιστῶν.*

g Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 35, 35 certamen etiam picturae florente eo (Panaeno) institutum est Corinthi ac Delphis primusque omnium certavit cum Timagora Chalcidensi superatus ab eo Pythiis.

257 Paris. Schol. Clem. Alex. p. 92 (Klotz) *ἐν μὲν Κιθαιρῶνι καὶ Ἑλικῶνι καθ' ἃ Δελφοὶ ὑποκάθηνται ὁ δράκων ὑπὸ Ἀπόλλωνος τοξευθεὶς τραγῳδίας ὑπῆρξε πατήρ.*

258 For *Πυθιασταί* at Athens, R. 156.

Pythian games in other states: R. 145, 148, 149, 153, 158, 175, 178.

Autumn festivals.

259 *Πυανόψια*: cf. R. 241 b.

a Harpocr. *s. v. Λυκοῦργος ἐν τῷ κατὰ Μενεσαίχμου* ' *καὶ ἡμεῖς Πυανόψια ταύτην τὴν ἑορτὴν καλοῦμεν οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες Πανόψια, ὅτι πάντας εἶδον τοὺς καρποὺς τῇ ὄψει.*' *Ἀπολλώνιος καὶ σχεδὸν πάντες οἱ περὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησιν ἑορτῶν γεγραφότες Πυανεψιῶνος ἑβδόμῃ Πυανέψια Ἀπόλλωνι ἄγεσθαί φασι. δεῖν δέ φασι λέγειν Πυανέψια καὶ τὸν μῆνα Πυανεψιῶνα· πύανα γὰρ ἕψουσιν ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἡ εἰρεσιώνη ἄγεται.*

b Athenae. 648 B *ἐστὶ δὲ τὸ πυάνιον, ὡς φησι Σωσίβιος, πανσπερμία ἐν γλυκεῖ ἡψημένη.* 406 C (from Heliodoros) *τῆς τῶν πυρῶν ἑψήσεως ἐπινοηθείσης οἱ μὲν παλαιοὶ πύανον, οἱ δὲ νῦν ὁλόπυρον προσαγορεύουσιν.*

c Eustath. *Il.* p. 1283, 6 *ἐν δὲ τοῖς Παυσανίου κεῖται ταῦτα· εἰρεσιώνη, θαλλὸς ἐλαίας, ἐστεμμένος ἐρίῳ, προσκεκραμένους ἔχων διαφόρους ἐκ γῆς καρπούς. τοῦτον ἐκφέρει παῖς ἀμφιθαλὴς καὶ τίθησι πρὸ θυρῶν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱεροῦ ἐν τοῖς Πυανεψίοις· λέγεται γάρ, φησι, Θησέα, ὅτε εἰς Κρήτην ἔπλει, προσσχόντα Δήλῳ τῇ νήσῳ διὰ χειμῶνα εὔξασθαι Ἀπόλλωνι καταστέψασθαι κλάδοις ἐλαίας, εἰ τὸν Μινώταυρον κτείνας σωθῇ, καὶ θυσιάσειν. καὶ γοῦν τὴν ἱκετηρίαν ταύτην καταστέψας ἐψῆσαι λέγεται χύτρας ἀθάρας καὶ ἔτνους καὶ βωμὸν ἱδρύσασθαι. ἦγον δὲ ἕσθ' ὅτε ταῦτα καὶ ἐπὶ ἀποτροπῇ λιμοῦ. ᾖδον δὲ παῖδες οὕτω* ' *εἰρεσιώνη σῦκα φέρει καὶ πίονας ἄρτους καὶ μέλιτος κοτύλην καὶ ἔλαιον ἐπικρήσασθαι, καὶ κύλικ' εὔζωρον, ἵνα μεθύουσα καθεύδῃ*' *μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἔξω ἀγρῶν τιθέασι παρὰ τὰς θύρας.* Plut. *Thes.* 22 *Θάψας δὲ τὸν πατέρα τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τὴν εὐχὴν ἀπεδίδου τῇ ἑβδόμῃ τοῦ Πυανεψιῶνος μηνὸς ἱσταμένου· ταύτῃ γὰρ ἀνέβησαν εἰς ἄστυ σωθέντες· ἡ μὲν οὖν ἕψησις τῶν ὀσπρίων λέγεται γενέσθαι διὰ τὸ σωθέντας αὐτοὺς εἰς ταὐτὸ συμμῖξαι τὰ περιόντα τῶν σιτίων καὶ μίαν*

χύτραν κοινὴν ἑψήσαντας συνεστιαθῆναι καὶ συγκαταφαγεῖν ἀλλήλοις. . . . He gives the refrain thus:

καὶ μέλι ἐν κοτύλῃ καὶ ἔλαιον ἀναψήσασθαι
καὶ κύλικ' εὔζωρον, ὡς ἂν μεθύουσα καθεύδῃ.

[d] Schol. Aristoph. *Plut.* 1055 Θαλλὸς ἐλαίας ἢ δάφνης ἐξ ἐρίων συμπεπλεγμένος, ἔχων ἄρτον ἐξηρτημένον καὶ κοτύλην . . . καὶ σῦκα καὶ πάντα τὰ ἀγαθά. ταύτην τὴν εἰρεσιώνην πρὸ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἐτίθεντο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ κατ' ἔτος αὐτὴν ἤλλαττον.

[e] *Et. Mag. s.v.* Εἰρεσιώνη· εὐμεγέθης . . . κλάδος . . . καταχύσματα καὶ κύλικα οἴνου κεκραμένην καταχέοντες αὐτῆς ἐπιλέγουσι 'εἰρεσιώνη σῦκα φέρει κ.τ.λ.' Hesych. *s.v.* Κορυθαλία· δάφνη ἐστεμμένη, τινὲς τὴν εἰρεσιώνην, ἄλλοι δὲ ὑπερόριον θεόν. Suidas, *s.v.* Διακόνιον . . . Μενεκλῆς ἐν τῷ Γλωσσοκόμῳ ταῦτα εἴρηκε περὶ αὐτοῦ· Ἀθηναῖοι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τὴν καλουμένην Εἰρεσιώνην ὅταν ποιῶσι, πλάττοντες λύραν καὶ κοτύλην καὶ κλῆμα καὶ ἄλλ' ἄττα κυκλοτερῆ πέμματα, ταῦτα καλοῦσι διακόνιον.

260 Menander, *De Encom.* 4 ἐπιλέγονται δὲ [ὑμνοὶ ἀποπεμπτικοὶ] ἀποδημίαις θεῶν νομιζομέναις ἢ γενομέναις, οἷον Ἀπόλλωνος ἀποδημίαι τινὲς ὀνομάζονται παρὰ Δηλίοις καὶ Μιλησίοις καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος παρὰ Ἀργείοις . . . ἀνάγκη δὲ γίνεσθαι καὶ τὴν εὐχὴν ἐπὶ ἐπανόδῳ καὶ ἐπιδημίᾳ δευτέρᾳ.

261 ? The death of Apollo in ritual at Delphi: Porph. *Vit. Pyth.* 16 ὡς πλέων Δελφοῖς προσέσχε, τὸ ἐλεγεῖον τῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τάφῳ ἐπέγραψε, δι' οὗ ἐδήλου ὡς Σειληνοῦ μὲν ἦν υἱὸς Ἀπόλλων, ἀνῃρέθη δὲ ὑπὸ Πύθωνος, ἐκηδεύθη δ' ἐν τῷ καλουμένῳ Τρίποδι, ὃς ταύτης ἔτυχε τῆς ἐπωνυμίας διὰ τὸ τὰς τρεῖς κόρας τὰς Τρίοπου θυγατέρας ἐνταῦθα θρηνῆσαι τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα. Cf. Müller, *F. H. G.* vol. iii, p. 152 (Mnaseas, *Frag.* 16). Mnaseas iii. Europae libro scripsit Apollinem, postquam a Iove ictus et interfectus est, a vespillonibus ad sepulturam elatum esse.

Spring festivals.

262 Dionys. *Perieg.* 527:

Ῥύσια δ' Ἀπόλλωνι χοροὺς ἀνάγουσιν ἅπασαι [νῆσοι]
ἀρχομένου γλυκεροῦ νέον εἴαρος.

Theog. 775:

αὐτὸς [Φοῖβος] δὲ στρατὸν ὑβριστὴν Μήδων ἀπέρυκε
τῆσδε πόλευς, ἵνα σοι λαοὶ ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ
ἦρος ἐπερχομένου κλειτὰς πέμπωσ' ἑκατόμβας,
τερπομένῳ κιθάρῃ τ' ἀμφ' ἐράτῃ θαλίῃ
παιᾶσίν τε χορῶν ἰαχῇσί τε σὸν περὶ βωμόν.

263 Festival at Delos, τὰ Δήλια. Cf. R. 242[h].

[a] Hom. *Hymn Apoll.* 146:

> ἀλλὰ σὺ Δήλῳ, Φοῖβε, μάλιστ' ἐπιτέρπεαι ἦτορ
> ἔνθα τοι ἑλκιχίτωνες Ἰάονες ἠγερέθονται
> αὐτοῖς σὺν παίδεσσι καὶ αἰδοίης ἀλόχοισιν,
> οἱ δέ σε πυγμαχίῃ τε καὶ ὀρχηθμῷ καὶ ἀοιδῇ
> μνησάμενοι τέρπουσιν, ὅταν στήσωνται ἀγῶνα.
> . . . . . .
> πρὸς δὲ τόδε μέγα θαῦμα, ὅου κλέος οὔποτ' ὀλεῖται,
> κοῦραι Δηλιάδες, Ἑκατηβελέταο θεράπναι.

[b] Thuc. 3. 104 τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ Δῆλον ἐκάθηραν Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ χρησμόν δή τινα. ἐκάθηρε μὲν γὰρ καὶ Πεισίστρατος ὁ τύραννος πρότερον αὐτήν, οὐχ ἅπασαν, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐφεωρᾶτο τῆς νήσου. τότε δὲ πᾶσα ἐκαθάρθη τοιῷδε τρόπῳ. θῆκαι ὅσαι ἦσαν τῶν τεθνεώτων ἐν Δήλῳ, πάσας ἀνεῖλον, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν προεῖπον μήτε ἐναποθνήσκειν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ μήτε ἐντίκτειν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν Ῥήνειαν διακομίζεσθαι. . . . καὶ τὴν πεντετηρίδα τότε πρῶτον μετὰ τὴν κάθαρσιν ἐποίησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ Δήλια. ἦν δέ ποτε καὶ τὸ πάλαι μεγάλη σύνοδος εἰς τὴν Δῆλον τῶν Ἰώνων καὶ περικτιόνων νησιωτῶν . . . ὕστερον δὲ τοὺς μὲν χοροὺς οἱ νησιῶται καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι μεθ' ἱερῶν ἔπεμπον, τὰ δὲ περὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα κατελύθη ὑπὸ ξυμφορῶν, ὡς εἰκός, πρὶν δὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τότε τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐποίησαν καὶ ἱπποδρομίας, ὃ πρότερον οὐκ ἦν.

[c] *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1882, p. 23 (Delian inscription of temple accounts) Τάλαντα ΔΔΓ στεφανώματα . . . λαμπάδες . . . ῥυμοὶ εἰς τοὺς χορούς: the month Ἱερός appears here between Ληναιών and Γαλαξιών.

[d] *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1879, p. 379 Λαοδάμειαν κανηφορήσασαν Δήλια καὶ Ἀπολλώνια Ἀπόλλωνι Ἀρτέμιδι Λητοῖ, second century B. C.

[e] Verg. *Aen.* 4. 143:

> qualis ubi hibernam Lyciam Xanthique fluenta
> deserit ac Delum maternam invisit Apollo
> instauratque choros, mixtique altaria circum
> Cretesque Dryopesque fremunt pictique Agathyrsi.

[f] Xen. *Mem.* 4. 8, 2 ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἐγένετο αὐτῷ μετὰ τὴν κρίσιν τριάκοντα ἡμέρας βιῶναι διὰ τὸ Δήλια μὲν ἐκείνου τοῦ μηνὸς εἶναι, τὸν δὲ νόμον μηδένα ἐᾶν δημοσίᾳ ἀποθνήσκειν ἕως ἂν ἡ θεωρία ἐκ Δήλου ἐπανέλθῃ.

[g] Paus. 8. 48, 3 Θησέα ἀνακομιζόμενον ἐκ Κρήτης φασὶν ἐν Δήλῳ ἀγῶνα ποιήσασθαι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι, στεφανοῦν δὲ αὐτὸν τοὺς νικῶντας τῷ φοίνικι. Plut. *Thes.* 21 ἐκ δὲ τῆς Κρήτης ἀποπλέων εἰς Δῆλον κατέσχε· καὶ τῷ θεῷ θύσας καὶ ἀναθεὶς τὸ ἀφροδίσιον, ὃ παρὰ τῆς Ἀριάδνης ἔλαβεν, ἐχόρευσε μετὰ τῶν ἠϊθέων χορείαν, ἣν ἔτι νῦν ἐπιτελεῖν Δηλίους λέγουσι, μίμημα τῶν ἐν τῷ Λαβυρίνθῳ περιόδων καὶ διεξόδων ἔν τινι ῥυθμῷ παραλλάξεις καὶ ἐνελίξεις ἔχοντι γινομένην· ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ τὸ γένος τοῦτο τῆς χορείας ὑπὸ Δηλίων γέρανος, ὡς

ἱστορεῖ Δικαίαρχος. Ἐχόρευσε δὲ περὶ τὸν Κερατῶνα βωμόν, ἐκ κεράτων συνηρμοσμένον εὐωνύμων ἁπάντων. Cf. Luc. *de Salt.* 16 ἐν Δήλῳ . . . παίδων χοροὶ συνελθόντες ὑπ' αὐλῷ καὶ κιθάρᾳ οἱ μὲν ἐχόρευον, ὑπωρχοῦντο δὲ οἱ ἄριστοι.

h Paus. 4. 4, 1 Ἐπὶ δὲ Φίντα τοῦ Συβότα πρῶτον Μεσσήνιοι τότε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐς Δῆλον θυσίαν καὶ ἀνδρῶν χορὸν ἀποστέλλουσι. τὸ δὲ σφισιν ᾆσμα προσόδιον ἐς τὸν θεὸν ἐδίδαξεν Εὔμηλος.

i Plut. *Nik.* 3 ἐκεῖνος [Νικίας], ὅτε τὴν θεωρίαν ἦγεν αὐτὸς μὲν ἐς Ῥήνειαν ἀπέβη τὸν χορὸν ἔχων καὶ τὰ ἱερεῖα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην παρασκευήν.

264 Spring-festivals at Delphi. (7th of Busios, the first spring-month, the birthday of Apollo: vide R. 128 n.)

a *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1895, p. 11, inscription of the Labyadai, fifth century B. C., Θοίναι δὲ αἵδε νόμιμοι· Ἀπέλλαι καὶ Βουκάτια, Ἡραῖα, Δαιδοφόρια, Ποιτρόπια, Βυσίου μηνὸς τὰν ἑβδέμαν καὶ τὰν ἐνάταν.

b Procop. *Epist.* (Hercher, *Epistolograph.* pp. 540, 8) οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν οἱ Δελφοὶ ὅλως αὐτῶν ἀπεῖναι τὸν Πύθιον ἔλοιντο, εἰ καὶ παρόντος εὐθὺς ἑορτὴν ἄγουσι τὴν ἐπιδημίαν Ἀπόλλωνος. [? = Θεοφάνια.]

c Κροῖσος ἀπέπεμπε ἐς Δελφούς . . . κρατῆρας δύο μεγαθεῖ μεγάλους . . . ὁ δὲ ἀργύρεος . . . ἐπικίρναται ὑπὸ Δελφῶν Θεοφανίοισι. Cf. R. 14, ἐπιφάνεια of the god in Boeotia in spring. ? At Sikyon: vide *Geogr. Reg. s. v.* p. 439.

d Plut. 1132 b Φιλάμμωνα τὸν Δελφὸν Λητοῦς τε καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος γένεσιν δηλῶσαι ἐν μέλεσι καὶ χοροὺς πρῶτον περὶ τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἱερὸν στῆσαι.

e Feast of Στεπτήριον: Plut. 293 C τρεῖς ἄγουσι Δελφοὶ ἐννεατηρίδας κατὰ τὸ ἑξῆς ὧν τὴν μὲν Στεπτήριον καλοῦσι τὴν δ' Ἡρωΐδα τὴν δὲ Χαρίλαν· τὸ μὲν οὖν Στεπτήριον ἔοικε μίμημα τῆς πρὸς τὸν Πυθῶνα τοῦ θεοῦ μάχης εἶναι καὶ τῆς μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐπὶ τὰ Τέμπη φυγῆς καὶ ἐκδιώξεως. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ φυγεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ φασὶ χρῄζοντα καθαρσίων, οἱ δὲ τῷ Πύθωνι τετρωμένῳ καὶ φεύγοντι κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν, ἣν νῦν ἱερὰν καλοῦμεν, ἐπακολουθεῖν καὶ μικρὸν ἀπολειφθῆναι τῆς τελευτῆς· κατέλαβε γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος ἄρτι τεθνηκότα καὶ κεκηδευμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ παιδός, ᾧ ὄνομα ἦν Αἶξ, ὡς λέγουσι. Τὸ μὲν οὖν Στεπτήριον τούτων ἢ τοιούτων τινῶν ἀπομίμησίς ἐστιν ἑτέρων. 418 A τοῖς περὶ τὸ χρηστήριον, οἷς ἄρτι τοὺς ἔξω Πυλῶν πάντας Ἕλληνας ἡ πόλις κατοργιάζουσα μέχρι Τεμπῶν ἐλήλακεν. Ἥ τε γὰρ ἱσταμένη καλιὰς ἐνταῦθα περὶ τὴν ἅλω δι' ἐννέα ἐτῶν, οὐ φωλεώδης τοῦ δράκοντος χειά, ἀλλὰ μίμημα τυραννικῆς ἢ βασιλικῆς ἐστὶν οἰκήσεως, ἥ τε μετὰ σιγῆς ἐπ' αὐτὴν διὰ τῆς ὀνομαζομένης Δολωνίας ἔφοδος, ἣ αἱ Ὀλεῖαι τὸν ἀμφιθαλῆ κόρον ἡμμέναις δᾳσὶν ἄγουσι, καὶ προσβάλλοντες τὸ πῦρ τῇ καλιάδι, καὶ τὴν τράπεζαν ἀνατρέψαντες ἀνεπιστρεπτεὶ φεύγουσι διὰ τῶν θυρῶν τοῦ ἱεροῦ, καὶ τελευταῖον αἵ τε πλάναι καὶ ἡ λατρεία τοῦ παιδός, οἵ τε γινόμενοι περὶ τὰ Τέμπη καθαρμοί, μεγάλου τινὸς ἄγους καὶ τολμήματος ὑποψίαν

ἔχουσι. 1136 B τῷ κατακομίζοντι παιδὶ τὴν Τεμπικὴν δάφνην εἰς Δελφοὺς παρομαρτεῖ αὐλητής· καὶ τὰ ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων δὲ ἱερὰ μετ' αὐλῶν καὶ συρίγγων καὶ κιθάρας εἰς τὸν Δῆλόν φασι τὸ παλαιὸν στέλλεσθαι. Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* ὑπόθεσις (Boeckh, p. 298) μέχρι πολλοῦ ἡ εἰς τοὺς τῶν νικώντων στεφάνους χωροῦσα δάφνη ἐντεῦθεν ἐκομίζετο ὑπὸ παιδὸς ἀμφιθαλοῦς.

f Tertull. *De Cor.* 7 Pindarum et Callimachum qui memorant Apollinem interfecto Delphyne draconte lauream induisse qua supplicem.

g Aelian, *Var. Hist.* 3. 1 (in Tempe) ἐνταῦθά τοι, φασὶ παῖδες Θετταλῶν, καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα τὸν Πύθιον καθῆρασθαι κατὰ πρόσταγμα τοῦ Διός, ὅτε τὸν Πύθωνα . . . κατετόξευσεν, . . . στεφανωσάμενον οὖν ἐκ ταύτης τῆς δάφνης τῆς Τεμπικῆς, λαβόντα κλάδον εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα . . . ἐλθεῖν τοὺς Δελφούς. . . . Ἔστι δὲ καὶ βωμὸς ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τόπῳ, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἐστεφανώσατο, καὶ τὸν κλάδον ἀφεῖλε. καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἔτους ἐννάτου οἱ Δελφοὶ παῖδας εὐγενεῖς πέμπουσι, καὶ ἀρχιθέωρον ἕνα σφῶν αὐτῶν. Οἱ δὲ παραγενόμενοι καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς θύσαντες ἐν τοῖς Τέμπεσιν, ἀπίασι πάλιν στεφάνους ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς δάφνης διαπλέξαντες, . . . καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐκείνην ἔρχονται, ἣ καλεῖται μὲν Πυθιάς, φέρει δὲ διὰ Θετταλίας καὶ Πελαγονίας [? Πελασγίας] καὶ τῆς Οἴτης καὶ Αἰνιάνων χώρας καὶ τῆς Μηλιέων καὶ Δωριέων καὶ Δοκρῶν τῶν ἑσπερίων. Οὗτοι δὲ καὶ παραπέμπουσιν αὐτοὺς σὺν αἰδοῖ καὶ τιμῇ . . . καὶ μὴν καὶ τοῖς Πυθίοις ἐκ ταύτης τῆς δάφνης τοῖς νικῶσι τοὺς στεφάνους διδόασιν.

h Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Δειπνιάς, κώμη Θεσσαλίας περὶ Λάρισσαν ὅπου φασὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα δειπνῆσαι πρῶτον, ὅτε ἐκ τῶν Τεμπέων καθαρθεὶς ὑπέστρεψεν· καὶ τῷ παιδὶ τῷ διακομιστῇ τῆς δάφνης ἔθος εἰς τήνδε παραγενομένῳ δειπνεῖν.

i Oracle quoted Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* 5. 31 :

> Φαιστοῦ καὶ Τάρρας ναέται, Δίου τε πολύρρου,
> Πυθῶον κέλομαι τελέειν Φοίβοιο καθαρμὸν
> εὐαγέοντας.

Cf. R. 111. Paus. 2. 7, 7 Ἀπόλλων καὶ Ἄρτεμις ἀποκτείναντες Πύθωνα παρεγένοντο ἐς τὴν Αἰγιάλειαν καθαρσίων ἕνεκα. γενομένου δὲ σφισι δείματος ἔνθα καὶ νῦν Φόβον ὀνομάζουσι τὸ χωρίον, οἱ μὲν ἐς Κρήτην παρὰ Καρμάνορα ἀπετράποντο. Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* ὑπόθεσις (Boeckh, p. 298) καθαρθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἀπόλλων τὸν τῆς δρακοντοκτονίας φόνον ἐν Κρήτῃ παρὰ Χρυσοθέμιδι ἐκεῖθεν ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὰ Θεσσαλικὰ Τέμπη ἔνθεν μετεκομίσατο τὴν δάφνην.

[265] Θεοξένια at Delphi.

a Athenae. 372 A Πολέμων ὁ περιηγητὴς ἐν τῷ περὶ Σαμοθρᾴκης . . . διατέτακται παρὰ Δελφοῖς τῇ θυσίᾳ τῶν θεοξενίων, ὃς ἂν κομίσῃ γηθυλλίδα μεγίστην τῇ Λητοῖ, λαμβάνειν μοῖραν ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης . . . ἱστοροῦσι δὲ τὴν Λητὼ κύουσαν τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα κιττῆσαι γηθυλλίδος.

b Plut. 557 F ἀναμνήσθητι τῶν ἔναγχος τῶν θεοξενίων καὶ τῆς καλῆς ἐκείνης μερίδος, ἣν . . . τοὺς Πινδάρου κηρύττουσι λαμβάνειν τοὺς ἀπογόνους.

[c] Paean to Dionysos discovered at Delphi: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1895, p. 406 (ll. 110–112) *δεῖξαι δ' ἐγ ξενίοις ἐτείοις θεῶν ἱερῷ γένει συναίμῳ τόνδ' ὕμνον.*

[d] Cf. Theoxenia at Pellene: Paus. 7. 27, 4 *ἔστι καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος Θεοξενίου Πελληνεῦσιν ἱερόν, τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα χαλκοῦ πεποίηται. καὶ ἀγῶνα ἐπιτελοῦσι Θεοξένια Ἀπόλλωνι, τιθέντες ἀργύριον ἆθλα τῆς νίκης, καὶ ἄνδρες ἀγωνίζονται τῶν ἐπιχωρίων.* (Cf. the Θεοδαίσια at Anaphe, 29.)

[266] Δελφίνια at Athens: R. 34[c, d]. ? Dolphin in Roman ritual: Serv. *Aen.* 3. 332 Delphinum aiunt inter sacra Apollinis receptum; cuius rei vestigium est quod hodieque quindecimvirorum cortinis delphinus in summo ponitur et pridie quam sacrificium faciunt, velut symbolum delphinus circumfertur, ob hoc scilicet quia quindecimviri librorum Sibyllinorum sunt antistites, Sibylla autem Apollinis vates et delphinus Apollini sacer est.

[267] Δαφνηφόρια in Boeotia.

[a] Proclus, *Chrestomath.* c. 26 (Photius, *Biblioth.* p. 321, Bekker) *δάφνας γὰρ ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ δι' ἐννεατηρίδος εἰς τὰ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος κομίζοντες οἱ ἱερεῖς ἐξύμνουν αὐτὸν διὰ χοροῦ παρθένων. . . . Ἡ δὲ δαφνηφορία· ξύλον ἐλαίας καταστέφουσι δάφναις καὶ ποικίλοις ἄνθεσι· καὶ ἐπ' ἄκρου μὲν χαλκῆ ἐφαρμόζεται σφαῖρα, ἐκ δὲ ταύτης μικροτέρας ἐξαρτῶσι· κατὰ δὲ τὸ μέσον τοῦ ξύλου, περιθέντες ἐλάσσονας τῆς ἐπ' ἄκρου σφαίρας, καθάπτουσι πορφυρᾶ στέμματα· τὰ δὲ τελευταῖα τοῦ ξύλου περιστέλλουσι κροκωτῷ. βούλεται δ' αἰτοῖς ἡ μὲν ἀνωτάτω σφαῖρα τὸν ἥλιον, ᾧ καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα ἀναφέρουσι· ἡ δὲ ὑποκειμένη, τὴν Σελήνην· τὰ δὲ προσηρτημένα τῶν σφαιρίων, ἄστρα τε καὶ ἀστέρας· τὰ δέ γε στέμματα τὸν ἐνιαύσιον δρόμον· καὶ γὰρ καὶ τξέ' ποιοῦσιν αὐτά. Ἄρχει δὲ τῆς δαφνηφορίας παῖς ἀμφθαλής· καὶ ὁ μάλιστα αὐτῷ οἰκεῖος βαστάζει τὸ κατεστεμμένον ξύλον, ὃ κωπὼ καλοῦσιν. αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ δαφνηφόρος ἑπόμενος τῆς δάφνης ἐφάπτεται, τὰς μὲν κόμας καθειμένας, χρυσοῦν δὲ στέφανον φέρων, καὶ λαμπρὰν ἐσθῆτα ποδήρη ἐστολισμένος, ἰφικρατίδας τε ὑποδεδεμένος. ᾧ χορὸς παρθένων ἐπακολουθεῖ προτείνων κλῶνας πρὸς ἱκετηρίαν τῶν ὕμνων. παρέπεμπον δὲ τὴν δαφνηφορίαν εἰς Ἀπόλλωνος Ἰσμηνίου καὶ Γαλαξίου* (*v. l.* Χαλαζίου).

[b] Paus. 9. 10, 4 *τόδε γε καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι γινόμενον οἶδα ἐν Θήβαις· τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Ἰσμηνίῳ παῖδα οἴκου τε δοκίμου καὶ αὐτὸν εὖ μὲν εἴδους εὖ δὲ ἔχοντα καὶ ῥώμης, ἱερέα ἐνιαύσιον ποιοῦσιν· ἐπίκλησις δὲ ἐστὶν οἱ δαφνηφόρος· στεφάνους γὰρ φύλλων δάφνης φοροῦσιν οἱ παῖδες . . . οἱ δὲ οὖν εὐδαιμονέστεροι τῶν παίδων ἀνατιθέασι* [*χαλκοῦν τῷ θεῷ τρίποδα*]. *ἐπιφανὴς δὲ μάλιστα . . . τρίπους ἐστὶν Ἀμφιτρύωνος ἀνάθημα ἐπὶ Ἡρακλεῖ δαφνηφορήσαντι.* Cf. R. 14. At Larissa δαφνηφόροι: vide *Geogr. Reg. s. v.* Thessaly, p. 435.

[268] Feast at Samos: Pseudo-Herod. *Vit. Hom.* 33 *παραχειμάζων ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ, ταῖς νουμηνίαις προσπορευόμενος πρὸς τὰς οἰκίας τὰς εὐδαιμονεστάτας,*

ἐλάμβανέ τι ἀείδων τὰ ἔπεα τάδε, ἃ καλεῖται εἰρεσιώνη, ὠδήγουν δ' αὐτὸν καὶ συμπαρῆσαν ἀεὶ τῶν παίδων τινὲς τῶν ἐγχωρίων . . .

Νεῦμαί τοι, νεῦμαι, ἐνιαύσιος, ὥστε χελιδὼν
ἔστηκ' ἐν προθύροισι . . .

ᾖδετο δὲ τὰ ἔπεα τάδε ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ὑπὸ τῶν παίδων, ὅτ' ἀγείροιεν ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος.

[268a] Festival at Klaros, τὰ Κλάρια, with horse-races, mentioned in fourth century B.C. Attic inscription, *Eph. Arch.* 1883, p. 23.

[269] Ritual of adoption and marriage associated with Apollo.

[a] At Athens: R. 241[n].

[b] ? At Mykonos: Dittenb. *Syll.* 373 (on the 7th of Hekatombaeon, sacred to Apollo) ὧν οἱ νυμφίοι θύουσι . . . τῶν ἀρνῶν.

[270] Βοηδρόμια at Athens: Plut. *Thes.* 27 ἡ μὲν οὖν μάχη πρὸς τὰς Ἀμαζόνας Βοηδρομιῶνος ἐγένετο μηνὸς ἐφ' ἣ τὰ Βοηδρόμια μέχρι νῦν Ἀθηναῖοι θύουσι. Cf. Demosth. *Olynth.* 3. 31 ὑμεῖς ὁ δῆμος . . . ἀγαπῶντες ἐὰν μεταδιδῶσι θεωρικῶν ὑμῖν ἡ Βοηδρόμια πέμπωσιν οὗτοι. Cf. R. 90.

[271] Σωτήρια at Delphi: Zeus, R. 128[p].

[272] Feast of Προφθασία at Leuke near Phokaia: Diod. Sic. 15. 18 (Ταχὼς) ἔκτισε πόλιν πλησίον τῆς θαλάττης ἐπί τινος κρημνοῦ τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Λεύκην, ἔχουσαν ἱερὸν ἅγιον Ἀπόλλωνος . . . ἡμφισβήτησαν τῆς πόλεως ταύτης Κλαζομένιοι καὶ Κυμαῖοι . . . ἔκρινεν ἡ Πυθία ταύτην (πόλιν κυρίαν τῆς Λεύκης) ὑπάρχειν ἥτις ἂν πρώτη θύσῃ ἐν τῇ Λεύκῃ . . . ἔφθασαν οἱ Κλαζομένιοι τοὺς Κυμαίους τὴν θυσίαν ἐπιτελέσαντες . . . γενόμενοι κύριοι τῆς Λεύκης ἐπώνυμον ἑορτὴν ἄγειν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπεστήσαντο, τὴν πανήγυριν ὀνομάσαντες προφθασίαν.

Festival of Apollo Παρράσιος on Mount Lykaion, *Geogr. Reg. s. v.* Arcadia, p. 436; of Apollo Πτώϊος at Akraiphiai, *Geogr. Reg. s. v.* Boeotia, p. 441; of Apollo Δήλιος at Delion, *ib.* p. 437. Festival of Apollo's ἐπιφάνεια (?) at Sikyon, *Geogr. Reg. s. v.* p. 440.

[273] Ritual of Purification: R. 222, 223, 241, 263, 264[e]; Zeus, R. 131[b].

[a] Apollod. 2. 6. 1 Ἀπωσαμένου δὲ Νηλέως αὐτὸν [Ἡρακλέα] . . . εἰς Ἀμύκλας παραγενόμενος ὑπὸ Δηιφόβου τοῦ Ἱππολύτου καθαίρεται. Cf. *Citis* 376 Amyclaeo spargens altaria thallo. Aesch. *Eum.* 281:

Μητροκτόνον μίασμα δ' ἔκπλυτον πέλει·
ποταίνιον γὰρ ὂν πρὸς ἑστίᾳ θεοῦ
Φοίβου καθαρμοῖς ἠλάθη χοιροκτόνοις.

[b] Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 24, p. 296 F. τί τὸ παρ' Ἀργείοις λεγόμενον ἔγκνισμα; τοῖς ἀποβαλοῦσί τινα συγγενῶν ἢ συνήθων ἔθος ἐστὶ μετὰ τὸ πένθος

εὐθὺς τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι θύειν, ἡμέραις δὲ ὕστερον τριάκοντα, τῷ Ἑρμῇ. Νομίζουσι γάρ, ὥσπερ τὰ σώματα τῶν ἀποθανόντων δέχεσθαι τὴν γῆν, οὕτω τὰς ψυχὰς τὸν Ἑρμῆν· τοῦ δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος τῷ ἀμφιπόλῳ κριθὰς διδόντες, λαμβάνουσι κρέας τοῦ ἱερείου, καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἀποσβέσαντες ὡς μεμιασμένον, παρ' ἑτέρων ἐναυσάμενοι τοῦτο τὸ κρέας ὀπτῶσιν, ἔγκνισμα προσαγορεύοντες.

c Paus. 2. 31, 6 (at Troezen) τοῦ δὲ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστιν οἰκοδόμημα ἔμπροσθεν, Ὀρέστου καλούμενον σκηνή. πρὶν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ αἵματι καθαρθῆναι τῆς μητρός, Τροιζηνίων οὐδεὶς πρότερον ἤθελεν αὐτὸν οἴκῳ δέξασθαι· καθίσαντες δὲ ἐνταῦθα ἐκάθαιρον καὶ εἱστίων, ἐς ὃ ἀφήγνισαν. καὶ νῦν ἔτι οἱ ἀπόγονοι τῶν καθηράντων ἐνταῦθα δειπνοῦσιν ἐν ἡμέραις ῥηταῖς. κατορυχθέντων δὲ ὀλίγον ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς τῶν καθαρσίων φασὶν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀναφῦναι δάφνην, ἣ δὴ καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔστιν, ἡ πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς ταύτης. Cf. 1. 22, 2 Θησεὺς . . . τούτους (Πάλλαντα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας) κτείνας ἐς Τροιζῆνα ἔρχεται καθαρσίων ἕνεκα.

d Clem. Al. *Strom.* P. 674 Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ Κερκυραῖος τοὺς στίχους τούσδε ὑπὸ Βράγχου ἀναφωνηθῆναι τοῦ μάντεως λέγει Μιλησίους καθαίροντος ἀπὸ λοιμοῦ. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐπιρραίνων τὸ πλῆθος δάφνης κλάδοις προκατήρχετο τοῦ ὕμνου ὧδέ πως 'Μέλπετε ὦ παῖδες ἑκάεργον καὶ ἑκαέργαν.'

e Philostr. *Heroic.* p. 740 ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ἔργῳ τῷ περὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Λήμνῳ γυναικῶν ἐξ Ἀφροδίτης ποτὲ πραχθέντι, καθαίρεται μὲν ἡ Λῆμνος καὶ καθ' ἕνα τοῦ ἔτους καὶ σβέννυται τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ πῦρ ἐς ἡμέρας ἐννέα, θεωρὶς δὲ ναῦς ἐκ Δήλου πυρφορεῖ, κἂν ἀφίκηται πρὸ τῶν ἐναγισμάτων, οὐδαμοῦ τῆς Λήμνου καθορμίζεται . . . ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἡ θεωρὶς ἐσπλεύσῃ καὶ νείμωνται τὸ πῦρ . . . καινοῦ τὸ ἐντεῦθεν βίου φασὶν ἄρχεσθαι.

f *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894, p. 87 (inscription from treasure-house of Athenians at Delphi, 97–96 B.C.) Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀθηναίων· ἐπὶ Μέντορος ἄρχοντος ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐν δὲ Ἀθήναις Ἀργείου ἔλαβεν τὸν ἱερὸν τρίποδα ἐκ Δελφῶν καὶ ἀπεκόμισεν καὶ τὴν πυρφόρον ἤγαγεν Ἀμφικράτης Ἐπιστράτου Ἀθηναῖος. Cf. *ib.* p. 92 (inscription found at same place, circ. 100 B.C.) Ἐπεὶ Ἀλκίδαμος Εὐφάνους Ἀθηναῖος πολίτης εὐσεβῶς τε καὶ ὁσίως διακείμενος ποτί τε τὸν θεὸν καὶ ποτὶ τὰμ πόλιν ἁμῶν ἀγαγὼν δὲ καὶ τὸν τρίποδα ἐφ' ἅρματος, ἀξίως τοῦ τε θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ ὑμετέρου δάμου καὶ ἁμῶν, τάν τε παρεπιδαμίαν καὶ ἀναστροφὰν ἐποιήσατο . . . κτλ.

Animal sacrifice.

274 a ? Wolves sacrificed at Argos: R. 7 f.

b ? Dogs tabooed in Apolline ritual: Strab. 486 οὐκ ἔξεστιν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Δήλῳ θάπτειν οὐδὲ καίειν νεκρόν· οὐκ ἔξεστι δὲ οὐδὲ κύνα ἐν Δήλῳ τρέφειν. Cf. R. 216 a.

c The horse tabooed: Sext. Empir. Ὑποτυπώσ. γ. §. 221 ἵππον τῷ

Ποσειδῶνι καλλιεροῦσιν. Ἀπόλλωνι δέ, ἐξαιρέτως τῷ Διδυμαίῳ, τὸ ζῷον ἀπεχθές.

[d] Goats: R. 12, 129, 157, 211. Prott-Ziehen, *Leges Graecorum Sacrae*, no. 26 (Calendar inscription of fourth century B. C. from the Attic tetrapolis) Ἀπόλλωνι Ἀποτροπαίῳ αἶξ. *ib.* Νυμφαγέτᾳ αἶξ. He-goat sacrificed to Apollo at Magnesia on the Maiander, *Arch. Anzeig.* 1894, p. 83. Cf. Macrob. 1. 17, 29 decemviris praeceptum est ut Graeco ritu . . . sacrum facerent, Apollini bove aurato et capris duabus albis auratis, Latonae bove femina aurata. Aul. Gell. *Noct. Attic.* 5. 12 Quapropter eum deum (Veiovem) plerique Apollinem esse dixerunt: immolaturque illi ritu humano capra.

[e] Lambs: Hom. *Il.* 4. 101:

Εὔχεο δ' Ἀπόλλωνι Λυκηγενέϊ κλυτοτόξῳ
ἀρνῶν πρωτογόνων ῥέξειν κλειτὴν ἑκατόμβην.

Hom. *Il.* 1. 66:

αἴ κέν πως ἀρνῶν κνίσης αἰγῶν τε τελείων
βούλεται ἀντιάσας ἡμῖν ἀπὸ λοιγὸν ἀμῦναι.

Cf. R. 141.

[f] Rams: R. 27[o], 202.

[g] Boars: R. 129, 256[b], *Geogr. Reg. s.v.* Arcadia, p. 441. Demeter: R. 246. Cf. ritual inscription from Thasos (archaic). Roehl, *Inscr. Graec. Ant.* 379 Νύμφῃσι κἀπόλλωνι Νυμφηγέτῃ θῆλυ καὶ ἄρσεν, ἂμ βούλῃ, προσέρδειν· ὄϊν οὐ θέμις οὐδὲ χοῖρον· οὐ παιωνίζεται. Χάρισιν αἶγα οὐ θέμις οὐδὲ χοῖρον.

[h] Bulls: R. 34[c], 101; *Geogr. Reg. s. v.* Epidauros, p. 440. Hom. *Il.* 1. 315:

ἔρδον δ' Ἀπόλλωνι τελήεσσας ἑκατόμβας
ταύρων ἠδ' αἰγῶν παρὰ θῖν' ἁλὸς ἀτρυγέτοιο.

Cf. 41. At Delphi: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1899, p. 87 (inscription on the treasury of Athenians) οἱ πενφθέντες ἰς Δελφοὺς κατὰ τὴν μαντείαν τοῦ θεοῦ ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς δωδεκῆδος βούπρωρον θυσίαν τῷ θεῷ ἔθυσαν κατὰ τὰ πάτρια: cf. the δωδεκάς at Delos, *ib.* p. 86. At Olus sacrifice of twenty-two oxen: vide 'Crete,' *Geogr. Reg.*, p. 447. At Athens: vide Dionys. R. 127 (Ἀπόλλωνι Ἀποτροπαίῳ βοῦν θύσαι). Sacrifice at Akraiphiai to Apollo of Ptoon; see *Geogr. Reg. s. v.* Boeotia, p. 436. At Thebes: Paus. 9. 12, 1 Τῷ δὲ Ἀπόλλωνι Θηβαῖοι τῷ Σποδίῳ ταύρους ἔθυον τὸ ἀρχαῖον, καί ποτε παρούσης σφίσι τῆς ἑορτῆς ἥ τε ὥρα κατήπειγε τῆς θυσίας καὶ οἱ πεμφθέντες ἐπὶ τὸν ταῦρον οὐχ ἥκον. οὕτω δὴ παρατυχούσης ἀμάξης τὸν ἕτερον τῶν βοῶν τῷ θεῷ θύουσι, καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνου ἐργάτας βοῦς θύειν νομίζουσι. Cf. R. 13.

i The roe sacred to Apollo at Kourias in Cyprus: Ael. *Nat. An.* 11. 7 *ἐν Κουριάδι αἱ ἔλαφοι . . . ὅταν καταφύγωσιν ἐς τὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν τὸ ἐνταυθοῖ (ἔστι δὲ ἄλσος μέγιστον), ὑλακτοῦσι μὲν οἱ κύνες, πλησίον δὲ ἐλθεῖν οὐχ ὑπομένουσιν.* Cf. Strab. 683.

k Anton. Liber. 20: Apollo bids his worshippers sacrifice to him, *αἶγας καὶ πρόβατα καὶ βοῦς κατὰ τὸ σύνηθες.* Cf. inscription from Didyma: Haussoullier, *Histoire de Milète*, p. 218 *πρῶται δ' ἐκ φυλῶν δυοκαίδεκα παῖδες ἀνεῖλον Φοίβῳ, τῇ μεγάλῃ πρῶτ' ἐπὶ βουθυσίῃ.*

l ? Sacrifice of asses at Delphi: *C. I. G.* 1688 (inscription containing the Amphictyonic oath, fourth century B. C.), l. 14 *τὸν φόρον καὶ τὰ ἱερήϊα ἀθρόα συναγόντων, τοὺς ὄνους, τὸν δοκιμα . . . τὰν ἑκατόμβαν, ὅρκον ὀμόσας.*

Human sacrifice. Cf. 2 (?), 77, 241[d].

275 a Near Kourion in Cyprus: Strab. 683 *ἐστὶν ἄκρα ἀφ' ἧς ῥίπτουσι τοὺς ἀψαμένους τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος.*

b At Leukas: *id.* 452 *ἔχει δὲ τὸ τοῦ Λευκάτα Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν καὶ τὸ ἅλμα τὸ τοὺς ἔρωτας παύειν πεπιστευμένον . . . ἦν δὲ καὶ πάτριον τοῖς Λευκαδίοις κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐν τῇ θυσίᾳ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἀπὸ τῆς σκοπῆς ῥιπτεῖσθαί τινα τῶν ἐν αἰτίαις ὄντων ἀποτροπῆς χάριν, ἐξαπτομένων ἐξ αὐτοῦ παντοδαπῶν πτερῶν καὶ ὀρνέων ἀνακουφίζειν δυνάμενων τῇ πτήσει τὸ ἅλμα, ὑποδέχεσθαι δὲ κάτω μικραῖς ἁλιάσι κύκλῳ περιεστῶτας πολλοὺς καὶ περισώζειν εἰς δύναμιν τῶν ὄρων ἔξω τὸν ἀναληφθέντα.* Photius *s. v. Λευκάτης· σκοπέλος τῆς ἠπείρου ἀφ' οὗ ῥίπτουσιν αὐτοὺς [? αὐτοὺς] εἰς τὸ πέλαγος οἱ ἱερεῖς.* Ael. *Nat. An.* 11. 8 *οὐκοῦν τῆς πανηγύρεως ἐπιδημεῖν μελλούσης καθ' ἣν καὶ τὸ πήδημα πηδῶσι τῷ θεῷ θύουσι βοῦν ταῖς μυίαις, αἱ δὲ ἐμπλησθεῖσαι τοῦ αἵματος ἀφανίζονται.*

c ? At Abdera: Ov. *Ibis* 467:

> Victima vel Phoebo sacras macteris ad aras,
> quam tulit a saevo Theudotus hoste necem;
> aut te devoveat certis Abdera diebus
> saxaque devotum grandine plura petant.

d Vide Thargelia, R. 241[f].

e Schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 1408 *Διοτίμῳ τῷ Θεσσαλῷ κατιέναι μέλλοντι λόγιον ἐξέπεσεν, ἐπιτηρεῖν μὴ λάθωσιν αὐτὸν οἱ ἐναντίοι μεῖζον εὐξάμενοι· σπεύδων οὖν ἐκείνους ὑπερβαλέσθαι καθ' ἑκατόμβης ἀνδρῶν εὔξατο καταιβασίῳ Ἀπόλλωνι, κατελθὼν δὲ εἰς θυσίαν ἀνθρώπους ἐλογίσατο μὴ πρέπειν θεῷ μηδ' ἄλλως εὐαγὲς εἶναι, καὶ ὑπερέθετο. τοῦτο δὲ ἑκάστου ἔτους δρᾶν τοὺς Θεσσαλούς φασι, τὴν θυσίαν ὑπισχνουμένους ἀποδώσειν.* Cf. *Paroemiogr.* 313.

f Photius s. v. *περίψημα· οὕτως ἐπέλεγον τῷ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐμβαλλομένῳ τῇ θαλάσσῃ νεανίᾳ ἐπὶ ἀπαλλαγῇ τῶν συνεχόντων κακῶν· περίψημα ἡμῶν γένου·*

. . . καὶ οὕτως ἐνέβαλον τῇ θαλάσσῃ ὡσανεὶ τῷ Ποσειδῶνι θυσίαν ἀποτινύντες.

[276] Bloodless sacrifice, R. 216; at Delos, R. 55. Macrob. 3, 6, 2 Deli ara est Apollinis Γενέτορος in qua nullum animal sacrificatur. Clem. Al. *Strom.* 848 P τὸν μὲν ἀρχαιότατον βωμὸν ἐν Δήλῳ ἁγνὸν εἶναι τεθρυλήκασι. Cf. Porph. *De Abst.* 2. 28 (εὐσεβὴς βωμός).

[277] At Patara: Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Πάταρα· πέμματα λύρας τε καὶ τόξα καὶ βέλη offered to Apollo.

[278] Serv. *Aen.* 3. 85 tradunt multi, inter quos et Varro, esse aras tam Apollinis quam filii eius non tantum Deli sed in plurimis locis, apud quos hostiae non caedantur, sed consuetudo sit deum sollemni tantum prece venerari.

[279] Dittenb. *Syll.* 376 (at Miletos) ἦν ξένος ἱεροποιῇ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι, προιερᾶσθαι τῶν ἀστῶν ὃν ἂν θέλῃ ὁ ξένος, διδόναι δὲ τῷ ἱερεῖ τὰ γέρεα ἅπερ ἡ πόλις διδοῖ χωρὶς δέρματος . . . ἐν Ἀπολλωνίοις.

[280] Callim. Hymn *in Del.* 320:

ἀλλὰ τὰ λαίφη
ὠκέες ἐστείλαντο καὶ οὐ πάλιν αὖτις ἔβησαν
πρὶν μέγαν ἢ σέο βωμὸν ὑπὸ πληγῇσιν ἑλίξαι
ῥησσομένους καὶ πρέμνον ὀδακτάσαι ἁγνὸν ἐλαίης
χεῖρας ἀποστρέψαντας· ἃ Δηλιὰς εὕρετο νύμφη
παίγνια κουρίζοντι καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι γελαστύν.

Cf. Hesych. *s. v.* Δηλιακὸς βωμός· τὸ περιτρέχειν κύκλῳ τὸν ἐν Δήλῳ βωμὸν καὶ τύπτεσθαι· ἤρξατο τούτου Θησεύς.

[281] ? Sacramental meals with Apollo at Acharnai, R. 54; and Delos, vide *Geogr. Reg.* 'Delos,' p. 443.

[282] Varro, *De Liberis Educ.* Fr. 9 (Chappius) Itaque Ambraciae primum capillum puerilem demptum, item cirros ad Apollinem ponere solent.

GEOGRAPHICAL REGISTER OF APOLLO-CULTS

The Euxine and Thrace: 2. 21, 56, 72.

Phanagoria, 214; Pantikapaion, 214; Olbia, 34[1], 50, 214. Gorgippia: *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, '*Pontus*,' &c., coin-type, first century B.C., laureate head of Apollo.

Sinope: Head, *Hist. Num.* 435, coin-type, circ. 290–250 B. C. 'Archaic statue of Apollo standing before tripod, with branch and lecythos.' Bithynian coast of Euxine, 32. Herakleia Pontiké: Paus. 10. 15, 1 (at Delphi) δύο Ἀπόλλωνος (*ἀγάλματα*), τὸ μὲν Ἡρακλεωτῶν τῶν πρὸς τῷ Εὐξείνῳ.

Mesembria: *C. I. G.* 2053[b] (decree of Βουλή) *ἀναθέμεν ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν* τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. Apollonia, 79, 214. Perinthos, 172. Ainos, 52: Livy 38. 41 Inde Aeniorum finis praeter Apollinis Zerinthium quem vocant incolae templum superant. Cf. Schol. Nikand. *Ther.* 460 τὸ Ῥησκύνθιον ὄρος Θρᾴκης Ἥρας ἱερόν, ἐξ οὗ τὴν προσηγορίαν ἔσχε Ῥησκυνθίδα· ἔστι δὲ τῆς Ἥρας καὶ Ζηρυνθίου Ἀπόλλωνος νεὼς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ. Abdera, 275[c]: Schol. Lycophr. 440 οἱ *μάντεις οἱ ἐθάδες* (?) τοῦ ἐν Δηραίοις τόπῳ Ἀβδήρων τιμωμένου Ἀπόλλωνος. Cf. Pind. *Fr.* 35. Philippopolis: *C. I. A.* 3. 129 Πύθια ἐν Φιλιππο-πόλει (second century A. D.). *Rev. d. Ét. Gr.* 1902, p. 32 Ἀπόλλωνι Κενδρίσῳ Βίθυς Κότιος ἱερεὺς Συρίας θεᾶς δῶρον ἀνέθηκεν (? first century A. D.). Cf. bronze coins of Elagabalus from Philippopolis quoted ibid. with legend Κενδρίσεια. Dumont, *Inscr. Thrace* 78, dedication of late Roman period Ἀπόλλωνι Λατομηνῷ.

Apollo on coins of Thracian cities: *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, '*Thrace*': Anchialos, p. 113 (late) Bisanthé, p. 87 (second century B. C.); Bizya, p. 89 (late) Byzantium, p. 96 (third century B. C., Apollo-head on obverse, obelisk on reverse); Deultum, p. 113 (late); Maroneia, p. 131 (first century B. C.); Mesembria, pp. 133, 135 (Apollo Μουσαγέτης late); Nikopolis, p. 46 (late); Olbia, p. 11 (on reverse dolphin, fourth century B. C.); Odessos, p. 137 (second century B. C.); Perinthos, p. 147 (late); Sestos, p. 199 (second century B. C.); Tomi, p. 64 (late).

Paionia: *Rev. Num.* 1897, Pl. ii (Reinach) Ἀπόλλων Δερρωναῖος. Cf. *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, '*Macedon*,' pp. 1–3, coin-types, fourth century B.C.

Mount Athos: Plin. *N. H.* 4. 37 Oppidum in cacumine . . . Apollonia, cuius incolae Macrobii appellantur.

Macedon, 152 (Mount Olympos). Amphipolis: *C. I. G.* 2008 (decree of exile against two citizens, circ. 356 B. C.) τὰ δὲ χρήματα αὐτῶν δημόσια εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ἐπιδέκατον ἱρὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ τοῦ Στρυμόνος· Apollonia on the Via Egnatia (south of Lake Bolbe): Head. *Hist. Num.* p. 181, coin-type, 400–350 B. C. 'Ἀπόλλωνος.' Hesych. *s. v.* Ἰχναίτην· χώραν τὴν Μακεδονίαν, ἔνθα τὸ μαντεῖον Ἀπόλλων κατέσχε καὶ τιμᾶται. (Corrupt passage, probably a confusion of Strab. p. 435.) Thessalonike, 153. Pella: *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, '*Macedon*,' p. 91, coin-type, ? second century B. C.

Chalkidike: vide Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 185, coin-types of the Chalcidic league; head of Apollo on coins of Olynthos (B. C. 392–379). Orthagoreia, p. 181; Arne, p. 182. Akanthos (independent issue): *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, '*Macedon*,' p. 36 (fourth century).

Bottiaii Chalkidikes: *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, '*Macedon*,' p. 63 (early fourth century).

Illyria: Apollonia, 48[e], 74[a]. Orikos: Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 266, coin-type, third century B. C., head of Apollo, obelisk on reverse.

Epiros, 190. Damastion: coin-type, fourth century B. C., head of Apollo laureate, tripod on reverse: *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, '*Thessaly*,' Pl. xv. 10, 11, 13.

Ambrakia, 48[e], 154, 282.

Korkyra, 8[b], 48[d], 155.

Akarnania, 37[b]. Anaktorion: coin-type, second century B. C., head of Apollo laureate: *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, '*Thessaly*,' Pl. xxvii. 11. Nikopolis Actium Ἀπόλλων Λευκάτης on coins of Nikopolis (Roman imperial period): Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 272.

Aetolia. Thermon: Polyb. 11. 4 παραγενόμενος ἐς Θέρμον, ἔνθα ἦν ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος: temple recently excavated at Thermon; vide *Hell. Journ.* 1899, p. 324; *Class. Rev.* 1899, p. 91; *Ath. Mitth.* 1899, p. 352, inscription mentioning τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος; *Eph. Arch.* 1900, p. 167. Kalydon: Strab. 459 περὶ τὴν Καλυδῶνά ἐστι τὸ τοῦ Λαφρίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν.

Leukas, 275[b].

Kephallenia: *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, '*Peloponnese*,' coin-type of Samé, head of Apollo laureate, circ. 400 B. C., Pl. xviii. 9.

Zakynthos, 239: vide Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 359.

Thessaly, 34[a], 275. Plat. *Crat.* 405 C Ἅπλουν φασὶ πάντες οἱ Θετταλοὶ τοῦτον τὸν θεόν. Atrax: coin-type, fourth century B. C., head of

Apollo laureate: *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, '*Thessaly*,' Pl. 2. 8. Tempe, 2, 264e–h. *C. I. G.* 1767 Ἄπλουνι Τεμπείτα Αἰσχυλίς . . . ἐλευθέρια (found between Tempe and Larissa). Trikka, 216b. Larissa: *C. I. G. Sept.* 1. 4131 δεδόχθαι τοῖς συνέδροις καὶ τῷ δήμῳ Ἀκραιφιείων ἐπαινέσαι μὲν τὸν δῆμον Λαρισαίων ἐπὶ τῷ ἀποστεῖλαι δικαστὰς ἄνδρας καλοὺς κἀγαθούς . . . γράψαι δὲ τοὺς πολεμάρχους καὶ τὴν πόλιν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τῶν Λαρισαίων καὶ οἴεσθαι δεῖν αὐτὴν τὸ ψήφισμα ἀναγράψαι καὶ ἀναθεῖναι αὐτὸ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Κερδῴου (circ. 100 B.C.). *C. I. G.* 1766 (found near Larissa) Ἄπλουνι Κερδοίου ἀνέθεικε ἱερομναμονείσας καὶ ἀρχιδαυχνοφορείσας (= ἀρχιδαφνοφορήσας). Cf. *Eph. Arch.* 1901, p. 125. Near Pharsalos: Strab. 447 ἔστι δὲ καὶ περὶ Φάρσαλον Ἐρετρία, ἱερὰ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. ? At Ichnai: vide Themis, R. 33a. Pagasai, 2, 36, 182b. Apollon Παγασίτης: Hesych. *s. v.* Ἀπόλλων παρὰ Ἀχαιοῖς, ἐν Παγασαῖς, καὶ παρὰ Θετταλοῖς, Παγασαῖος. Hes. *Scut.* 70 πᾶν δ' ἄλσος καὶ βωμὸς Ἀπόλλωνος Παγασαίου λάμπεν. . . .

Magnesia, 26; Korope, 182a. Phyllos: Strab. 435 ὁ Φύλλος, ὅπου Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Φυλλίου ἱερόν.

Lokri Opuntii: *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, '*Central Greece*,' Pl. ii. 7, fourth century B.C. coin-type, Apollo's head laureate. Thronion: *ib.* p. 13 (second century B.C.). Cf. Dionysos, R. 104f.

Territory of the Ainianes, 77.

Delphic Amphictyony, 121. Cult-association of Apollo, Artemis, Leto: vide Artemis, R. 79y.

Phokis: Abai, 181; Delphi, 2, 7a, 22, 46, 99, 103, 106, 109, 139, 229, 238, 256, 261, 264, 265, 269a, 271, 274l. Cf. Artemis, R. 79e (joint worship of Artemis, Apollo, Leto); Athena, R. 78b (Apollo Pythios, Artemis, Leto with Athena Προναία). Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 14. 16 παρὰ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνί φησι καθέζεσθαι τὰς Χάριτας . . . ἐν γοῦν Δελφοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς δεξιᾶς εἰσιν ἱδρυμέναι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. Cf. Poseidon, R. 33 (Labyadai inscription). Kyrrha: Lact. Plat. ad Stat. *Theb.* 7. 347 Cyrrha habet stagnum Apollini consecratum. Cf. Artemis, R. 138b. Lilaia on Parnassos: Paus. 10. 33, 4 ἔστι δὲ καὶ θεῶν ἱερά, Ἀπόλλωνος, τὸ δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος. Elateia: vide Poseidon, R. 32. Dryopes, 144.

Lokri Ozolai: Chaleion, 40.

Amphissa: *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, '*Central Greece*,' p. 13, coin-type, second century B.C., head of Apollo laureate.

Opus: *C. I. G. Sept.* 3280 Διόνυσον Ἀπόλλωνα τοῖς θεοῖς ἀνέθηκε Θεύπομπος. Στρότων Πολύνικος ἐποιησάτην Θηβαίω (fourth century B.C.).

Boeotia, 14, 23, 267, 274 h.

Tegyra, 183.

Orchomenos (?): *C. I. G. Sept.* 1. 3283 *ἱαρὰς τῶ Ἀπόλλωνος τῶ Δαλίω.*

Chaironeia, 17. Plut. *Sull.* 17 (near Chaironeia) *τὸ καλούμενον Θούριον . . . Ἔστι δὲ κορυφὴ τραχεῖα . . . ὑπὸ δὲ αὐτὸ τὸ ῥεῦμα τοῦ Μόλου καὶ Θουρίου νεὼς Ἀπόλλωνος* (connected with the story of Kadmus and the cow).

Akraiphiai, 184. *C. I. G. Sept.* 1. 4135 *εἶναι ἄσυλον τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Πτωίου τὸ ἐν Ἀκραιφίοις, ὡς ἂν αἱ στῆλαι ὁρίζωσι, καθάπερ τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς, τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν χώραν τὴν ἱερὰν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Πτωίου μὴ ἀδικεῖν μηδένα· ἐὰν δέ τις ἀδικῇ, ὑπόδικος ἔστω ἐν Ἀμφικτύοσιν. τῆς δὲ ἐκεχειρίας καὶ τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἄρχειν τὴν πεντεκαιδεκάτην τοῦ ἱπποδρομίου μηνὸς κατὰ θεόν, ὡς Βοιωτοὶ ἄγουσι, ὡς δὲ Δελφοὶ Ἀπελλαίου· κυρίους δὲ εἶναι οἰκονομοῦντας τὰ κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν τόν τε προφήτην καὶ τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Πτωίου καὶ τὴν πόλιν τῶν Ἀκραιφιέων καὶ τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Βοιωτῶν, καθὼς καὶ ἔμπροσθεν καὶ τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην τὸν εἰρημένον ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Πτωίων· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν στήλαις καὶ ἀναθεῖναι τὴν μὲν ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, τὴν δὲ ἐν Ἀκραιφίοις ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Πτωίου, τὴν δὲ ἐμ Πυλαίᾳ* (Holleaux, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1890, p. 19 rightly concludes that this decree refers to the first institution of games, second century B. C.). *C. I. G. Sept.* 1. 4318 (decree of Orchomenos, same date as former) *ἐπειδὴ παραγενόμενοι πρεσβευταὶ παρὰ τῆς πόλεως Ἀκραιφιέων . . . παρεκάλουν τε Ὀρχομενίους ἀποδέξασθαι τήν τε θυσίαν καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Πτωίων, ὃν τιθέασιν Ἀκραιφιεῖς πεντέτειρον τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Πτωίῳ στεφανίτην θυμελικόν . . .* the city of Orchomenos accepts. *Eph. Arch.* 1892, p. 43 (decree of Oropos) *ἐπειδὴ συμβαίνει τὴμ πόλιν Ἀκραιφιείων ἀποστεῖλαι πρεσβευτὰς τρεῖς ἄνδρας τοὺς διαλεξομένους μετὰ τοῦ ἱερέως καὶ τοῦ προφήτου πρὸς τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ καὶ παραγενόμενοι εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν . . . παρακαλοῦσαν τὸν δῆμον συναύξειν τὴν θυσίαν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Πτωίῳ καθάπερ καὶ τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Βοιωτῶν καὶ ἡ πόλις τῶν Ἀκραιφιείων . . . δεδόχθαι τεῖ βουλεῖ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ τοὺς πολεμάρχους τοὺς ἀεὶ γινομένους καὶ τὸγ γραμματέα πέμπειν βοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως εἰς τὰ Πτωῖα καὶ αὐτοὺς συμπομπεύειν.* *C. I. G. Sept.* 1. 4139 similar answer from Thisbe: 4140–4143 from other unnamed cities. 4147 *Αἰσχριώνδου . . . ἀγωνοθετοῦντος τῶν πενταετήρων Πτωίων, ἐπὶ ἱερέως τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος Καφισίωνος . . . οἵδε ἐνίκων. σαλπιστής . . . κῆρυξ . . . ῥαψῳδός . . . ἐπῶν ποιητής . . . αὐλητής . . . κιθαριστής . . . κιθαρῳδός* (1 Ephesian, 1 Athenian, 3 Thespians). 2712 (decree of Akraiphiai in time of Nero) *ἐκλελοιπότος ἤδη τριάκοντα ἔτη τοῦ τῶν Πτωίων ἀγῶνος κατα-*

σταθεὶς ἀγωνοθέτης (Ἐπαμεινώνδας) προθυμότατα ἐπεδέξατο φιλοδοξήσας τὸ ἀνανεώσασθαι τὴν ἀρχαιότητα τοῦ ἀγῶνος τῶν μεγάλων Πτωΐων καὶ Καισαρήων κτίστης ἄνωθεν γενόμενος . . . τάς τε πατρίους πομπὰς μεγάλας καὶ τὴν τῶν συρτῶν πάτριον ὄρχησιν θεοσεβῶς ἐπετέλεσε . . . ταυροθυτήσας Διὶ τῷ Μεγίστῳ.

Lebadeia: Paus. 9. 39, 4 ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν. Cf. Kronos, vol. I, R. 4. Tilphossion: Strab. 411 αὐτοῦ δὲ (near the Τιλφῶσσα κρήνη) τὸ τοῦ Τιλφωσσίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν. Hom. *Hymn Apoll.* 384:

> καὶ βωμὸν ποιήσατ' ἐν ἄλσεϊ δενδρήεντι
> ἄγχι μάλα κρήνης καλλιρρόου· ἔνθα δ' ἄνακτι
> πάντες ἐπίκλησιν Τελφουσίῳ εὐχετόωνται.

Helikon, 257; Thespiai, 103, 184; Thebes, 91, 155[a], 185, 186, 267[b]; Eutresis, 187. Tanagra and Delion, vide Artemis, R. 79[x]: Paus. 9. 20, 1 ἔστι δὲ τῆς Ταναγραίας ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ καλούμενον Δήλιον· ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Λητοῦς ἐστὶν ἀγάλματα (Tanagran legend of Apollo the ancestor of their founder). Strab. 403 Δήλιον τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐκ Δήλου ἀφιδρυμένον, Ταναγραίων πολίχνιον. Diod. Sic. 12. 70 (after the battle of Delion) τὴν τῶν Δηλίων πανήγυριν ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων ἐνεστήσαντο (οἱ Θηβαῖοι) ποιεῖν. Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 7. 153 Δίδυμός φησι Δήλια ἐπὶ Δηλίῳ. *C. I. G. Sept.* 1. 20 (ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ τῷ) Ταναγραίων (?) . . . ἀναγορεῦσαι δὲ τοὺς στεφάνους ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι τῷ σ[υντελουμένῳ . . .] τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Δηλίῳ. Cf. *Eph. Arch.* 1886, p. 228 similar inscription, probably of Tanagra; 1900, p. 107 Δεμόθερες Ηιαρὸν Ἀπόλονος Καρυκέϝιο. Cf. Paus. 9. 20, 3 ἐν Ταν̓άγρᾳ, ὄρος Κηρύκιον. Kithairon, 257: *C. I. G. Sept.* 1. 3564 [Ἀπόλλ]ωνος Ἀρτάμιδος Ἀγροτέρας (inscription found in Boeotia, with no indication of locality). Cf. Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Σαλγανεύς· ἔστι δὲ πόλις Βοιωτίας . . . καὶ Σαλγανεὺς Ἀπόλλων.

Euboea, 189; Eretria, 17, 26; Artemis, R. 79[z]: *Eph. Arch.* 1900, p. 23, inscription of third century B.C. (?) Ἀπόλλωνος Δηλίου Λητοῦς Ἀρτέμιδος. Chalkis, 34[b]: Roehl, *Inscr. Graec. Ant.* 374 inscription on archaic bronze plate, in Chalcidic alphabet, found at Olympia . . . Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Πυθίῳ . . . βοῦν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος (τοῦ Πύθιου). Near Karystos: Strab. 446 τὸ Μαρμάριον, ἐν ᾧ τὸ λατόμιον τῶν Καρυστίων κιόνων, ἱερὸν ἔχον Ἀπόλλωνος Μαρμαρίνου. (God of the quarry, cf. Ἀπόλλων λιθήσιος *s. v.* Laconia-Malea, p. 441.) Tamyne: Harpokr. *s. v.* Ταμῦναι· πόλις ἐστὶν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ. ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῇ Ἐρετριέων αἱ Ταμῦναι, ἔνθα καὶ ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος.

Attica: Athens, 7[b], 17, 24, 34[c], 48, 49, 54, 86, 87, 94, 98, 99,

102, 123, 156, 208[b], 211, 212, 216[a], 218, 222[d], 223, 236, 237, 241, 242[g], 253, 254, 259, 270, 274[h]. Paus. 1. 28, 4 *Καταβᾶσι δὲ οὐκ ἐς τὴν κάτω πόλιν ἀλλ' ὅσον ὑπὸ τὰ προπύλαια, πηγή τε ὕδατός ἐστι καὶ πλησίον Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν ἐν σπηλαίῳ. Κρεούσῃ δὲ θυγατρὶ Ἐρεχθέως Ἀπόλλωνα ἐνταῦθα συγγενέσθαι νομίζουσι.* Cf. Eur. *Ion* 10:

> *οὗ παῖδ' Ἐρεχθέως Φοῖβος ἔζευξεν γάμοις*
> *βίᾳ Κρέουσαν, ἔνθα προσβόρρους πέτρας*
> *Παλλάδος ὑπ' ὄχθῳ τῆς Ἀθηναίων χθονὸς*
> *Μακρὰς καλοῦσι γῆς ἄνακτες Ἀτθίδος.*

Cf. R. 156[d]. *Eph. Arch.* 1897, pp. 7–13, 87 (Πιν. iii. B), dedications by archons of Roman period: no. 1 . . . *θεσμοθετήσας Ἀπόλλωνι ὑπὸ Μακραῖς*, (2) *Τιβέριος . . . Ἀπόλλωνι ὑπ' Ἄκραις βασιλεύς*, (11) . . . *πολεμαρχήσας . . . Ἀπόλλωνι Ὑποακραίῳ ἀνέθηκεν.* Joint cult of Apollo and Artemis: vide Artemis, R. 79[b]. *C. I. G.* 2140, l. 32 (decree of the people) *βωμὸν ἱδρύσασθαι τῷ τε Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων.* Special cults of the *φρατρίαι, γένη, δῆμοι. C. I. A.* 2. 1653 *ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος Ἑβδομείου φρατρίας Ἀχνιαδῶν.* Cf. 1652, vide R. 54. Hesych. *s. v.* Κυννίδαι. *γένος Ἀθήνησιν, ἐξ οὗ ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Κυννίου Ἀπόλλωνος.* Suidas, *s. v.* Κυνήειος· *Ἀπόλλων Ἀθήνησιν οὕτω λεγόμενος· . . . θεμένης τῆς Λητοῦς τὰ βρέφη ὑπὸ κυνῶν ἁρπασθῆναι* (sense and structure defective) . . . *τοῦ κνυζηθμοῦ γὰρ αἰσθομένους κύνας καὶ ποιμένας ἀνασῶσαι τῇ μητρί· ὀνομασθῆναι οὖν ἐν Ὑμηττῷ ἀπὸ τῶν κυνῶν* (quoted from Socrates *περὶ ἐπιθέτων*). Harpokrat. *s. v.* Κυνίδαι. *Λυκοῦργος . . . γένος ἐστὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις οἱ Κυνίδαι.* Photius, *s. v.* Κύνειος. *Κράτης ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησι θυσιῶν οὕτω γράφει· τὸ δὲ Κυνήειόν ἐστιν Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν· Κυννείου τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θυννείου γινόμενον· τοῦτο δέ ἐστι τὸ θυννεῖον Ἀληῖσι· καὶ γίνεται πρόσοδος μεγάλη. ταύτην ἡ πόλις εἰς θυσίαν καταχωρίζει τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Κυνηείῳ.* Cf. *Geogr. Reg.* p. 439, 'Corinth,' 'Temnos,' p. 449, ? worship of Apollo *Μεταγείτνιος* in the Diomeia, R. 254: of Apollo *πατρῷος* of the Elasidai, R. 54. Paus. 1. 37, 6 *ἔστι δὲ ἱερὸν ἐν ᾧ κεῖται Δήμητρος καὶ τῆς παιδὸς ἀγάλματα καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς τε καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος· Ἀπόλλωνι δὲ ἐποιήθη μόνῳ τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς· Κέφαλον γὰρ . . . μετοικεῖν τέως ἐν Θήβαις φεύγοντα . . . δεκάτῃ δὲ ὕστερον γενεᾷ Χαλκῖνος καὶ Δαῖτος ἀπόγονοι Κεφάλου πλεύσαντες ἐς Δελφοὺς ἦγον τὸν θεὸν κάθοδον εἰς Ἀθήνας. ὁ δὲ σφισι κελεύει θῦσαι πρῶτον Ἀπόλλωνι ἐνταῦθα τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἔνθα ἂν ἴδωσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς τριήρη θέουσαν. γενομένοις δὲ αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὸ Ποικίλον καλούμενον ὄρος δράκων ἐφάνη σπουδῇ κατὰ τὸν φωλεὸν ἰών. καὶ Ἀπόλλωνί τε θύουσιν ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ τούτῳ, καὶ ὕστερον σφᾶς ἐλθόντας ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀστοὺς ἐποιήσαντο Ἀθηναῖοι.*

Inscription found in the vicinity of Agrai Ἀπόλλωνι Γεφυραίῳ, *Eph. Arch.* 1888, p. 200, later Roman period. Kolonos, 42[a]; Peiraeus, 216[a]. Phaleron: *C. I. A.* 1. 210 (circ. B. C. 428) temple-accounts Ἀπόλλωνος Δηλίου Φαληροῖ. Vide Delos, p. 443. Eleusis, 157: *C. I. A.* 3. 1203 ἱερεὺς Ἀπόλλωνος Κερκυονέως (very late). Hymettos, 28. ? Parnes: *C. I. A.* 2. 609 (324–3 B.C.) τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Παρνησσίου (in the decree of the guild Εἰκαδεῖς). Phlye, 17; Apollo Διωνυσόδοτος: vide Artemis, R. 59 (joint-cult of Artemis and Apollo). Anaphlystos, 20. Acharnai, 48[a]. Prasiai, 242[f]. Marathon, 156[f], 274[d]; cf. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1906, p. 217, Delphic decree in honour of the Tetrapolis for its devotion to Apollo Pythios, second century B. C. Oinoe, 156[f]. Spata inscription of archaic period ΛΥΚΕΙΟ. In the deme of the Plotheieis: *C. I. A.* 2. 570 τὰ Ἀπολλώνια. *C. I. A.* 2. 841 ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Ἐριθασέου προαγορεύει καὶ ἀπαγορεύει ὑπέρ τε ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν δημοτῶν καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων μὴ κόπτειν τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος μηδὲ φέρειν ξύλα μηδὲ κοῦρον (?) μηδὲ φρύγανα. Cf. Hesych. *s. v.* Ἐρισαθεύς (?)· Ἀπόλλων ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ.

Oropos, 34[b], 208[c]. Zoster (with Leto, Artemis, Athena): vide Athena, R. 89[b].

Aegina, 34, 145: Paus. 2. 30, 1 Ναοὶ δὲ οὐ πολὺ ἀλλήλων ἀφεστηκότες ὁ μὲν Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστιν, ὁ δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος, Διονύσῳ δὲ αὐτῶν ὁ τρίτος· Ἀπόλλωνι μὲν δὴ ξόανον γυμνόν ἐστι τέχνης τῆς ἐπιχωρίου.

Megara, 6, 7[c], 27[h], 31[d], 49, 64, 97, 148, 227, 262. *C. I. G. Sept.* 1. 42 (inscription circ. 240 B. C. found at Megara) τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τὸν ναὸν ἐπεσκεύωσαν. Paus. 1. 44, 14 (on the Corinthian border of the Megarid territory) Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν ἐστι Λατῴου.

Corinth, 199[o]. Plut. *Vit. Arat.* no. 40 τὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν. Cf. Paus. 2. 3, 3 Ἀπόλλωνος ἄγαλμα πρὸς τῇ Πειρήνῃ καὶ περίβολός ἐστιν. Simonides, *Epigr.* 164 (Bergk):

> Εὔχεο σοῖς δώροισι, Κύτων, θεὸν ὧδε χαρῆναι
> Λητοΐδην ἀγορῆς καλλιχόρου πρύτανιν

(referring to statue of Apollo in the market-place). *C. I. G.* 1102 Ἀπόλλωνος Κυννεί(ου), Roman period, ? private dedication.

Sikyon, 7[d], 27[h], 115, 149, 222[c], 225, 264[i]; Artemis, R. 79[a]. Paus. 2. 7, 7 τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους τοὺς ἐν τῇ Αἰγιαλείᾳ νόσος ἐπέλαβε· καὶ σφᾶς ἐκέλευον οἱ μάντεις Ἀπόλλωνα ἱλάσασθαι καὶ Ἄρτεμιν. οἱ δὲ παῖδας ἑπτὰ καὶ ἴσας παρθένους ἐπὶ τὸν Σύθαν ποταμὸν ἀποστέλλουσιν ἱκετεύοντας. ὑπὸ τούτων δὲ πεισθέντας τοὺς θεοὺς φασιν ἐς τὴν τότε ἀκρόπολιν ἐλθεῖν.

καὶ ὁ τύπος ἔνθα πρῶτον ἀφίκοντο Πειθοῦς ἐστὶν ἱερόν. τούτοις δὲ ἐοικότα καὶ νῦν ἔτι ποιεῖται. καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸν Σύθαν ἴασιν οἱ παῖδες τῇ ἑορτῇ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, καὶ ἀγαγόντες δὴ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐς τὸ τῆς Πειθοῦς ἱερὸν αὖθις ἀπάγειν ἐς τὸν ναόν φασι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος . . . τὸν δὲ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ ναὸν καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα Πυθοκλῆς ἀνέθηκεν. Polyb. 17. 16 mentions τὴν ἱερὰν χώραν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος and τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα τὸν περὶ τὴν ἀγοράν.

Kleonai, 211.

Tenea: Paus. 2. 5, 4 οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποί φασιν οἱ ταύτῃ Τρῶες εἶναι, αἰχμάλωτοι δὲ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων ἐκ Τενέδου γεγόμενοι ἐνταῦθα Ἀγαμέμνονος δόντος οἰκῆσαι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο θεῶν μάλιστα Ἀπόλλωνα τιμῶσι. Cf. Strab. 380 ἡ Τενέα ἐστὶ κώμη τῆς Κορινθίας ἐν ᾗ τοῦ Τενεάτου Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν.

Phlius: vide Dionysos, *Geogr. Reg. s.v.* [Paus. 2. 13, 7].

Epidauros, 7[e], 8[a], 107, 142, 209, 216[c]. Apollo Ὑπαταῖος: *Eph. Arch.* 1884, p. 24 Ἀπόλλωνι [Ὑ]παταίῳ Παύσαντος καὶ Κωμάσιος. Cf. Asklepios Ὑπαταῖος at Paros (from Ὕπατα, town of the Aineanes in South Thessaly: see Steph. Byz. *s.v.*). *C. I. G.* 1174 [ἡ πόλις] τῶν Ἐπιδαυρίων τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι. *Eph. Arch.* 1899, p. 1 (ritualistic inscription of last part of fifth century B.C. found at Hieró) [ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ] Ἀπόλλωνος ταῦτα θύεν καὶ καλάϊδα τᾶι Λατοῖ καὶ τἀρτάμιτι ἄλλαν, φερνὰν τῷ θεῷ κριθᾶν μέδιμνον Σ', πυρῶν ἡμιδίμνον, οἴνου ἡμίτειαν καὶ τοσσκέλος τοῦ βοὸς τοῦ πράτου, τὸ δὲ ἄτερον σκέλος τοὶ ἰαρομνάμονες φερόσθω, τοῦ δευτέρου βοὸς τοῖς ἀοιδοῖς δόντο τὸ σκέλος . . . Τῷ Ἀσκλαπιῷ θύεν βοῦν ἔρσενα, καὶ ὁμονάοις βοῦν ἔρσενα, καὶ ὁμονάαις βοῦν θέλειαν, ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ θύεν ταῦτα καὶ καλάϊδα, ἀνθέντω τῷ Ἀσκλαπιῷ φερνὰν κριθᾶν μέδιμνον Σ' πυρῶν ἡμίδιμνον οἴνου ἡμίτειαν, σκέλος τοῦ πράτου βοὸς παρθέντω τῷ θεῷ τὸ δ' ἄτερον τοὶ ἰαρομνάμονες φερόσθω. *ib.* 1901, p. 60, inscription found at Hieró, ? third century B.C., mentioning several πρόξενοι καὶ θεαραδόκοι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ.

Troezen, 38, 145, 273[c]. Schol. Hom. *Il.* 23. 346 τούτῳ δὲ (Ἀρείονι) διαγωνισάμενος Ἡρακλῆς πρὸς Κύκνον τὸν Ἄρεως υἱὸν καθ' ἱπποδρομίαν ἐνίκησεν ἐν τῷ τοῦ Παγασαίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερῷ, ὅ ἐστι πρὸς Τροιζῆνι (? Τραχῖνι).

Hermione, 15, 25, 143: vide Demeter, *Geogr. Reg. s.v.* Hermione, vol. 3, p. 370.

Asine, 144.

Argos, 7[f], 27[h], 48[c], 107, 141, 225, 273[b]; Artemis, R. 79[t], 53[d]. ? Apollo Δήλιος: *C. I. G.* 1152 (epitaph on ? priestess of Apollo)

πόσει προλιποῦσα . . . Μαινίῳ ὑψίστου Δηλί[ου ἱερεῖ]. Paus. 8. 46, 3 τὸ δὲ ἐν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστιν ἀνακείμενον τοῦ Ἠλείου.

Kynuria, 146. (Hesych. *s. v.* Ζωτεάτας· Ἀπόλλων ἐν Ἄργει ἀπὸ τόπου.)

Laconia, 7 g, 27 f, 44, 87, 99, 140, 142, 220. Hesych. *s. v.* θοράτης· Ἀπόλλων παρὰ Λάκωσι. Cf. Lycophr. 352 τὸν θοραῖον Πτῶον Ὠρίτην θεόν. 562 Σκιαστὴς Ὀρχιεὺς Τιλφώσιος. Schol. *ib.* Σκιαστὴς καὶ Ὀρχιεὺς παρὰ Λάκωσιν ὁ Ἀπόλλων. Sparta, 27, 34 e, 140, 216 d, 231, 235: vide Hera, R. 50 a. Amyklai, 19, 45, 96, 246–252. Thornax, 96 (Xen. *Hell.* 6. 5, 27 probably refers to shrine at Thornax). Geronthrai: *C. I. G.* 1334 ἀναθέμεν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. Cf. Collitz, *Dialect. Inschr.* 4530. Epidauros Limera, 220. Strab. 368 (near Minoa) τῶν μὲν Λακώνων τὸ Δήλιον ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος. Malea: Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Λιθήσιος· ὁ Ἀπόλλων ἐν τῷ Μαλέᾳ λίθῳ προσιδρυμένος ἐκεῖ. Ῥιανὸς Ἠλιακῶν τρίτῳ. Near Boiai: Paus. 3. 23, 2 χωρίον ἐν ὅροις Βοιατῶν Ἀπόλλωνος μὲν ἱερόν ἐστι, Ἐπιδήλιον μὲν ὀνομαζόμενον· τὸ γὰρ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ξόανον, ὃ νῦν ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα, ἐν Δήλῳ ποτε ἵδρυτο. 3. 23, 13 Ἀπόλλωνος ναὸς ἐν τῇ Βοιατῶν ἀγορᾷ ἐστί, καὶ ἑτέρωθι Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ Σαράπιδός τε καὶ Ἴσιδος.

Gythion, 27 b. Collitz, *Dialect. Inschr.* 4567 τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ ποτὶ τᾷ Ἀγορᾷ. Paus. 3. 21, 8 Ἡρακλέα καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα ὑπὲρ τοῦ τρίποδος ἐς ἀγῶνα ἐλθόντας, ὡς διηλλάγησαν, μετὰ τὴν ἔριν οἰκίσαι κοινῇ τὴν πόλιν· καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ σφίσιν Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἡρακλέους ἐστὶν ἀγάλματα, πλησίον δὲ αὐτῶν Διόνυσος. Oitylon, 27 c; Kardamyle, 27 e; Selinus, 216 e; Leuktra, 27 d.

Messenia, 27 g, 144, 215, 263 h.

Kyparissia: Gardner, *Num. Comm. Paus.* p. 70, Pl. xix. Apollo with branch and lyre.

Arcadia, 8 b, 9, 13. Paus. 8. 37, 8 (in the temple of Pan near Lykosura) Ἀπόλλωνός τε καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ξόανα. Megalopolis, 48 b, 150, 221 a, 230 a. On Mount Lykaion: Paus. 8. 38, 8 ἔστι δὲ ἐν τοῖς πρὸς ἀνατολὰς τοῦ ὄρους [τοῦ Λυκαίου] Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν ἐπίκλησιν Παρρασίου. τίθενται δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Πύθιον ὄνομα. ἄγοντες δὲ τῷ θεῷ κατὰ ἔτος ἑορτὴν θύουσι μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ κάπρον τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Ἐπικουρίῳ (at Lykosura), θύσαντες δὲ ἐνταῦθα αὐτίκα τὸ ἱερεῖον κομίζουσιν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Παρρασίου σὺν αὐλῷ τε καὶ πομπῇ, καὶ τά τε μηρία ἐκτεμόντες καίουσι καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀναλίσκουσιν αὐτόθι τοῦ ἱερείου τὰ κρέα. Phigaleia, 213. Paus. 8. 30, 3 ἄγαλμα Ἀπόλλωνος θέας ἄξιον μέγεθος μὲν ἐς πόδας δώδεκα, ἐκομίσθη δὲ ἐκ τῆς Φιγαλέων συντέλεια ἐς κόσμον τῇ Μεγάλῃ πόλει. Cf. Gardner, *Num. Comm. Paus.* p. 104, Pl. v. v. Mantinea,

Apollo with Artemis and Leto : vide Artemis, R. 79 w. Ἀπόλλωνι ... καὶ συμμάχων δεκόταν (early fifth century). Tegea, 48 b, 147 : inscription found at Delphi belonging to the monument of the Tegeans' victory over the Lacedaemonians, fourth century B. C. : *Ath. Mitth.* 14, p. 17 Πύθι' Ἄπολλον ἄναξ, τάδ' ἀγάλματ' ἔδωκεν ἀπαρχὰς αὐτόχθων ἱερᾶς λαὸς ἀπ' Ἀρκαδίας. Cf. Paus. 10. 9, 5. Pheneos, 151. Lycophr. 562 Σκιαστής = Apollo. Cf. Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Σκιάς· χώρα Ἀρκαδίας καὶ Σκιάτης τὸ ἐθνικόν. *Et. Mag. s.v.* Κυλλήνιος· Κυλλήνη δὲ Ἀρκαδίας, ἱερὸν Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος. Trapezus : Paus. 8. 31, 5 (before the entrance to the temple of Aphrodite at Megalopolis) ξόανά ἐστιν ἀρχαῖα, Ἥρα καὶ Ἀπόλλων τε καὶ Μοῦσαι· ταῦτα κομισθῆναί φασιν ἐκ Τραπεζοῦντος. Thelpusa : Paus. 8. 25, 11 ὁ δὲ Λάδων τῆς Ἐρινύος τὸ ἱερὸν ἀπολιπὼν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ παρέξειαν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ μὲν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Ὀγκειάτου τὸν ναόν. Kaphyai : *Hell. Journ.* 1886, p. 104 (Gardner, *Num. Comm. Paus.* T. xvii) 'Apollo, naked, facing, holds in right hand, branch : in left, which rests on tripod, a scroll.' Æ. Sept. Sev. Orchomenos : *ib.* p. 100 'Apollo in long drapery leaning on tripod.' Æ. Sept. Sev. Pallantion : *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Peloponnese*,' 192 'Head of Apollo r. laur.,' fourth century B.C.

Elis, 210. Olympia, 41 : vide Artemis, R. 79 v. Paus. 5. 14, 8 μετὰ τοῦτον Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἑρμοῦ βωμός ἐστιν ἐν κοινῷ. Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* p. 32 P. (from Polemon) οἶδα καὶ τὸν παρ' Ἠλείοις τιμώμενον ὀψοφάγον Ἀπόλλωνα.

Achaia. Aigeira : Paus. 7. 26, 6 ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἀρχαῖον, τό τε ἱερὸν αὐτὸ καὶ ὁπόσα ἐν τοῖς ἀετοῖς· ἀρχαῖον δὲ καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ξόανον, γυμνός, μεγέθει μέγας· τὸν δὲ ποιήσαντα δὲ εἶχεν οὐδεὶς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων εἰπεῖν . . . Ἀσκληπιοῦ δὲ ἀγάλματα ὀρθά ἐστιν ἐν ναῷ καὶ Σαράπιδος ἑτέρωθι καὶ Ἴσιδος, λίθου καὶ ταῦτα Πεντελησίου. Patrai, 13, 53, 230 b. *Rev. des Études Grecques*, 1897, p. 285, inscription containing the ψήφισμα in honour of the arbitrators between Demetrias and τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Μαγνήτων, to be placed in Patrai εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν παρὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα (? third century B. C.). Paus. 7. 21, 10 ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἀγάλματα τοῦ λιμένος ἐγγυτάτω χαλκοῦ πεποιημένα Ἄρεως, τὸ δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος . . . ἔστι δέ σφισι καὶ ἄλσος ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ . . . ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἄλσει καὶ ναοὶ θεῶν, Ἀπόλλωνος, ὁ δὲ Ἀφροδίτης· πεποίηται λίθου καὶ τούτοις τὰ ἀγάλματα. Pellene, 265 d. Cf. *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Peloponnese*,' Pl. vi. 10, 11, coin-types, ? third century B. C., head of Apollo, laurel crown, lyre, tripod.

Apollo-cults on the Islands.

The Cyclades : Delos, 2, 7 h, 14, 55, 75, 108, 158, 218, 225, 241 m,

242, 260, 263, 274[b], 276, 280; Artemis, 79[a]. Sandwich-stone at Cambridge found near the Ilissos (? on the site of the Pythion), giving account of the administration of the Delian temple by the Amphictyones of Athens, B.C. 377–374 (*C. I. A.* 2. 814; *C.I.G.* 158; Hicks' *Manual*, p. 142). Frag. A, l. 1 *τάδε ἔπραξαν Ἀμφικτύονες Ἀθηναίων ἀπὸ Καλλέου ἄρχοντος*: l. 11 *αἵδε τῶν πόλεων τοῦ τόκου ἀπέδοσαν. Μυκόνιοι . . . Σύριοι . . . Τήνιοι . . . Κεῖοι . . . Σερίφιοι . . . Σίφνιοι . . . Ἰῆται . . . [Πάριο]ι . . . Οἰναῖοι ἐξ Ἰκάρου . . . Θερμαῖοι ἐξ Ἰκάρου . . .*: l. 15 *οἵδε τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τοῦ τόκου ἀπέδοσαν*: l. 31 *ἀπὸ τούτου τάδε ἀνηλώθη στέφανος ἀριστεῖον τῷ θεῷ τρίποδες νικητήρια τοῖς χοροῖς . . . ἀρχεθεώροις . . . εἰς κομιδὴν τῶν θεωρῶν καὶ τῶν χορῶν . . . ἀριθμὸς βοῶν τῶν εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν ὠνηθέντων*; Frag. b, ll. 9–14 *τοῖσδε ἐδανείσαμεν ἐπὶ ταῖς αὐταῖς συνθήκαις, καθάπερ οἱ ἄλλοι τὰ ἱερὰ χρήματα τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Δηλίου δεδανεισμένοι εἰσί*: ll. 23–26 *μισθώσεις τεμενῶν . . . μισθώσεις οἰκιῶν*: l. 26 *ἀπὸ τούτου τάδε ἀνηλώθη . . . ἐς ἱερὰ τὰ κατὰ μῆνα καὶ μουσικῆς ἆθλα . . . τὸ τειχίον ἀνοικοδομῆσαι . . . Ἀμφικτύοσιν Ἀθηναίων ἐς ταπιτήδεια καὶ γραμματεῖ καὶ ὑπογραμματεῖ . . . Ἀμφικτύοσιν Ἀνδρίων.* Frag. a. B, ll. 6–10 *αἵδε τῶν πόλεων τὸν τόκον οὐκ ἀπέδοσαν . . . Νάξιοι . . . Ἄνδριοι . . . Καρύστιοι*: ll. 20–24 *οἵδε ὤφλον Δηλίων ἀσεβείας . . . τίμημα τὸ ἐπιγεγραμμένον καὶ ἀειφυγία, ὅτι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Δηλίου ἦγον τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας καὶ ἔτυπτον*: ll. 31–40 *οἰκίαι ἐν Δήλῳ ἱεραὶ Ἀπόλλωνος . . . οἰκία ἐν Κολωνῷ . . . τὰ κεραμεῖα. C. I. A.* 2. 985 [*ὁ ἀρχιθέωρος τοῦ ἐν Δήλῳ δ]ήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ὁ κεχειροτονημένος ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξαποστο[λὴν τῶν θεωρῶν τῶν ἀπαγόντων τὰς ἀπα]ρχὰς τῆς πρώτης ἐννεετηρίδος Ἐπικράτης Ἐπιστράτου . . . ἀνέγραψεν τῶν ἱερέων καὶ ἀρχόντων τὰς ἀπαρχὰς τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Πυθίῳ* (list of contributions of Delian priests and Athenian and Delian magistrates to Apollo Pythios: Koehler's emendations are probable: he compares *C. I. A.* 2. 588).

Later revival of Delos: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1904, p. 187, inscription second century A.D. *ἔπενψαν οἱ Κεῖοι τὴν δωδεκηΐδα βούπρωρον ταῦρον ἀνενεώσαντό τε τὰ πάτρια πάντα διὰ τῶν [θεωρῶν]*. Cult-association of Artemis Apollo Leto. Cf. R. 263[d]. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1879, p. 379 *Μήδειον Μηδείου Πειραιέα ὁ πατὴρ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ . . . δηλιαστὴν γενόμενον Ἀπόλλωνι Ἀρτέμιδι Λητοῖ.* Harpokr. *s. v. Δηλιασταί· οἱ εἰς Δῆλον ἐξελθόντες θεωροί.* Athenae. 234[e] *ἐν δὲ τοῖς κύρβεσι τοῖς περὶ τῶν δηλιαστῶν οὕτως γέγραπται 'καὶ τὼ κήρυκε ἐκ τοῦ γένους τῶν κηρύκων τοῦ τῆς μυστηριώτιδος. τούτους δὲ παρασιτεῖν ἐν τῷ Δηλίῳ ἐνιαυτόν.'* Dittenb. *Syll.* 244, 245, dedications to the three deities at the end of the Ptolemaic period. Cf. *C. I. G.* 2282 *ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων· καὶ οἱ τὴν νῆσον κατοι-*

κοῦντες Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα θεοῦ Ἰουλίου υἱόν, Ἀπόλλωνι, Ἀρτέμιδι, Λητοῖ (circ. B. C. 27) (separate shrine of Leto at Delos: Arist. *Eth. Eudem.* p. 1214, a. 1 ὁ μὲν ἐν Δήλῳ παρὰ τῷ θεῷ τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην ἀποφηνάμενος συνέγραψεν ἐπὶ τὸ Προπύλαιον τοῦ Ληταίου).

Paros, 7[h], 161, 241[a]. Hesych. *s. v.* Πασπάριος· ὁ Ἀπόλλων· παρὰ Παρίοις καὶ Περγαμηνοῖς from πασπάρη=παιπάλη, 'meal,' so Wernicke, Pauli-Wissowa, *Lexikon*, *s. v.* Apollon, p. 63. *C. I. G.* add. 2384[e] ὅρος χωρίου ἱεροῦ Ἀπόλλωνος Δηλίου (third century B. C.).

Naxos, 11, 12. Bergk, *Frag. Lyr. Gr.* ii, p. 501 (Ananius, *Frag.* 1) Ἄπολλον ὅς που Δῆλον ἢ Πυθῶν' ἔχεις ἢ Νάξον ἢ Μίλητον ἢ θείην Κλάρον. Plut. 254 F Δήλιον ἐκαλεῖτο τὸ χωρίον (in Naxos). Inscription found in Naxos near unfinished colossus of Apollo ὅρος χωρίου ἱεροῦ Ἀπόλλωνος: Overbeck, *Kunst. Mythol.* 3, p. 27.

Ios, 219. Ross, *Inscript. Inédites*, 95, 96, 317, 318 (decrees of προξενία) ἀναγράψαι εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Πυθίου. Cf. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1904, pp. 312, 314, 322.

Sikinos, 163.

Thera, 27[k], 34[f], 48[e], 164, 216[g]. Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 11 Ἱεροκλῆς φησὶ τοὺς ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος Ἀπόλλωνι αὐτὴν καθιερῶσαι. *C. I. G. Mar. Aeg.* 3. 356, very archaic inscription referring to Apollo.

Astypalaia: *C. I. G. Mar. Aeg.* 3. 185, private dedication to Apollo.

Anaphe, 29, 165.

Amorgos, 7[h], 51, 162. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1884, p. 440 ἀναγράψαι [τὸ ψήφισμα] εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Δηλίου. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1891, p. 291 (public accounts second century B. C.) ἐς θυσίαν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι.

Siphnos: Paus. 10. 11, 2 (at Delphi) ἐποιήθη δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ Σιφνίων ἐπ' αἰτίᾳ τοιᾷδε θησαυρός. Σιφνίοις ἡ νῆσος χρυσοῦ μέταλλα ἤνεγκε καὶ αὐτοὺς τῶν προσιόντων ἐκέλευσεν ὁ θεὸς ἀποφέρειν δεκάτην ἐς Δελφούς· οἱ δὲ τὸν θησαυρὸν ᾠκοδομήσαντο καὶ ἀπέφερον τὴν δεκάτην. Cf. Herod. 3. 57. Hesych. *s. v.* Ἔναγρος· Ἀπόλλων ἐν Σίφνῳ. Cf. Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 419 archaic coin-types of Apollo.

Kythnos: *Brit. Mus. Cat.* 'Crete,' Pl. xxii. 20–22, laureate head of Apollo second century B. C.

Keos, 9, 160. *C. I. G.* 2353, 2357, decrees of fourth century B. C. placed in τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος at Karthaia the chief town. Cf. *Eph. Arch.* 1898, p. 246, inscription of (?) third century B. C. mentioning the temple. Athenae. p. 456 f ἐν τῇ Καρθαίᾳ . . . εἶναι

τὸ χορηγεῖον ἄνω πρὸς Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερῷ οὐ μακρὰν τῆς θαλάττης. Pind. *Isth.* 1. 7 τὸν ἀκειρεκόμαν Φοῖβον χορεύων ἐν Κέῳ ἀμφιρύτᾳ σὺν ποντίοις ἀνδράσιν. Strab. 487 ἔστι δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῇ Κορησίᾳ Σμινθαίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν καὶ πρὸς Ποιηέσσῃ.

Andros: *Ath. Mitth.* 1876, p. 236, inscription second century B. C. mentioning τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος.

Tenos: *C. I. G.* 2334, public decree to be placed in the temple of Apollo at Delos.

Mykonos, 253, 269[b].

Islands of the North Aegean.

Thasos, 21, 169, 274[g]. *Ath. Mitth.* 1897, pp. 125, 126, inscription ? of early fourth century B. C. τῶνδε ἱρὰ τὰ χρήματα το[ῦ] Ἀπόλλωνος.

Imbros: Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 226, coin-legend of Apollo Μουσηγέτης.

Lemnos, 273[e].

Tenedos: Strab. 380 δοκεῖ συγγένειά τις εἶναι Τενεδίοις πρὸς τούτους [τοὺς Τενεάτας] . . . καὶ ἡ Ἀπόλλωνος δὲ τιμὴ παρ' ἀμφοτέροις ὁμοία οὖσα δίδωσιν οὐ σμικρὰ σημεῖα. 604 [Τένεδος ἔχει] ἱερὸν τοῦ Σμινθέως Ἀπόλλωνος, καθάπερ καὶ ὁ ποιητὴς μαρτυρεῖ 'Τενέδοιό τε ἶφι ἀνάσσεις, Σμινθεῦ.' Cf. Tenea, p. 440.

Lesbos, 7[i], 11 (Mitylene), 41, 182, 192: vide Dionysos, R. 49. Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Μαλόεις· Ἀπόλλων ἐν Λέσβῳ, καὶ ὁ τόπος τοῦ ἱεροῦ Μαλόεις. Thuc. 3. 3 ἐσηγγέλθη . . . ὡς εἴη Ἀπόλλωνος Μαλόεντος ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἑορτή, ἐν ᾗ πανδημεὶ Μυτιληναῖοι ἑορτάζουσι. *C. I. G. Mar. Aeg.* 2. 484 (inscription of late period found near Mitylene) τᾶς τε Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος Μαλόεντος ἀρχίχορον καὶ ἱεροκάρυκα τῶν γερέων. 2. 519 τὸν τῶν μελῶν ποιητὴν καὶ προφήτην τοῦ Σμινθέως (Roman period). Antig. Caryst. 17 Μυρσίλος δὲ ὁ Λέσβιος ἐν τῷ ὄρει φησὶ Λεπετύμνῳ ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος εἶναι καὶ ἡρῷον Λεπετύμνου. Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Ἑκατόννησοι· οὕτως περὶ τὴν Λέσβον νησία κ', ὡς Στράβων, παρὰ τὸν Ἕκατον τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα· τιμᾶται γὰρ διαφόρως ἐν τοῖς τόποις· Σμινθεὺς Κιλλαῖος Γρυνεύς.

Chios, 6, 34[g], 59, 170; Artemis, R. 79[ee]. Hesych. *s. v.* Φαναῖος· Ἀπόλλων . . . παρὰ Χίοις οὕτω λέγεται. Strab. 645 (in Chios) εἶτα Φάναι λιμὴν βαθὺς καὶ νεὼς Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ἄλσος φοινίκων. Dittenb. *Syll.* 370, l. 79 [ἱερητεία] Ἀπόλλωνος ἐν Κοίλοις (cf. Herod. 6. 26 ἐν Κοίλοισι καλεομένοισι τῆς Χίης χώρης) inscription third century B. C. found at Erythrai. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1879, p. 231, inscription concerning boundaries mentioning τὸ Δήλιον.

South Aegean.

Samos, 21, 171, 268.

Kalymna, 7[k], 27[m], 70. Paton and Hicks, no. 60 Ἀπόλλωνι Δαλίῳ Καλύμνας μεδέοντι κατὰ χρησμὸν Διδυμέως (first century B. C.). Cf. Newton, *Anc. Inscr. Brit. Mus.* 238. Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Κάλυδνα· Καλυδνεὺς ὁ Ἀπόλλων.

Kos, 16[a], 27[i], 168[n], 221 (Apollo Δάλιος), 233[b], 240, 255. Paton and Hicks, no. 125 Εἰρηναῖος . . . Εὐάρατον . . . ἱερατεύσαντα Ἀπόλλωνος Δαλίου καὶ Διὸς Πολιέως καὶ Ἀθάνας καὶ δυώδεκα θεῶν καὶ μοναρχήσαντα, θεοῖς. 367 (at Halasarna) ἔδοξε ταῖς φυλαῖς αἷς μέτεστι τῶν ἱερῶν Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἡρακλεῦς ἐν Ἁλισάρνᾳ ἀπογράφεσθαι τοὺς μετέχοντας τοῦ ἱεροῦ . . . l. 44 ὅπως δὲ μηθένα λάθῃ ἁ ἀπογραφά, τοὶ ναποῖοι τοῖς Ἡρακλείοις ἐπεί κα μέλλωντι κλίνεσθαι τοὶ φυλέται προκαρυσσόντω ἀπογράφεσθαι κατὰ τὰ προγεγραμμένα. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1881, 198 ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Ἁλασαρνιτᾶν Ἄρτεμιν . . . on the same stone another inscription [ὁ δεῖνα] Πυθοκλέους Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τῷ δάμῳ. Ἀπόλλων Πύξιος in Kos: Schol. Theocr. 7. 130 Πύξα, δῆμος τῆς Κῶ . . . οἱ δὲ τόπον, ἐν ᾧ ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος, ἀφ' οὗ Πύξιος λέγεται.

Nisyros, 27[m]. *C. I. G. Mar. Aeg.* 3. 92 ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Δαλίου (doubtful restoration). *Ath. Mitth.* 1892, p. 198 Μηνοφάνης . . . Σμυρναῖος Ἀπόλλωνι Νισυρείτῃ Ἐπιφανεῖ εὐχήν (? title derived from Nisyros).

Syme: *C. I. G. Mar. Aeg.* 3. 2 Ἀπόλλωνος Δαλίου Ἀρτάμιτος Λατοῦς. Cf. R. 166.

Telos, 167.

Rhodes, 23, 27[l], 31[i], 95, 168, 217, 218, 221. Athenae. 74 f. Φιλόμνηστος ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν ἐν Ῥόδῳ Σμινθίων. Cf. Σμίνθιος, Rhodian month inscribed on Rhodian amphorae, *Ath. Mitth.* 1896, p. 133: vide Aeolis, p. 448. Diod. Sic. 5. 55 παρὰ Λινδίοις Ἀπόλλωνα Τελχίνιον. Macrob. 1. 17, 35 Camirienses qui sacram soli incolunt insulam Ἀεγενέτῃ Ἀπόλλωνι immolant. Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Ἰξίαι· χωρίον τῆς Ῥόδου ἀπὸ Ἰξοῦ λιμένος· καὶ Ἴξιος Ἀπόλλων: cf. p. 449 (Knidos).

Megiste (small island near Lycia belonging to Rhodes): *C. I. G.* 4301[b] Ἐπιστάται Αἰσχίνας . . . Ἀπόλλωνι Μεγιστεῖ.

Karpathos: *C. I. G. Mar. Aeg.* 1. 977, l. 35 ἐγ Καρπάθῳ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος.

Crete, 27[n], 33, 99, 111, 193: vide Zeus, R. 157[k]. Allaria: *C. I. G.* 2557, decree of the Cretan Ἀλλαριῶται, ἀναγραψάντων ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. Dreros, 159. Elyros: Paus. 10. 16, 5. Cf. Steph.

Byz. *s. v.* Τάρρα· πόλις Κρήτης ἐν ᾗ Ταρραῖος Ἀπόλλων τιμᾶται. Knossos, 159. Gortys, 159. *Ath. Mitth.* 1884, 376 (Gortynian inscription, col. 3, l. 6) γυναῖκα ἀπομόσαι τὰν Ἄρτεμιν παρ' Ἀμύκλαιον πὰρ τὰν Τοξίαν. Hierapytna, 159; cf. Zeus, R. 157[k]. Latos, 34[g]. Lyttos, 87. Olus, 34[g], 87. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1900, p. 235 τόνδ' ἀνέθηκε ναὸν Φοίβῳ χάριν Ἡρίλα υἱὸς Δαμοχάρης θύσας ἵκατι καὶ δύο βοῦς. Priansos: R. 159. Schol. Nik. *Theriac.* 516 Ὥρικος Ἀπόλλωνος πόλις ἐστιν ἐν Κρήτῃ, ἔνθα καὶ πύξος πολλὴ γίνεται· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Ὡρίκιον αὐτὸν ἐπωνόμασεν. *Stadiasm. Mar. Aeg.* § 336 Apollo-temple in island off Phalasarna.

Apollo on coins of Crete: *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Crete.*' Aptera, Pl. ii. 9 (second century B. C.) seated on rock, holding out patera in right, left arm on lyre. Axos, Pl. iii. 15; xiv. 11 (fourth century B. C.) laureate head, tripod on reverse. Chersonnesos, Pl. iv. 1 (fourth century B. C.) seated on netted omphalus with lyre. Kydonia, p. 39, laureate head. Eleutherna, Pl. viii; type of Apollo as hunter holding stone and bow, cf. Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 393. Lappa, Pl. xiii. 9, 11 (second century B. C.) laureate head on obverse, Apollo with lyre on reverse. Praisos, Pl. xvii. 10; xviii. 2 laureate head on obverse, goat's head on reverse. Rhithymnia, Pl. xix. 8 laureate head on obverse, youth holding bow and stone on reverse.

Cyprus, 4, 10, 23, 274, 275[a]. Collitz, *Dialect. Inschr.* no. 59, bilingual in British Museum from Idalion, τὸν ἀνδριάνταν τόνδε κατέστασεν ὁ ϝάναξ . . . τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Ἀμύκλῳ. Meister, *Griech. Dialect.* 2, p. 171 Ἀνδριὰς . . . τὸν ἔδωκεν Ἀψάσωμος . . . τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Ἀλασιώται. *ib.* p. 170 τὸν ἀνδριάνταν τόν[ν]υ ἔδωκεν . . . τῷ θιῷ τῷ Ἀπειλωνι τῷ Ἐλείτᾳ. Collitz, *op. cit.* no. 120 (near Pyla), inscription on altar Γιλλίκα τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Μαγιρίῳ ὀνέθηκε.

Coast of Asia Minor (exclusive of the Euxine).

Chalkedon, 172, 194. Myrleia (Apameia): *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Pontus*,' &c.: coin-types, third and first century B. C., laureate head of Apollo, Pl. xxv. 5, 7. Kios, fourth, third, and second century B. C., laureate head of Apollo, *ib.* Pl. xxviii. 7, 8, 9, 11, p. 132. On the Bosporos near the entrance of the Euxine, Dionys. Byzant. *Anapl.* fr. 74 succedunt arae Apollinis et Matris Deum (from the versio Gilliana). Gulf of Astakos, 172. Kyzikos, 35. Hekataios: Müller, *F. H. G.* 202 Κῶμαι τῶν Ἀλαζώνων ἐν οἷς Ἀπόλλων τιμᾶται καὶ μάλιστα καὶ τὴν ἐφορείαν (?) τῶν Κυζικηνῶν: leg. κατὰ τὴν ἐφορίαν τῶν Κυζικηνῶν. Cf. Strab. 551. Aristid. 1, p. 383 τῇ δὲ πόλει ταύτῃ καὶ ἀρχηγέτης [Ἀπόλλων] . . . ταύτης δὲ ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος

αὐτὸς γέγονεν οἰκιστής. Parion, 37ª, 195. Lampsakos: *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Mysia*,' Pl. xix. 12, laureate head of Apollo, fourth century B.C. Priapos: *ib.* Pl. xxxv. 4–6. Schol. Lykophr. 29 ἔχρησε [Δαρδάνῳ] ὁ Πριηπαῖος Ἀπόλλων.

Aeolis, 23. Apollo Σμινθεύς on the coast-land opposite Tenedos (vide Tenedos, p. 445): Strab. 604 ἐν δὲ τῇ Χρύσῃ ταύτῃ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Σμινθέως Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστιν ἱερόν, καὶ τὸ σύμβολον τὸ τὴν ἐτυμότητα τοῦ ὀνόματος σῶζον, ὁ μῦς, ὑπόκειται τῷ ποδὶ τοῦ ξοάνου· Σκόπα δ' ἐστὶν ἔργα τοῦ Παρίου. . . . Ἡρακλείδης δ' ὁ Ποντικὸς πληθύοντάς φησι τοὺς μύας περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν νομισθῆναί τε ἱεροὺς καὶ τὸ ξόανον οὕτω κατασκευασθῆναι βεβηκὸς ἐπὶ τῷ μυΐ. πολλαχοῦ δ' ἐστὶ τὸ τοῦ Σμινθέως ὄνομα· καὶ γὰρ περὶ αὐτὴν τὴν Ἀμαξιτὸν χωρὶς τοῦ κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν Σμινθίου δύο τόποι καλοῦνται Σμίνθια· καὶ ἄλλοι δ' ἐν τῇ πλησίον Λαρισαίᾳ· καὶ ἐν τῇ Παριανῇ δ' ἔστι χωρίον τὰ Σμίνθια καλούμενον καὶ ἐν Ῥόδῳ καὶ ἐν Λίνδῳ καὶ ἄλλοθι δὲ πανταχοῦ· καλοῦσι δὲ νῦν τὸ ἱερὸν Σμίνθιον. Schol. Hom. *Il.* 1. 39 ἐν Χρύσῃ . . Κρῖνίς τις ἱερεὺς ἦν τοῦ κεῖθι Ἀπόλλωνος· τούτῳ ὀργισθεὶς ὁ θεὸς ἔπεμψεν αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἀγροῖς μύας . . . βουληθεὶς δέ ποτε ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ καταλλαγῆναι πρὸς Ὄρδην τὸν ἀρχιβουκόλον αὐτοῦ παρεγένετο, παρ' ᾧ ξενισθεὶς ὁ θεὸς ὑπέσχετο τῶν κακῶν ἀπαλλάξειν, καὶ δὴ παραχρῆμα τοξεύσας τοὺς μῦς διέφθειρε. . . . οὗ γενομένου ὁ Κρῖνις ἱερὸν ἱδρύσατο τῷ θεῷ, Σμινθέα αὐτὸν προσαγορεύσας, ἐπειδὴ κατὰ τὴν ἐγχώριον αὐτῶν διάλεκτον οἱ μύες σμίνθοι καλοῦνται. ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ Πολέμωνι. ἄλλοι δὲ οὕτως ὅτι Κρῆτες . . . ἔκτισαν ἐκεῖ πόλιν ἥντινα ἐκάλεσαν Σμινθίαν· οἱ γὰρ Κρῆτες τοὺς μύας σμίνθους καλοῦσι. Ael. *Nat. An.* 12. 5 οἱ τὴν Ἀμαξιτὸν τῆς Τρωάδος κατοικοῦντες μῦν σέβουσι· ἔνθεν τοι καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω τὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς τιμώμενον Σμίνθιον καλοῦσί φασιν. ἔτι γὰρ καὶ τοὺς Αἰολέας καὶ τοὺς Τρῶας τὸν μῦν προσαγορεύειν σμίνθον . . . καὶ τρέφονται μὲν ἐν τῷ Σμινθείῳ μύες τιθασοὶ δημοσίας τροφὰς λαμβάνοντες, ὑπὸ δὲ τῷ βωμῷ φωλεύουσι λευκοί, καὶ παρὰ τῷ τρίποδι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἕστηκε μῦς. Inscription from the Troad: *C. I. G.* 3577 (private dedication, late period) Σμινθεῖ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ Ἀσκληπιῷ Σωτῆρι. At Killa, in the Gulf of Adramyttion: Strab. p. 612 ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀδραμυττηνῇ ἔστι καὶ ἡ Χρῦσα καὶ ἡ Κίλλα· πλησίον οὖν τῆς Θήβης ἔτι νῦν, Κίλλα τις τόπος λέγεται ἐν ᾧ Κιλλαίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἔστιν ἱερόν. . . . φησὶ δὲ Δάης ὁ Κολωναεὺς ἐν Κολωναῖς, ἱδρυθῆναι πρῶτον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πλευσάντων Αἰολέων τὸ τοῦ Κιλλαίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν· καὶ ἐν Χρύσῃ δὲ λέγουσι Κίλλαιον Ἀπόλλωνα ἱδρῦσθαι, ἄδηλον εἴτε τὸν αὐτὸν τῷ Σμινθεῖ εἴθ' ἕτερον. Ἡ δὲ Χρῦσα ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ πολίχνιον ἦν ἔχον λιμένα . . . ἐνταῦθα δ' ἦν καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Σμινθέως Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ἡ Χρυσηΐς· ἠρήμωται δὲ νῦν τὸ χωρίον τελέως· εἰς δὲ τὴν νῦν Χρύσαν τὴν κατὰ Ἀμαξιτὸν μεθίδρυται

τὸ ἱερόν (cf. R. 7[i]). *id.* pp. 618–619 παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν παραλίαν ταύτην ὁ Ἀπόλλων ἐκτετίμηται μέχρι Τενέδου Σμινθεὺς ἢ Κιλλαῖος καλούμενος ἢ Γρυνεὺς ἢ ἤντινα ἄλλην ἐπωνυμίαν ἔχων : vide Keos, p. 444.

Abydos : head of Apollo on coins from 411 B.C. onwards : *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Troas*,' Pl. I. Gargara, Pl. x. 5 (laureate head, circ. 400 B.C.). Gentinos, Pl. x. 10 (laureate, fourth century). Kebren, Pl. viii. 19 (laureate, circ. 400 B.C.).

Ilium, 63 : coin-type of Apollo Ἕκατος (Roman), *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Troas*,' p. xxvii.

The Troad, 173, 176. Strab. 598 τὸ πεδίον ἡ Θύμβρα καὶ ὁ δι' αὐτοῦ ῥέων ποταμὸς Θύμβριος, ἐμβάλλων εἰς τὸν Σκάμανδρον κατὰ τὸ Θυμβραίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν, τοῦ δὲ νῦν Ἰλίου καὶ πεντήκοντα σταδίους διέχει. Steph. Byz. Γέργις· Πόλις Τροίας . . . ἐν δὲ τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Γεργιθίου Ἀπόλλωνος Σιβύλλης φασὶν εἶναι τάφον. Gryneion, near Myrina, 197 ; Aigai, 107 ; Myrina, 26, 107. Kyme : Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 34. 8 quale est in templo Apollinis Palatini, quod Alexander Magnus Thebarum expugnatione captum in Cyme dicaverat eidem deo. ? Panormos, in Mysia : *C. I. G.* 3699, list of dedicators, Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι χαριστήριον (early Roman). Atarneus : *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Mysia*,' Pl. iii. 1, laureate head of Apollo, third century B.C. Temnos, on the river Hermos : Polyb. 32. 25 τὸ τοῦ κυνίου Ἀπόλλωνος τέμενος, τοῦ περὶ Τῆμνον, οὐ μόνον ἐσύλησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ πυρὶ διέφθειρε.

Ionia, 175 ; Leuke, 272 ; Smyrna, 41, 87 ; Klazomenai, 41, 272 ; Erythrai, 7[l], 65, 87, 100. Dittenb. *Syll.* 370, l. 104 Ἀπόλλωνος ἐν Σαβηρίδαις. Teos, 46 : *C. I. G.* 3060, inscription mentioning τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. Kolophon, 199, 268[a]. Konon 38, ? cult of Apollo Γυπαιεύς, the god of vultures, near Ephesos. Ephesos, 36, 175, 244 ; in village of Λάρισα, near Tmolos, ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος Λαρισηνοῦ, Strab. 620. Priene, 6 ; Miletos and Branchidai, 7[m], 34[k], 58, 173, 200 (oracle at Didyma), 218, 243, 260, 273[d], 279. Hesych. *s. v.* θύϊος· Ἀπόλλων ἐν Μιλήτῳ : vide p. 452, *s. v.* Naukratis.

Caria, 176. Iasos : *Hell. Journ.* 1887, pp. 98, 101 (inscriptions of second century B.C.) ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Ἀπόλλωνος.

Doris. Myndos : Collitz, *Dialect. Inschr.* 3661 Ἀπολλωνίεια ἐν Μύνδῳ. Apollo Κυμνισσεύς : *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1888, p. 280 τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν Κυμνισσεῖ Ἀπόλλωνι. Halikarnassos, 48[f], 68. Dittenb. *Syll.* 6 οἵδε ἐπρίαντο παρὰ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ τῆς Ἀθηναίης καὶ Παρθένου γέας καὶ οἰκίας τῶν ὀφειλόντων τοῖς θεοῖς τούτοις. Knidos, 27[m]. Apollo

Τριόπιος: Herod. 1. 144 οἱ ἐκ τῆς Πενταπόλιος νῦν χώρης Δωριέες, πρότερον δὲ Ἐξαπόλιος τῆς αὐτῆς χώρης καλεομένης, φυλάσσονται ὧν μηδαμοὺς ἐσδέξασθαι τῶν προσοίκων Δωριέων ἐς τὸ Τριοπικὸν ἱρόν· ἀλλὰ καὶ σφέων αὐτῶν τοὺς περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν ἀνομήσαντας ἐξεκλήϊσαν τῆς μετοχῆς. ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἀγῶνι τοῦ Τριοπίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἐτίθεσαν τὸ πάλαι τρίποδας χαλκέους τοῖσι νικῶσι· καὶ τούτους χρῆν τοὺς λαμβάνοντας ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ μὴ ἐκφέρειν, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἀνατιθέναι τῷ θεῷ. ἀνὴρ ὧν Ἁλικαρνησσεύς, . . . νικήσας τὸν νόμον κατηλόγησε . . . διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην αἱ πέντε πόλιες, Λίνδος, καὶ Ἰήλυσσός τε καὶ Κάμειρος, καὶ Κῶς τε καὶ Κνίδος, ἐξεκλήϊσαν τῆς μετοχῆς τὴν ἕκτην πόλιν Ἁλικαρνησσόν. Schol. Theocr. 17. 69 (from Aristides περὶ Κνίδου) ἡ τῶν Δωριέων πεντάπολις, Λίνδος, Ἄλυσος, Κάμειρος, Κῶς, Κνίδος· ἄγεται δὲ κοινῇ ὑπὸ τῶν Δωριέων ἀγὼν ἐν Τριόπῳ, Νύμφαις, Ἀπόλλωνι, Ποσειδῶνι.

Telmessos, 67, 202.

Patara, 31, 201, 277. Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 41 τὰ ἐν Πατάροις τῆς Λυκίας ἀγάλματα Διὸς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος, ἃ Φειδίας πάλιν ἐκεῖνα τὰ ἀγάλματα καθάπερ τοὺς λέοντας τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀνακειμένους εἴργασται· εἰ δέ, ὥς φασί τινες, Βρυάξιος ἦν τέχνη, οὐ διαφέρομαι. Kyaneai, 203; Sura, 204 (Lycia).

Attaleia in Pamphylia, 65. Side, 177. *C. I. G.* 4352 ἐπιτελοῦντος θέμιν Παμφυλιακὴν Τουησιανεῖον ἐπιβατήριον θεῶν Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος. Cf. 4353–6 (Boeckh explains this as festival of the ἐπιδημίαι of the deities called after the founder Tuesianos).

Cilicia, 54, 178, 205. Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 603, on coins of Hieropolis: head of Apollo. Soli: vide *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Lykaonia*,' p. lxxv, *ib.* cxxvii Issos. Koropissos, *ib.* p. 65; Lamos, *ib.* p. xl; Lyrbe, *ib.* p. 93; Anazarbos, p. 38; Epiphaneia, p. 77; Kelenderis, pp. 57–58; Anemurion, p. xl; Selinus, p. xxxviii.

Tarsos, 42[b], 54, 70.

Antioch. Daphne, 206. Strab. 750 ὑπέρκειται δὲ τετταράκοντα σταδίοις ἡ Δάφνη, κατοικία μετρία, μέγα δὲ καὶ συνηρεφὲς ἄλσος διαρρεόμενον πηγαίοις ὕδασιν, ἐν μέσῳ δὲ ἄσυλον τέμενος καὶ νεὼς Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος· ἐνταῦθα δὲ πανηγυρίζειν ἔθος τοῖς Ἀντιοχεῦσι καὶ τοῖς ἀστυγείτοσι· κύκλος δὲ τοῦ ἄλσους ὀγδοήκοντα στάδιοι. Seleukia, in Pieria: *C. I. G.* 4458 ἱερεῖς . . . Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπὶ Δάφνῃ . . . Ἀπόλλωνος Σωτῆρος καὶ Ἀντιόχου θεοῦ.

Tyre, 37[c]. Ἀπόλλων Φιλαλέξανδρος: Diod. Sic. 17, 41–42, 46.

Asia Minor Interior. Bithynia, 172. ? At Nikaia thiasos-worship of

Apollo and Cybele: Conze, *Lesbos*, Taf. 19 οἱ θιασῖται καὶ θιασίτιδες ἐστεφάνωσαν Στρατονίκην . . . ἱερωτεύσασαν . . . Μητρὶ Κυβέλῃ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι, ? early imperial period. ? At Krateia: *Arch. Zeit.* 1874, p. 163 Μητροφάνης Ἀπολλωνίου Ἀπόλλωνι Κρατεανῷ εὐχήν. Cf. *Ath. Mitth.* 1905, p. 329 Γλαυκίας Ἀπόλλωνι Κρατεανῷ εὐχήν on relief with Apollo Kitharoedos and ram-offering. ? Title drawn from the Bithynian Krateia.

Mysia, 173 (Zeleia), 174. Apollonia ad Rhyndacum: *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Mysia*,' Coin Plate ii. 9 Apollo seated on omphalos; Gambreion, *ib.* Pl. xv.

Pergamon (vide Paros, p. 444): *Ath. Mitth.* 1899, p. 213 ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς τοῦ Ταρσηνοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1900, p. 165 ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Εὐμένους Σωτῆρος . . . Διόδωρος Ἀρριδαίου Διὶ Σωτῆρι καὶ Ἀθηναῖ Νικηφόρωι καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι. Cf. *Ath. Mitth.* 1902, p. 102.

Lydia, 208e; Thyateira, 31[g]. Artemid. 2. 70 (Hercher, p. 168) τὸν Δαλδιαῖον Ἀπόλλωνα ὃν Μύστην καλοῦμεν (from Daldis, a town of Lydia). Magnesia on Sipylon, 87. Inscription found in valley of the Kaystros near Theira Ἱερεύοντος . . . ἐν Ἀπόλλωνος, *Rev. d. Études Gr.* 1899, p. 384.

Caria. Tralles, 31[h], 175; Magnesia on the Maiander, 3, 75, 175, 198, 224, 225, 274[d]; Alabanda, 93. Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 519 Ἀπόλλων Κίσσιος 'holding raven and bow with ram at his feet,' coin-legend of Roman period. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894, p. 239, Amphictyonic decree found at Delphi, δεδόχθαι ἀποκρίνασθαι αὐτῷ ὅτι τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀμφικτιόνων τὰμ μὲν πόλιν τὰν Ἀντιοχέων καὶ τὰν χώραν ἀναδεικνύει ἄσυλον καὶ ἱερὰν τοῦ Διὸς Χρυσαορέως καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος Ἰσοτίμου (end of third century B. C.). (Holleaux, in *Rev. d. Etudes Gr.* 1899, pp. 384–385, argues that the city is Alabanda: cf. Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἀλάβανδα· πόλις Καρίας, ἥ ποτε Ἀντιόχεια.) Chalketor: *Hell. Journ.* 1896, p. 228, inscription of Greek period, δεδόχθαι Χαλκητορεῦσιν ἀναγράψαι τὸ ψήφισμα τόδε ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. Amyzon: *Hell. Journ.* 1896, p. 231 τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, mentioned in a letter of Βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος. Pythopolis, 176. Stratonikeia: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1904, p. 346, decree of the κοινὸν Παναμερέων, dated ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Ἀπόλλωνος B. C. 201–197. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1888, p. 266, dedication Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι Κολιόργων. Harpasa: *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Caria*,' p. 113, coin-type of Apollo Kitharoedos, second century B. C.; Attuda: *ib.* p. 62, first century B. C.; Trapezopolis, p. 178.

Lycia, 7[n], 23, 71, 201, 203, 204; Artemis, R. 79[bb, cc]. Hom. *Hymn Apoll.* 179:

> Ὦ ἄνα, καὶ Λυκίην καὶ Μηιονίην ἐρατεινὴν
> καὶ Μίλητον ἔχεις, ἔναλον πόλιν ἱμερόεσσαν.

C. I. G. 4278[k], inscription found north of Xanthos ἱερατεύσαντα Ἀπόλλωνος. Coin-legend on Lycian coins, Roman period, Ἀπόλλων Λύκιος, Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 575.

Phrygia, 66 (Hierapolis), 219 (Eumeneia), 3 (Themisonion). Cf. Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 569. Coin-legend Λύκιος Σώζων, with bust of Apollo on Roman imperial coins of Themisonion. Nakoleia: ? *C. I. G.* add. 3847[b] ἄρξαντα τῆς ἱερωτάτης τοῦ θεοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος πανηγύρεως ἐν τῷ ἄλσει. Dionysopolis in the valley of the Maiander. Apollo Λαιρβηνός (or Λαιρμηνός): *Hell. Journ.* 4, p. 383 Μητρὶ Λητοῖ καὶ Ἡλίῳ Ἀπόλλωνι Λυερμηνῷ. Cf. Ἥλιος Λαιρβηνός on coins of Hierapolis, Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 564. *Hell. Journ.* 1887, p. 377 Ἀπόλλωνι Λαιρμηνῷ Μάρκος . . . καταγράφω Ἀμμίαν τὴν θρεπτήν μου κατὰ τὴν ἐπιταγὴν θεοῦ. Cf. series of inscriptions *ib.* pp. 377–390 all of the later Roman period: cf. *Hell. Journ.* 1889, p. 216. Cf. Apollo-types on coins of Dionysopolis showing assimilation of Apollo Dionysos and Asklepios, Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics, Phrygia*, p. 357.

Antiocheia ad Pisidiam (colony of Magnesia): *Arch. Anz.* 1894, p. 121 Ἀπόλλων στεφανηφόρος and ὁμοβώμιος of Artemis. Cf. R. 57.

Pisidia, 49. Inscription from rock-shrine Ἀπόλλωνι Περμινουνδέων ἐπηκόῳ εὐχήν, *Hell. Journ.* 1887, p. 228. Cf. *Ath. Mitth.* 1887, 250; cf. *Class. Rev.* 1905, p. 368 Ἀπόλλων Σώζων as horseman on coins of Pisidia.

Lykaonia. Ikonion: *C. I. G.* 3993 θεοὺς σωτῆρας τήν τε Ἀγδίστην καὶ τὴν Μητέρα Βοηθηνὴν καὶ θεῶν τὴν Μητέρα καὶ τὸν θεὸν Ἀπόλλω καὶ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν . . . . . Κολωνείᾳ Εἰκονίῳ καθιέρωσεν. 3994 Ἀπόλλωνος τὸν ναὸν ὅλον ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀναλωμάτων κατεσκεύασεν.

Cappadokia: Strab. 537 τὸ Δάσταρκον, ὃ περιρρεῖται τῷ Καρμάλᾳ ποταμῷ· ἔχει δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Κατάονος Ἀπόλλωνος καθ' ὅλην τιμώμενον τὴν Καππαδοκίαν, ποιησαμένων ἀφιδρύματα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ. On coins of Caesarea, *Brit. Mus. Cat.* 'Galatia,' &c., p. 55 (Roman imperial).

Egypt, 7[p]. Alexandria, 37[d], 179. Cf. Demeter, *Geogr. Reg.* Egypt, vol. 3, p. 375. Naukratis, 52, 179, dedications to Apollo Μιλήσιος found in the temenos at Naukratis, *Hell. Journ.* 1886, p. 221; Petrie, *Naukratis*, Part I, pp. 54–61. *C. I G.* 4859 ὑπὲρ βασιλέως

Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας τῆς ἀδελφῆς . . . Ἀροήρει, θεῷ μεγάλῳ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τοῖς συννάοις θεοῖς τὸν σηκὸν οἱ ἐν τῷ Ὀμβίτῃ τασσόμενοι πεζοὶ καὶ ἱππεῖς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι (Apollo here identified with Egyptian divinity). Cf. *C. I. G.* 4839 εὐχαριστήσας τῷ [Σαράπιδι] καὶ τῇ Ἴσιδι καὶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι. Cf. inscription published by Hogarth: *Hell. Journ.* 1904, p. 7 Ἰσιδώρου . . . ἀρχιερέως τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ νεωκόρου τοῦ ἐν Παχνέμουνι Σαραπείου (time of Marcus Aurelius).

Libya, 207[a].

Cyrene, 27[p], 43, 74[c], 233[c]; Artemis, R. 79[ii]. *C. I. G.* 5131 decree in praise of citizen ἱαριτεύοντα τῶ Ἀπόλλωνος (circ. B. C. 96). 5144 list of ἱερὲς τῶ Ἀπόλλωνος.

Sicily. Akragas, 221[d], 27[n]. *C. I. G. Sic. It.* 352, ii, l. 63 inscription of early Roman period concerning boundaries mentioning τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. Katana: *C. I. G.* 5649[d] Φοῖβον ἀκερσοκόμην ἑκατηβόλον Ἀπόλλωνα | ἱδρυσάμην—κόσμον πατρίδι. ? At Centuripa, *id.* 575 (private dedication). Gela, 27[n], 85; Hybla, 207; Naxos, 69. Pachynon: Macrob. I. 17, 24 Hinc est quod apud Pachynum Siciliae promuntorium Apollo Libystinus eximia religione celebratur. Selinus, 98, 208[d]. Syracuse, 17, 27[n], 84, 221[c]. Coin Pl. B, 2. Cic. *in Verr.* 4. 119 (in the quarter called Neapolis): Cereris unum, alterum Liberae, signumque Apollinis qui Temenites vocatur pulcherrimum et maximum. Suet. *Tib.* 74 Apollinem Temenitem et amplitudinis et artis eximiae advectum Syracusis ut in bibliotheca novi templi poneretur. Tauromenion, 27, 69. Apolline types on coins of Leontini, Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 130: of the Mamertini, p. 136. Panormos (fifth century), p. 141; Paropos, p. 143; Selinus (fifth century), p. 147; Syracuse (fourth century), Coin Pl. B, 2 (third century), Head, p. 164; Tyndaris (circ. B. C. 344), p. 166; Adranum (fourth century), p. 103; Aitna, p. 104; Akragas (third century), p. 108; Agyrion (fourth century), p. 109; Kalakte (third century), p. 111; Katana (fifth century), p. 115.

Italy. Rhegion, 82. Locri, *Brit. Mus. Cat.* '*Corinth*,' p. 95, coin-type third century B. C.: head of Apollo laureate. Hipponion (Vibo), 21. 52; Kroton, 83; Thurii, 27. Sybaris (? on the banks of the Krathis): Lycophr. 918

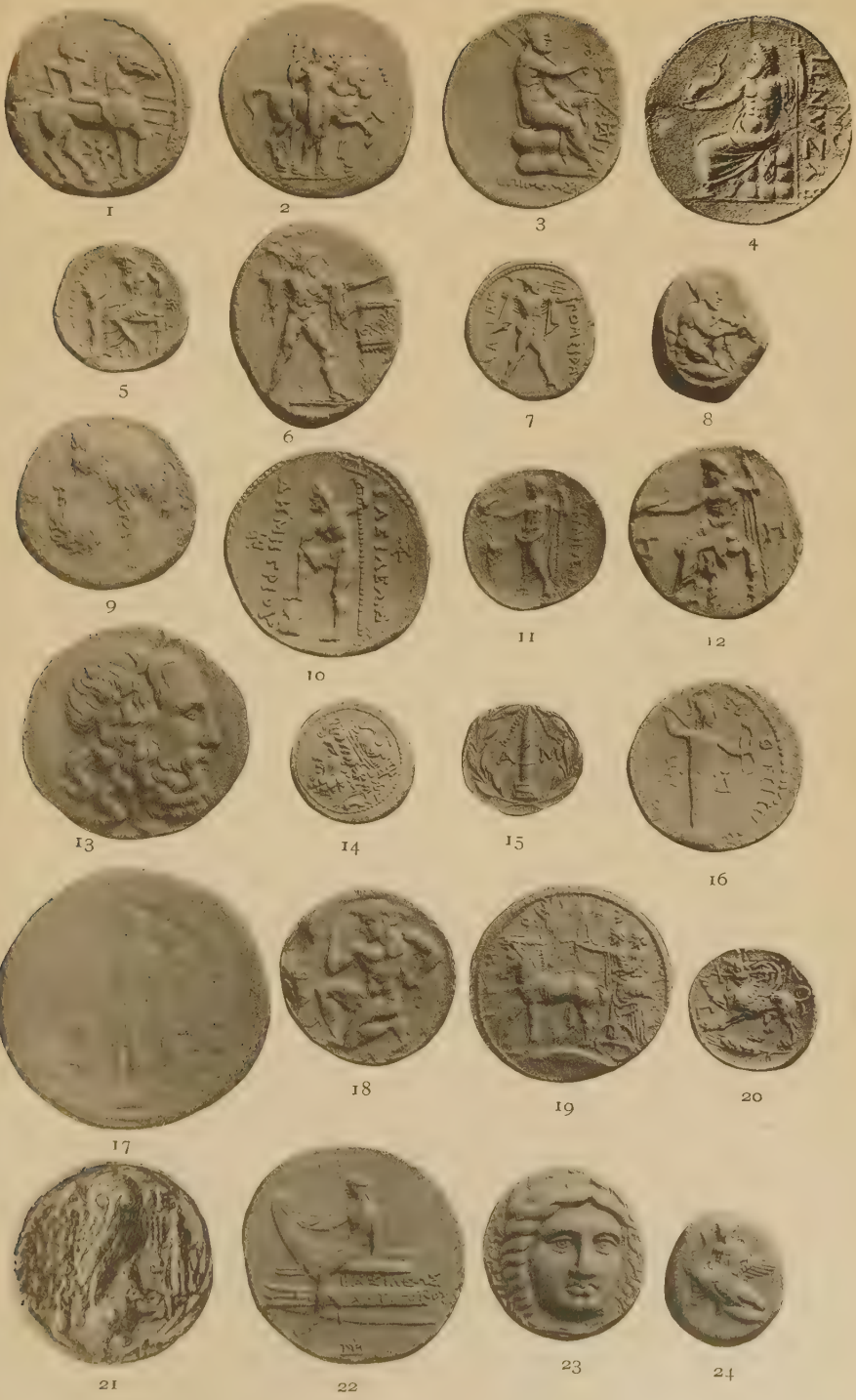
Κρᾶθις δὲ τύμβους ὄψεται δεδουπότος
Εὐρὰξ Ἀλαίου Παταρέως ἀνακτόρων

(referring to Philoktetes). Aristot. p. 840[a] παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Συβαρίταις λέγεται Φιλοκτήτην τιμᾶσθαι. κατοικῆσαι γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκ Τροίας ἀνακομισθέντα τὰ καλούμενα Μύκαλλα τῆς Κροτωνιάτιδος, ἃ φασιν ἀπέχειν ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι

σταδίων, καὶ ἀναθεῖναι ἱστοροῦσι τὰ τόξα τὰ Ἡράκλεια αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Ἀλίου [leg. Ἀλαίου, vide *Et. Mag. s. v.* Ἀλαῖος] ἐκεῖθεν δέ φασι τοὺς Κροτωνιάτας κατὰ τὴν ἐπικράτειαν ἀναθεῖναι αὐτὰ εἰς τὸ Ἀπολλώνιον τὸ παρ' αὐτοῖς. Cf. Metaponton, 7[9], 26. Herod. 4. 15 Μεταποντῖνοί φασι, αὐτὸν Ἀριστέην φανέντα σφι ἐς τὴν χώρην κελεῦσαι βωμὸν Ἀπόλλωνι ἱδρύσασθαι . . . φάναι γάρ, σφὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα Ἰταλεωτέων μούνοισι δὴ ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὴν χώρην . . . καὶ νῦν ἕστηκε ἀνδριὰς ἐπωνυμίην ἔχων Ἀριστέω, παρ' αὐτῷ τῷ ἀγάλματι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, πέριξ δὲ αὐτὸν δάφναι ἑστᾶσι· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ἐν τῇ ἀγορῇ ἵδρυται. Tarentum, 19, 81. Cumae: Serv. Verg. *Aen.* 6. 9 Caelius enim de Cumano Apolline ait ibi in fano signum Apollinis ligneum, altum non minus pedibus xv. Cf. August. *De Civ. Dei* 3. 11. Neapolis: *C. I. G.* 5793 Ἴσιδι Ἀπόλλωνα Ὧρον Ἁρποκράτην (dedication by Roman magistrate in early imperial period).

Nola: Apollo head on coins (circ. 300 B. C.), Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 34. Thurii (fourth century), *id.* pp. 72–3. Velia (? second century), p. 75. Kroton (circ. 400 B. C.): Apollo shooting Python behind tripod, p. 81: tripod on sixth-century and fifth-century coins, p. 80. Mesma, p. 89. Nuceria, p. 89. Rhegion: Apollo head fifth to third century, pp. 94–96. Terina (third century), p. 98. Kaulonia: vide p. 323. Massilia, 34[i], 245.

Plate A



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